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STAGNATION AND FLOW

By the courtesy of the artist Mr. Abanindranath

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POLITICAL TENDENCIES IN CHINESE CULTURE

By BENOT KUMAR SARKAR, M.A.

I. REVOLUTIONS IN CHINESE HISTORY

THE Chinese are ever proud of the Tangs (A.D. 618-905) and the Mings (1368-1628) among their indigenous dynasties. It was under the Tang emperors that the Chinese empire comprised for the first time all the outlying regions called Greater China (Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia, Turkestan and Tibet). And the Ming dynasty is specially dear to the Chinese heart because its founder, a poor Buddhist monk, succeeded in overthrowing the "foreign" Mongols.

But, what is the political character of the Tang regime? Twenty-one emperors belonged to this dynasty. Of these, sixteen were nominal rulers. For two-thirds of the period of about three hundred years the country was disturbed by civil wars or revolts within and invasions from abroad. Rivalry between minister and minister or general and general, and interprovincial struggles constitute the history of these two hundred years. The emperors, those "sons of Heaven", had to live under the protection of king-makers, powerful potentates, or successful generals. Not more than one, Tai Tsung (627-50), had the Napoleonic might to hold together a consolidated empire.

The history of the Mings repeats the same tale. Tai Tsu (1368-99), the founder, proved to be a strong military man. He was real emperor of a United China, but of his sixteen successors none but Yung-lo (1403-25) was powerful or lucky enough to maintain Tai Tsu's imperialistic tradition. Yung-lo himself became emperor

by leading a successful revolt against his own nephew. On the whole, the period was punctuated with Tatar invasions from the north and raids of Japanese pirates from the east. It ended with violent intrigues and seditious movements which ultimately led to Manchu conquest.

The revolutionary unrest that marked the Ming dynasty's administration may be gathered from the biography of the great "heretic" philosopher Wang Yang-ming (1472-1529). He had not been a favorite with the court because of his heresy. But in the posthumous defence of his character by the Imperial Director of Education we read of his "fourfold merit." It is interesting that all the items refer to disorder in the empire.

"First, Prince Ning was disorderly. Within the Court the Wei Pin clique, favorites, and their associates were perfidious. Outside, such guards as Pi Chen Liu and Lan were treacherous, and the Court officials throughout the country nearly all looked on. Had it not been that Shou-jen (Wang Yang-ming) was loyal, took upon himself the responsibility of punishing the rebel, it would be hard to tell whether the country would be now at peace or in danger."

Wang's second merit was described thus:

"The camps of Tamao, Cha-hao, Liton, and Tungkan represented the combined force of four provinces. Soldiers had collected there for a number of years. When Shou-jen reached the place as guard he subjugated them all."

The third merit was the quelling of a rebellion.

"At Tienchou and Ssuen confusion had reigned for years, so that quiet could not be restored, nor could the people be pacified. In consequence

Shou-jen was sent there and caused Prince Lu's followers to bow their heads in submission "

The fourth merit was as follows

"Originally the eight military posts were the disgrace of the interior of the two Kwangs (provinces of Kedangtung and Kwang si) The Government soldiers co-operated with the rebels and there was no way of getting at them,

By a surprise attack he exterminated them as quickly and as easily as though they had been wood It accrues to the merit of Shou-jen that he averted great calamity and was ready to work unto death " (Henke *The Philosophy of Wang Yang-ming*)

The contemporary statement of the qualifications of a Ming celebrity thus opens up the normal disquiet to which China was a victim even under her indigenous rulers Similarly under the Han dynasty (B C 202—A D 190) also, rendered illustrious through the powerful Wu-ti (B C 140—87), China never maintained her integrity for more than two successive generations And the still earlier Chou period (B C 1122—255), during which flourished Laotsze (c B C 604) and Confucius (B C 551-479), was the period of feudalistic disintegration, of innumerable regicides, of baronial wars, and raids of Huns, Scythians or Tartars and of the aboriginal hill tribes It was the epoch of fifty, sixty, seventy-five, and even one hundred and twenty five lesser Chinas maintaining their sovereignty alongside of one another

The unrest and turmoil of the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries B C, found adequate expression in the verses of the period. Some of these were collected by Confucius in his "*She-king*" (The Book of Poetry)

In Part I, Book X, Ode VIII, the soldiers are describing the sufferings of the parents as they are called to the front and are eager to return to peaceful agriculture

"Suh-suh go the feathers of the wild geese,
As they settle on the bushy oaks
The king's affairs must not be slackly dis-

charged,
And so we cannot plant our sacrificial millet
and millet

What will our parents have to rely on ?
O thou distant and azure Heaven !
When shall we be in our place again ?

When shall (our service) have an end ?"
(Legge's translation)

In Part II, Book VIII, Ode X, the soldiers are complaining that the kingdom is scared and scorched like the vegetable world, burnt yellow and then nearly black

"Every plant is yellow,
Every day we march
Every man is moving about,
Doing service in some quarter of the kingdom
Every plant is purple,
Every man is torn from his wife
Alas for us employed on these expeditions
How are we alone dealt with as if we were
not men ?

We are not rhinoceroses, we are not tigers
To be kept in these desolate wilds
Alas for us employed on these expeditions
Morning and night we have no leisure "

This is the story of China under the Chinese China came under an alleged foreign rule during two periods of her history, (1) the Mongol (1260-1368) and (2) the Manchu (1644-1912) Both these periods were, as usual, marked by intrigues, conspiracies, civil wars and revolutions Some of these were led by secret societies, a few by individual generals and governors, and others by Mohammedans

II THE LOGIC OF THE FISH

Disruption is then the norm in the history of Chinese politics As with the Holy Roman Empire in Europe and the Moghul Empire in India, in China also the *de facto* independence of the Provinces and the formal vassals was never regarded as inconsistent with the *de jure* *impeium* of the *hwangti*, *sarva-bhauma* or "world-sovereign" Besides, anarchic periods of complete disintegration extending sometimes over centuries, during which no one dynasty enjoyed even nominal hegemony over the rest, intervened between the fall of one and the rise of another mighty Power

China, like India, is, in *Realpolitik*, a geographical expression It is a "pluralistic universe," in spite of the "fundamental unity" of cultural "ideals" pervading the entire area China is one country only in the sense in which Europe is one But neither in ancient and mediaeval ages nor in modern times has it been possible to

postulate the "unity of Europe" for purposes of international politics. The "unity of China" and the "unity of India" are equally unequal terms in the diplomatic history of Asia. There have been many Chinas and many Indias at the same time during almost every century.

Disruptive tendencies are not, however, specifically oriental characteristics. The "confusions and revolutions of governments" described by Anthony Ascham of the English Civil War period have not been less marked features of the Occident than of the Orient.

The Imperial dynasties of China, whether indigenous or foreign, have not indeed been long-lived. But where on earth have the ruling houses had greater longevity than in China? The boundaries of the Chinese empire as well as the territorial limits of the lesser Chinas have changed every now and then. But have not the extent and area of kingdoms, city-states, duchies, and margravates of Europe exhibited the same kaleidoscopic character? There have been anarchies, conspiracies, intrigues, and regicides in China, but where has mankind known continuous peace for any length of time?

The following picture of the Roman empire is furnished by an anti-monarchist in Engelbert's *De Orta et Fine Romani Imperii* (c. 1325):

"The Roman empire was and is always troubled by wars and rebellions hardly ever were the gates of the temple of Janus shut: the greater number of Roman emperors have died violent deaths: and the Roman empire has been the cause rather of disorder than of peace."
(Woolf *Bartolus*)

This is an accurate picture of every period of European history. It is true as much of Machiavellian Italy as of Germany during the Thirty Years' War. It suggests the Napoleonic era as exactly as the great armageddon initiated by Kaiser William II.

China is thus not the only country of the continent where revolutions and changes of rulers have been plentiful as blackberries. The phenomenon of stable equilibrium has never been experienced by man either in the East or in the West. The political centre of gravity has been always on the move

from organism to organism, from class to class, leading to the subversion of the old and the rising in of the new.

Revolutions constitute the assertion of new stronger forces, and all history is the document of these assertions. The record of human achievements in the political sphere is the illustration of but one logic. This is what in Hindu political philosophy is called *matsya-nyaya* or the "logic of the fish." Larger fishes swallow up the smaller, the stronger overpower the weaker. This "struggle for existence" is the law of the "state of nature" as described by Spinoza and Hobbes, or *Naturprozess* as Gumpłowicz calls it in *Der Rassenkampf*.

The operation of the logic of the fish is "the golden rule," "the simple plan," observable in all organic relations. China has been no exception to the universal sway of the cosmic doctrine of might and the survival of the fittest.

III ACHIEVEMENTS AND FAILURES OF THE MANCHUS

In Young China's terminology the anti-Manchu revolution of September 1911, has been characterised as anti-foreign. But, were the Chinese really a subject race under the Manchus? To be more general, we may even ask the question "Were the Mongols and Manchus foreigners in China?"

If the Mongols and the Manchus are to be treated as aliens and foreign usurpers, every other Imperial dynasty would have to be called almost equally foreign. Ethnologically speaking, nearly every "national" dynasty of China had more or less an intermixture of non-Chinese blood. The old civilization of the Chinese was built up by people who had come from outside, viz., from the north-west, and were thus aliens in China. The influx of new-comers, generically known as Tartars (of various denominations), from the north and north-west, and the assimilation of aborigines and hill tribes, especially in the south and south-west, have never ceased in Chinese history. The continent of China is a genuine museum of humanity, and has been a real melting-pot of races.

"Foreign" influence has thus to be detected in every epoch of Chinese culture

Where indeed on earth is to be found an alleged pure race with its institutions and ideals untouched by extraneous races? In this respect China does not differ at all from England, France, Germany, India, the United States or any other country of the ancient and modern world. If foreign influence in blood, language, or ideas of life is to be regarded as an instance of foreign subjection, no race of men has ever been really free. The diversity of races in China has undoubtedly led to the transfer of political hegemony from house to house and province to province. But this is exactly what has happened, for instance, in Germany, the land of heterogeneous peoples. And yet in Germany, as Bryce remarks in *"The Holy Roman Empire"*, the diversity was "not greater than in France, where intruding Franks, Goths, Burgundians, and Northmen are mingled with primitive Kelts and Basques, nor so great as in Spain or Italy or Britain."

It is true that the Mongols and the Manchus came into China from outside. But it is also true that they never left China again "homeward bound." They did not enter China to exploit it in the economic or cultural interests of another land, an alien mother-country. They did not regard China as their "colony", but made it their *patrie*, or *Vaterland*, the centre of all their affections and dreams, their own, their "native land." They lived and worked only to make China the real "middle kingdom" of the world. Their sole ambition consisted in carving out for China "a place in the Sun."

The Mongols and the Manchus did not come to impose any foreign customs and laws upon the "natives" but became part and parcel of the indigenous social life. They assimilated themselves in every possible way to the manners, superstitions, prejudices, and sentiments that already existed among the people. Here, as in many other instances in world-history, "captive Greece captured Rome."

We do not, therefore, hear of a so-called Mongol or Manchu culture in China. The

Mongol and the Manchu periods have been like other periods, but two links in a growing chain of the same Chinese civilization. In language, literature, the fine arts, philosophy, or religion, these periods do not represent any hiatus between the preceding and the succeeding ages, except what is inevitable in a continuous evolution. The same Lao-tsze, the same Confucius, the same Buddha, that had governed Chinese life under the mighty Tangs and the brilliant Sungs, governed Chinese life under the Mongols and the Manchus also.

Did the Chinese under the so-called foreign rulers suffer anything like the Spanish inquisitions, or the anti-Jewish "pogroms" associated with such Russian cities as Kishineff, Kovno, Vilna, or Kiev? Could any Chinese justly cry to his comrade as the Russian Jew could lament to his, in the language of Max Weber?—"Is it not in Egypt still and under Pharaoh's hand that we live?" Or, could a picture like the following in regard to the Romanoff regime be called up about the Mongol and the Manchu administrations?

"Egypt only a myth, and Russia real,
Egypt a legend, Russia tyrant to day."

Were the autochthonous men and women of China treated by the Mongol and the Manchu rulers as mere hewers of wood and drawers of water? Were they appointed only to the subordinate posts and clerical offices as but second fiddles to the "superiors" imported from the ruling races? The questions must be answered in the emphatic negative.

The history of the Chinese administrative system does not, as a rule, furnish instances of the "colour-bar" in public offices, whether in the village service or in Council work. Appointments to government posts in Imperial China had been made on the results of public examinations since Han times (B. C. 29). These service regulations were generally kept up by the Mongols, though put in abeyance for a short time by some of the degenerates. The system was maintained throughout by the Manchus. Impartiality and fair play were thus ensured. The highest officials in the army, the ministry, the education department, and provincial civil service came in this

way as much from the children of the soil as from the naturalized new-comers. Examination sifted the fit from the unfit without race-prejudice. Besides, the five honorific titles of nobility, viz, duke, count, viscount, baron, and baronet, were conferred without distinction on the Manchus, Mongols and the Chinese. What greater facilities for self-development or opportunities to nurture their genius along lines of advance had the Chinese obtained, say, during the golden age of the Hans or of the Tangs?

Of course, as the Mongols and the Manchus settled down in China, the Chinese found in them fresh competitors for the loaves and fishes. Their field of ambition was circumscribed to that extent. But these competitors were then no longer Mongols or Manchus but as good Chinese as the original inhabitants could possibly be.

Signs of foreign subjection are not wanting, however, to indicate that China was a conquered country during the two periods.

In 1289 Kubla Khan, the great Mongol, issued an ordinance to disarm the entire Chinese population. The measure must have been a temporary political necessity, but it did not succeed. And in view of the fact that the Mongols were making themselves Chinese in all respects, the regulation cannot be taken exclusively as the mark of "alien" domination. It was more the tyranny of an oligarchy than coercion by a foreigner.

The Manchu emperors stationed garrisons of Manchu soldiers at Peking and at seven or eight other important cities of the empire. These Manchu "colonies", however small they might be in size, were always detested by the Chinese. But to a certain extent they should be regarded rather as the "praetorian guards" of all despots than specifically as the visible embodiments of a foreign rule. Taking all other circumstances into consideration, the Manchu garrisons must be treated as essentially distinct in character from the French army and navy in Indo-China since 1885 and the Japanese army and navy in Korea since 1910.

Another fact of Chinese subjection to the Manchus is universally known. It is the queue or "pig-tail" at the back of the head with the front clean shaved. The Chinese never tolerated it and always smarted under the compulsion to keep it. It was however really a "fashion" with the men of light and leading among the Manchus themselves. But as it was abhorrent to the taste and sentiment of the Chinese, the imposition of the Manchu style must be regarded as sheer despotism. But, here, again, should it be called the tyranny of a foreigner, or rather the bigotry and arbitrary rule of an English Charles II in England or a French Louis XIV in France or the Russian Czars in Russia?

An interesting parallel to the Mongol and Manchu periods can be furnished from the history of India. The Mohammedan (the so-called Pathan, 1206-1526, and Moghul, 1526-1764) regime in India is similar to that of the Mongols and Manchus in China, because the first Mohammedans came into India as conquerors. But though they have maintained their religious antithesis practically intact, there has been ultimately a great *rapprochement* between the Hindus and the Mohammedans in language, music, painting, architecture, folk customs, etiquette, and phases of social life.

In political and military affairs the distinction between the original inhabitants of India and the new-comers (and the converts to the new faith) was all but obliterated. Hindu finance ministers were at the head of the Imperial treasury of the Great Moghul. The land revenue of the Mohammedan empire was organized by Hindu statesmen. Hindus were appointed equally with Mohammedans as governors of the provinces. The highest commissions in the army also were conferred on Hindus. Hindu commanders were trusted with Mohammedan troops against Mohammedan princes and governors. Expert Hindu chiefs were despatched to put down the revolts of Mohammedan generals and viceroys.

The "Pathan" (Mohammedan) provinces of Bengal in the east and the Deccan in the south were annexed to the Moghul

(Mohammedan) territory with the help of Hindu soldiers and generals. The emperor Jahangir (1605-27) sent the Hindus, Rao Ratan and Raj Singh, even against his own son Shah Jahan when he was a rebel (1623-25). Similarly the Hindu commanders Pahar Singh, Badal Singh and others were appointed by the emperor Shah Jahan (1628-58) along with Prince Aurangzib to take charge of the expeditionary force against Balkh and Badakshan (in Central Asia). Hindus thus co-operated with Mohammedans in the Imperial attempt (1646-47) to found a Greater India. In the wars against the Persian Mohammedans, also, in Afghanistan, the buffer between India and Persia, the Moghuls and the Hindus fought shoulder to shoulder (1648-53) for the expansion of their common Motherland.

The wars of Mediaeval India were thus neither racial nor religious, but fundamentally territorial or provincial. Hindus and Mohammedans on one side could thus be arrayed against Hindus and Mohammedans on the other. There was genuine identity of political and economic interests, so far as the "local" units were concerned.

Mohammedan rule in India was in no respects the "government of one people by another." It was not an alien rule like that of the Hohenstaufens, and later of the Habsburgs, in Italy, or of the French in Indo-China, or of the Americans in the Philippines. The rule of the Mongols and the Manchus in China was likewise not a foreign rule.

Besides, from the standpoint of national glory, the Mongol and the Manchu regimes were not behind the Han, the Tang, and the Ming. The Chinese can be as proud of their country's achievements during these periods of alleged "foreign" rule as during the others.

Kubla, the Grand Mongol, developed the material resources of China, deepened the Great Canal, patronized letters and faiths, and was in every way one of the best "enlightened despots" of the eighteenth century European type. Further, it was under him that in 1281 a Chinese "armada" was on the point of making Japan an

again, through him and his feudatories in Central Asia and Russia that the Chinese had the credit of extending the western frontiers of Asia into the very heart of Europe, as far as the Carpathian Mountains. This Mongol-Chinese empire was the medium through which Europeans got gunpowder, the mariner's compass and the art of printing.

And the latter-day degeneracy of the Manchus must not blind one to the fact that during at least the first century and a half of their rule down to Kien-lung (1735-96) their records both in war and peace could vie with those of the "Augustan age" of Chinese culture represented by the Tangs and the Sungs. Kanghi (1661-1722), the second emperor of this House, suppressed rebellions, annexed Turkestan and Tibet to the empire, introduced social reforms, and promoted sciences and arts. It was his humanitarian legislation that put a stop to the traditional "sacrifice" of women in the tombs of the aristocrats. He also attempted, with partial success, the suppression of "foot-binding" among Chinese women. The monumental *Dictionary* of the Chinese language and *Encyclopaedia* of Chinese culture owe their origin to his patronage.

Kanghi was altogether the peer of China's greatest and the world's most distinguished sovereigns. In intrinsic merit he was greater than any of the Mings. And the China of his days could, like India under his contemporary Aurangzib the Great Moghul (1658-1707) as described by Bernier, the French traveller, stand honorable comparison with the Europe dominated by Louis XIV (1661-1715), *le grand monarque*, of France.

To understand the Asia of the seventeenth century in the background of contemporary Europe it is necessary to forget the nineteenth century and recent developments in governmental theories and institutions as well as in material science and general culture. The public and private morals of the English people during the age of Kanghi are thus described by Macaulay: "Then came those days never to be recalled without a blush, the days of

without love, of dwarfish talents and gigantic vices, the paradise of cold hearts and narrow minds, the golden age of the coward, the bigot and the slave. The king cringed to his rival that he might trample on his people, sank into a viceroy of France, and pocketed, with complacent infamy, her degrading insult and her more degrading gold. The caresses of hailots and the jests of buffoons regulated the policy of the state. The Government had just ability enough to deceive and just religion enough to persecute."

And in France Louis XIV's dictum was "I am the State." He carried this absolutism to its furthest logical consequence both in home and foreign policies. He led aggressive wars against the Netherlands and the German states, and brought about the War of the Spanish Succession. His taxation was arbitrary. He suppressed the Huguenots. Nationality, rights of the people, freedom of conscience were things unknown in Europe.

It is in the light of these facts of Occidental history that modern students of political science ought to read the Asian achievements of the time. Internecine warfare, raids of military adventurers, and religious persecution were not more rampant in China or in India than in Europe. The conception of civil and religious liberty was not more highly developed among the subjects of the Hapsburg emperors than among the peoples of Asia. The Manchu regime can thus easily bear the critical examination of Comparative History.

Moreover, the decay of the later Manchus is not a phenomenon special to this House. The mighty Tangs had not been mighty for long, nor had the "nationalist" Mings been wielders of strength for any length of time. Similarly the Manchus failed but to produce a legion of Kanghis the Greats. In Europe also not every monarch has been a Caesar or a Charlemagne.

IV THE CHINESE HERODOTUS ON THE LAW OF REVOLUTIONS

To what, then, is the passing of the Manchus due? We have to detect here the same causes as led to the decline and fall of the "national" Houses of China.

The revolution of 1911 does not differ from those of the previous ages in any significant sense except that this was initiated, if not conducted, by intellectuals like Kang Yu-wei, Sun Yat-sen, and Liang Chi-chao.

The fundamental reason of revolutions in China, the land of perpetual insurrections and civil wars, is not far to seek. It is as universal as humanity itself. It is akin in character to the forces that down to the epoch of the French revolution kept Europe in eternal strife whether through dynastic ambitions or corrupt administrations. It is essentially what Polybius traces in the links or transitions between the "normal" and the "abnormal" in his "cycle of the forms of government."

The same Polybian dictum is stated by Sze Ma-chien (B. C. 90), the Herodotus of China, in his chapter on the closing period of the Han dynasty. "At length under lax laws, as the historian goes on, the wealthy began to use their riches for evil purposes of pride and self-aggrandisement and oppression of the weak. Members of the Imperial family received grants of land, while from the highest to the lowest, every one vied with his neighbour in lavishing money on houses, and appointments, and apparel, although beyond the limit of his means. Such is the everlasting law of the sequence of prosperity and decay."

The founder of the Manchu dynasty, also, in his inaugural proclamation (1644) bore testimony to the real causes of Chinese revolutions. Said he:

"The Mings having become corrupt, rebels rose everywhere and oppressed the people. China being without government, I, faithful to the beneficent traditions of my family, have destroyed its oppressors, saved its people, after which, yielding to the universal request, I have fixed the seat of the empire at Peking. Crowned with the blessings of Heaven, I announce that I have ascended the throne. I beg respectfully that Heaven and Earth may aid me to remove the misfortunes of my country."

The Manchus conquered China at the invitation of the Chinese general Wu San-kwei. The complete subjugation was effected with Manchu armies but under Chinese generals. The Manchu conquest was thus almost a "national" undertaking. The founder of the Manchus was, like the

Buddhist beggar who had overthrown the last Mongol, a real *Yugavata*, "deliverer" or political Messiah. He began by calling China "my country". He came to remove its "misfortunes", and could thus sincerely issue the proclamation as a genuine "Chinese" patriot.

The Manchu dynasty was, therefore, as "legitimate" in origin as the Ming. Nor had the Han dynasty any more valid claims. Its founder is described by Du Halde as "a private soldier who became a freebooter and captain of a troop of vagabonds".

Like the founder of all other Imperial dynasties, Shoonchi (1644-61) was in reality putting an end to the "state of nature", which, according to the great Chinese philosopher Moh^o Ti (B. C. 500-420?), is, as Suh Hu points out in the *Development of Logical Method in Ancient China*, an "anarchy of buds and beasts". He suppressed the operation of *mat-ya-nyaya* or the "logic of the fish", and "unified the people's diversified notions of what is right".

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIA

BY LAJPAT RAI

I.

THE RELATIONS OF THE SEXES

THE sex relation is the most important of all human relations. It is the foundation of society. Marriage, which regulates that relation, thus becomes the most important of all social institutions. It is the foundation of family life, which in its turn is the pivot round which society revolves. The sex relation is receiving a great deal of attention at the hands of the modern scientific world. It supplies a theme for more than half of the total output of literature and art. It rules supreme in prose, poetry, fiction, drama, sociology, philosophy and all the cognate subjects. Large and elaborate treatises, written by some of the best authorities in the social sciences (including the medical) dealing with the sex problem from every conceivable point of view, are multiplying. Some of them furnish the most illuminating reading on the subject. The question is so important and so far-reaching in its consequences to humanity at large, and to communities, that neither individuals nor nations can neglect it except at the peril of their efficiency.

The religious literatures of the world, the codes of the different nations prove

how important the question has been at all times, in all countries and under all circumstances. The primitive man attached as much importance to it as his cultured brother did later and as the modern man does now. No lawgiver could ignore or neglect it. Moses, Christ and Mohamed paid as much attention to it as Manu, Confucius and Zarathustra did. The "Code Justinian" deals with it, and so does the "Code Napoleon".

It is the phase of life in the handling of which the world has shown that variety of point of view, which is at once the beauty and the curse of this world of ours. No two nations ever took the same view of the sex relations. In no two countries were the laws of marriage the same. In no two centuries in the same country was the sex morality the same.

A careful study of the ethical history of the world proves that ethical and moral standards have varied with time, place and circumstances. There has been no such thing as a universal code of morality. The rules of morality, especially those falling under the head of sex-morality, have been different and are different, in different countries and communities. They are sometimes different

in the various internal social groups of one and the same community. That they have been different in different times has been established beyond a shadow of doubt. Every age and every community has surrounded its own code of morality with a halo of sanctity. Yet the succeeding generations had no scruples to tear down the old edifice and build a new one in its stead. Sometimes they have done it by a process of amplification, at others by quiet modification, so that to-day we are inclined to think that the progressiveness of a nation or community is revealed by the frequency of the changes that have taken place in its standards and ideals and rules of morality. Fixity of moral values for any great length of time is evidence of stagnation rather than of progress. A boast that our moral standards are the same to-day as they were three thousand years ago is a sign of senility.

"Morality," says Havelock Ellis, "is fundamentally custom, the *mores* of a people. It is a body of conduct which is in constant motion, with an exalted advance-guard which few can keep up with and a debased rear-guard. In the substantial and central sense, morality means the conduct of the main body of the community." "The collective conscience in the shape of moral precepts, lays down the conventional code which must be open to change," says another great writer. The diversity of moral codes among different nations and at different stages of civilization proves that no moral precepts can be accepted as permanently unalterable. Of course, every nation considers its own code and its practices morally superior, if not perfect. Other nations are looked down upon by the measure of one's own national standards. A European Christian coming to the East very solemnly deploras the loose morality of the Hindus, Moslems and Buddhists, of the Chinese and the Japanese. Judging them by his own standards, he calls them names—barbarians, half-civilized, uncivilized, primitive, immoral, et cetera.

A Hindu or a Mussalman coming to Europe is shocked at the immorality of the white man. The fact is that the one is perhaps as much moral or immoral as the other.

A pious Christian feels highly indignant at what he considers the orgies of *Tantric* practices in India. As a matter of fact the vast bulk of the Indians know nothing of them or about them. The Christian critic fishes them out, either by laborious study of the *Tantric* literature, or by clever cross-examination of his native servants, who, in their turn, have used the amplifying process on what they have heard as stories. The Hindu or the Mohamedan visitor to Europe and America feels that the worst orgies of *Tantric* practices fall into the shade in comparison with what goes on in the all-night-clubs and other pleasure resorts of Paris, Berlin, London and New York. Similarly, a Japanese when lectured on the shocking immorality of an institution like the *Yoshiwara* of Tokio may well retort that the *Yoshiwara* is a much more moral institution than many nursing homes, and massage and bath parlours of London and New York.

When an oriental enters into a close study of sex conditions in Europe and America and hears it stated, on what appears to be unimpeachable authority, that between 75 and 90 per cent of the population of certain cities of these continents suffer or have suffered at one time or another, from venereal diseases, he begins to consider that compared with this the conditions in the Orient are those of bliss. He forgets, however, that while perhaps venereal diseases are not so rampant in the Orient as in the Occident, the other conditions of social life there are so unnatural and unsocial as to make life a hell, a thing to be despised rather than praised. The truth is that all judgments upon the morality of nations, other than our own, are, oftener than not, the result of prejudice, ignorance and conceit. We judge others by our standards, without the guarantee of our standards being the best and the most reasonable.

The history of the Hindus shows that the ideas of sexual morality prevailing at the time of the Mahabharata were in all probability somewhat different from those that were current in Vedic times, as they certainly are different from what subsequently developed first under

Brahmanic and then Moslem influences. The mere mention of the manner in which the great body of the Pandus and many other Epic heroes were ushered into existence would shock the sense of decency of a modern Hindu, man or woman. How deeply does a Hindu flush with indignation and shame when listening to the stories of loose sex relationships mentioned in the Puranas. Serious efforts are put forth to explain away their apparent meaning by a "series of esoteric interpretations that are read into them." I do not say that all the stories are historical facts or that they are true narrations of facts as they happened, nor can any one ignore the manifest symbolism that underlies at least some of them. Yet, after all has been said, it cannot be denied that these stories represent the ideas of morality that were current at the time when they were composed. It should at the same time by no means be forgotten that from hoary antiquity the race consciousness of the Hindu has rightly taken joyous pride in the ideal of the single-minded devotion of husband and wife to each other, even after the death of one of the two, as embodied in the stories of Shiva and Sati, Savitri and Satyavan, Nala and Damayanti, Vasishtha and Arundhati, and Sita and Rama.

I have dilated on this point at such length because I want to impress upon my countrymen that, whether looked at from the fundamental or from the historical point of view, there is nothing unnatural or shameful in our revising our ideas of sex morality much less in discussing what changes are needed in our marriage laws. By our attacks on the abominable institution of child-marriage, by our championing the right of the widow to remarry, by the insistence with which the social reformers have been running down polygamy and by the half-hearted and timid acknowledgment which we have accorded to the right of the parties to make their own choice of their mates, we have practically admitted the necessity of a revision of our ideas about the institution of marriage. The influences that have so far moulded our opinions on the subject are partly religious

and partly social. The glaring injustice of the situation which allowed a plurality of wives to the same man, had its share in moulding our opinion. There can be no manner of doubt that the existing inequalities between the rights of men and women, in the matter of marriage, sanctioned by law and custom, Hindu and Muhammadan, are indefensible. All efforts made to remove or at least lessen them must therefore be commended. What the social reformer has therefore so far attempted or achieved, deserves praise. But henceforth our attempts at social reform should be based on a fundamental scientific study of the subject of sex relations.

What we need is an independent study of principles and an independent application of them to our life. Blind imitation of what is going on in Europe and America would be as detrimental to progress as a blind acceptance of the notion that the Christian morality of marriage is the last word on the subject.

A scientific study of the whole question may reveal that there is much in our own customs that is worthy of being preserved or revived, as that there is much in the convention of Christian morality that deserves to be condemned and rejected. The whole question should be investigated on its merits, without any bias. But this last is more easily said than done. There are certain prejudices and biases which one has inherited, which are rooted deep down in his nature, which he has drunk with his mother's milk, which are part and parcel of his constitution. To throw them away and to divest one's self of them by force of will is not impossible, but extremely difficult. This is a feat which can be achieved by very few. These "very few" must be the van guard of the army of reform and reconstruction.

Social life in India must be reconstructed on a scientific basis. The struggle will be long and tiresome, but it must be faced by those who realise the importance of the issue. The pioneers will, as usual, be hunted down, denounced and attacked vehemently. But though wounded and lacerated, they must not falter. They must speak the truth and lead their countrymen on to

the paths of progress. Personally I lay no claims to speak on the subject with authority. I have not made a scientific study of it, nor do I possess the necessary qualifications for such a study. With my numerous other interests I have had no time even to make an exhaustive study of what has already been written and said on the subject by persons competent to pronounce opinions and propound theories. What I am attempting in this paper is to draw the attention of my countrymen to the urgent necessity of a thorough investigation of the matter before public opinion clarifies and tendencies take root, which it may afterwards require even greater labor to uproot. With these prefatory remarks I propose to make a few observations on the different points involved in the discussion of the subject, leaving my readers to pursue it in the pages of those authors who have written on it after a life-long study and who speak with the authority that is attached to original thinking and scientific research.

II

THE POSITION OF WOMAN IN INDIA

However much we may try to explain away ugly facts, it cannot be denied that the position of woman in India just now, and for some time past, has been very low, though it was higher in some past ages. The women of India, Hindu or Muhammadan, form a submerged class, though many of them justly wield great influence in the family circle and in society. The generality of women have been greatly depressed and their uplift is as necessary both from the moral and social points of view as that of the depressed classes. Yet I am afraid I cannot swallow all the talk that goes on about the equality of men and women. To me it seems that the people who talk of "equality" *per se*, lack exactness of thought and expression. Woman is woman and man is man. To say that both are absolutely equal in every respect is nonsense, pure and simple. Why, woman is superior to man in several respects. No man can stand comparison with woman in the latter's capacity to love absolutely, disinterestedly, loftily, devotedly, to

mother, to heal and cure, to comfort and solace, to sacrifice and give, to efface herself and to suffer. The stream of kindness and love that flows from her bosom, the creativeness that is her function in life, these alone put her head and shoulders above man. On the other hand, in his spirit of masterfulness, in his physical capacity to fight and to endure, in his ability to rule, to conquer nature and also his fellowmen, man is decidedly superior to woman.

In his collection of "Essays in War Time" (1917) Havelock Ellis devotes one essay to "The mental differences of men and women" and notices the "contradictory and often extravagant opinions" that are maintained on the subject. Many assume that there are no mental differences between men and women, but there are others for whom the mental superiority of man at every point is an unquestionable article of faith. There are others again who hold that "the predominance of men is an accident, due to the influence of brute force, let the intelligence of women have free play and the world will be straightened out." He then proceeds to discuss the question on "a fairly sound and rational basis", and says

"At the outset there is one great fundamental fact always to be borne in mind, the differences of the sexes in physical organization. That we may term the biological factor in determining the sexual mental differences. A strong body does not involve a strong brain, nor a weak body a weak brain, but there is still an intimate connection between the organization of the body generally and the organization of the brain, which may be regarded as an excessive assemblage of delegates from all parts of the body. Fundamental differences in the organization of the body cannot fail to involve differences in the nervous system generally, and especially in that supreme collection of nervous ganglia which we term the brain. In this way the special adaptation of woman's body to the exercise of maternity, with the presence of special organs and glands subservient to that object, and without any important equivalents in man's body, cannot fail to affect the brain. It is not, we must remember, by any means altogether the exercise of the maternal function which causes the difference, the organs and aptitudes are equally present even if the function is not exercised, so that a woman cannot make herself a man by retraining from child-bearing."

He considers the differences in the muscular systems of men and women also fundamental. "Even in savages, among whom the women do most of the muscular work, they seldom or never exceed the men in strength." In civilization, even under the influence of careful athletic training, women are unable to compete muscicularly with men, and it is a significant fact that on the variety stage there are few "strong women."

Whatever the cause may be, the resulting difference is one which has a very real bearing on the mental distinction of men and women. It is well ascertained that what we call "mental fatigue" expresses itself physiologically in the same bodily manifestation as "muscular fatigue." He then proceeds to quote facts which have been ascertained by a comparative study of figures supplied by the records of Insurance and Sick Benefit Societies and finds that women are tired out more easily than men and that consequently their work is less valuable.

Discussing the greater precocity of girls, he observes that precocity "is a quality of dubious virtue. It is frequently found, indeed, in men of the highest genius, but on the other hand it is found among animals and among savages, and is here of no good augury. In the comparison of girls and boys, both as regards physical and mental qualities, it is constantly found that while the girls hold their own, and in many respects more than hold their own, with boys up to the age of fifteen or sixteen, after that the girls remain almost or quite stationary, while in the boys the curve of progress is continued without interruption."

Discussing another aspect of the biological factor in the bearing of heredity on the question, Mr. Ellis characterizes the conviction of some men that women are not fitted to exercise various social and political duties, and the conviction of some women that men are a morally inferior sex, as absurd, for they both rest on the assumption that women do not inherit from their fathers, nor men from their mothers. From the biological factor he

descends to the historical factor and observes:

"We are prone to believe that the particular status of the sexes that prevails among ourselves corresponds to a universal and unchangeable order of things. In reality this is far from being the case. It may, indeed, be truly said that there is no kind of social position, no sort of avocation, public or domestic, among ourselves, exclusively pertaining to one sex, which has not at some time or in some part of the world belonged to the opposite sex, and with the most excellent results."

He cites several examples, one of which is worth reciting here:

"In some parts of Africa a woman never touches a needle, that is man's work and a wife who can show a neglected rent in her petticoat is even considered to have a fair claim for a divorce."

He sums up his conclusions thus:

"When we attempt to survey and sum up all the variegated facts which science and practical life are slowly accumulating with reference to the mental differences between men and women, we reach two main conclusions. On the one hand there is a fundamental equality of the sexes. It would certainly appear that women vary within a narrower range than men—that is to say, that the two extremes of genius and idiocy are both more likely to show themselves in men. This implies that the pioneers in progress are most likely to be men. That indeed may be said to be a biological fact. On the other hand, the mental diversity of men and women is equally fundamental. It is rooted in organization. The well-intentioned efforts of many pioneers in women's movements to treat men and women as identical, and, as it were, to force women into masculine moulds are both mischievous and useless. *Women will always be different from men, mentally as well as physically.* It is well for both sexes that it should be so. It is owing to these differences that each sex can bring to the world's work various aptitudes that the other lacks. It is owing to these differences also that men and women have their enduring charm for each other. We cannot change them, and we need not wish to."

The conclusions arrived at by Mr. Ellis, who is one of the greatest authorities on the question, are so manifestly sound and sensible as to seem conclusive. I accept them for myself and commend them to the consideration of my fellow-countrymen. I have made these lengthy quotations because I want my countrymen to avoid the mistakes which they are likely to make if

they accept the identicalness of the sexes so often advocated by the champions of woman's rights. That does not imply that I am in any way opposed to the women's right to vote. Yet it is important that social reformers should have a clear grasp of the fundamentals

Whenever asked about the relative positions of the sexes in India, I have always said that although now and in the centuries immediately preceding the present the position of woman in India has been inferior to man, it was not always so

REPUBLICAN TRADITION IN INDIAN POLITY

INTRODUCTION

REPUBLICS in ancient India! How fantastic! 'Indians are par excellence a religious people. They never cared for politics.' That is the common belief about India. Whereas the official view is that 'Republican or Parliamentary forms of government were neither desired nor known in India till after the British Rule,'* as a matter of fact India had her own political philosophy, political systems and political institutions at a time when the forerunners of modern political philosophers were not yet born.

The Hindus attached very great importance to Political Science. Kautilya divided Science (knowledge) into four groups, assigning the highest place to Political Science which included Varta (economics) and Danda-niti (politics, the Science of Government). The Manavas thought Philosophy, Economics, and Politics exhausted all knowledge. The School of Vishvaspati held that the only thing worth knowing was the Science of Economics and Politics. The School of Upanas went still further and proclaimed that there is only one Science and that is Political Science.

Evidently the Hindus held Political Science in very high estimation. The Mahabharata says "All the forms of public duty are realised in politics, all the forms of sacraments are united in politics, the whole human race takes part in politics" [Mbh. S. P. 63-29]. And Sukra writes "Niti-sastra (political science) is useful to all men and is the means of the preservation of human society. It is the spring of virtue, wealth, happiness, and salvation. By learning Political Science rulers can be victorious over foes and loving and conciliatory towards subjects and become conversant with the art of statecraft" [Sukraniti, Ch. I. sl. 8-13]. Whereas Kamandaka said that all ancient political thinkers agree on this point that political science teaches the ruling-class how to acquire and maintain a territory.

As regards the schools of political thought we

* The Rowlatt "Sedition Committee" Report, G. O. I. publ., 1918, Clt.

have the most trustworthy opinion of Dr. F. W. Thomas, who says "It is clear that in, say, the fourth and the fifth century, B. C., the subject of royal policy [*rajaniti* or statecraft] was a recognised topic. The schools are the Manavas, Barhaspatyas, Ausanasas, Ambhiyas (no doubt, of Taxila) and Patasaras, and the individuals Bharadvaja, Visalaksha, Pisuna, Kaunapadanta, Vataiyadhi, and Bahudanti-putra." [A Brihaspati Sutra. Le Museon, Mars, 1916]. The opinions and theories of these Political Philosophers are quoted in contrast with Kautilya's own theories, in the Arthashastra, which is the work of Chandragupta's Chancellor belonging to the fourth century B. C. Later on their political ideas were popularised by Manu, Vyasa, Sukra, Yajñavalkya, Kamandaka, Somadeva, Nilakantha, and other mediaeval political thinkers down to the times of the rise of Maharashtra power when Ramadasa propounded the political theories and Shivaji and the Peshwas made constitutions, which, in themselves, are mines of information for students of political institutions. Political thinking was in progress up to the last days of the 18th century, in the South Indian States, several of these comparatively modern political treatises having recently been discovered.

About the Political Science of the Hindus, Dr. F. W. Thomas has made a prophetic observation: "This Indian Science may claim no ordinary place in the history of culture." It is our belief, too, that it will enrich Political Science and throw more light on the subject which is of such a vital importance to the human race.

The political ideas of Indian philosophers read in the light of modern political science appear so modern that one might well be reluctant to believe that they were propounded a century before Plato was born, by the thinkers of a race which is considered as entirely devoid of political genius or indifferent to secular knowledge, being absorbed in religious contemplation or metaphysical speculation.

But the fact is that they seem to have conceived of all possible theories of Sovereignty—

some of which are indeed very unique. They did not hesitate even to admit that there was once upon a time Anarchy "when the people of this world were trembling through fear from all sides" [Manu, VII 3]. And men's sense of justice having been destroyed, "they laid hands on the property of others" and lived "rather in an anarchic manner." The authors of the Mahabharata further add that they had heard of "a people who lived without a king and was perishing because men were devouring each other like fishes" [Mbh XII 59 10ff & 67 4ff]. That "at first there was neither king nor kingdom nor Law, nor one to enforce the Law." Therefore "they came together and made a compact (among themselves) to wit, a brawler, a bully, an adulterer and a thief should be made an outcast, declared an outlaw" [Mbh XII 65 67 17ff]. Thus, in the words of Dr Thomas "the origin of royalty is the growth of wickedness and the necessity of chastisement, the virtue of which the Indian writers celebrate with real enthusiasm." The growth of wickedness and abhorrence of the "state of nature" which gave rise to the so-called unhistorical "social contract," also lead to Manu's contract theory. It is said that men were soon dissatisfied with the social contract, so they made a political contract with "Manu", the so-called Hindu patriarch. They requested him to be their king, he was very reluctant to take upon himself the responsibility, and consented to take charge of the state affairs on their promising to pay him one tenth of their grain and certain other taxes. This contract with Manu was based on the clear understanding of mutual advantage and reciprocity. "That relation is, in a word, trade, as is often candidly said, of so much moveable property for so much protection" [E W Hopkins, J A O S XIII].

The earliest reference to a political contract between the ruler and the ruled is to be found in Kautilya's Arthashastra which is a work of the first decade of the fourth century B C. or thereabout. Kautilya says, when people got tired of living in an anarchic state, big fishes devouring smaller, as it were, they made Manu their king, to whom they gave one sixth of the grain, one-tenth of the merchandise, saying 'this is a tax payable to him who protects us'. Living upon this revenue, Manu undertook to protect the people and maintain their safety and security, and to be answerable for their sins whenever the law was violated and the offender not punished. [Artha Text, Bk I, Ch 13, p 22-23].

The obligation on the part of the sovereign to protect the person and property of the people was carried so far that "where the goods of a merchant were stolen and the thief was not caught and the goods not recovered, the owner was to be compensated by the king, because according to Manusmṛiti the sovereign who receives remuneration from the people, as

agreed upon, is bound to fulfil his obligations towards the people [VIII 144]. And it was the people who enforced the contract. It is expressly laid down in the Mahabharata that "people ought to kill the rascal of a king who does not protect them" [XIII 69 32, 33]. As a corollary of this mutual-advantage-compact the identification between the ruler and the ruled went so far that the king was said to share the sins of the subjects and vice versa. The Mahabharata said *yadiso raja tadriso janah* "as is the king so are the subjects" [XI 8 32]. Even Kautilya, the Indian Machiavelli of the fourth century B C, admitted "In the happiness of his subjects lies his happiness, in their welfare, his welfare" [Arthashastra].

According to the Wage theory or the *Vetan* theory the sovereign receives wages from the people who tell him "we give you fines, forfeitures and taxes as wages (*Vetan*) [and they] shall constitute your revenue" [Mbh S P 61 10]. The king "though master in form (was) the servant of the people getting pay in the form of taxes, and that (was paid) him for the protection (of the people), under all circumstances" [Sukraniti I 88].

Whereas according to the Trust theory the sovereign is the *Vittarakṣi* (preserver of wealth), the national trustee, to whom the realm is entrusted as a trust, and "if the object of trust is not carried out, the trustee is to be shunned like a leaky ship" [Mbh S P 57 13].

Equally remarkable is the Elective theory, according to which the people "with one mind" elect one, from amongst themselves, as the head of the state, in an assembly, addressing him. The whole people want you (to take charge of the state affairs). Do not fail from the state you the people elect to rulership" [Ath V III 1 5]. Carpenters and other manual workers are specially mentioned as taking part in the election of the king.

The kingship was not confined to any particular class or family. There have been Sudra kings also, although ordinarily Kṣatriyas are called the ruling caste. An individual was elected for his personal qualities. Kings were elected even for life or one generation or a few generations. Among some peoples personal beauty was considered as the primary or the sole qualification for kingship. The Greek writer Onecritus has said that among the Cetheans (Kṣatriyas) of "the Punjab" and "their neighbours" of the principality of Saupatī (the region of Guddaspur and Amritsar) personal beauty was held in such estimation that kings were chosen for this quality. This interesting fact is corroborated, also, by the Buddhist writers who mention beauty as the chief quality of the elect. [Rouse's Jataka, Vol II, p 242—The Uluka Jataka. Senart's Mahavastu Avadanam, Vol I, pp 347].

The Hindu conception of the State and its function is most remarkable. No State could be a

complete State unless there were seven constituent parts present in it Sovereign, Ministers, People or Territory, Fort or Capital, Treasury, Army and Allies The primary duty of the State was the acquisition of wealth and its distribution among the deserving (poor) people [Kamd I 21] The wealthy were to be taxed first [Mbh] The taxes were only taken for use in people's interests" *prajanamevabhutyartham sa tebhyo valm agiahit* Articles of luxury and those injurious to the State were to be discouraged The State was to own mines and factories, [Artha] because, trade and industry uphold the community and the State exists for the good of the community [Mbh]

THE DISCOVERY OF REPUBLICS

It was in 1903 that Professor Rhys Davids wrote, casually "In those parts of India which came very early under the influence of Buddhism we find, still surviving, a number of small aristocratic republics" And he also added "The earliest Buddhist records reveal the survival, side by side, with more or less powerful monarchies, of republics with complete or modified independence" [Buddhist India, pp 19 and 20]

The same year Mr Vincent Smith published a paper of immense geographical interest, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, in which, with the help of a map he located the ancient republics of the Punjab The 'Maloi' republic in the Jhang district and the north-eastern portion of Montgomery, the 'Oxydrakai' republic along the bank of the Bias—the modern districts of Amritsar, Gujdaspur, Kangra and Hoshiapur, the 'Kathairoi' on the eastern bank of the Ravi, above Lahore

Ten years later a discussion arose between Drs Fleet and Thomas, which was carried on for nearly three years, in the J R A S, concerning the significance and exact meaning of the compound word Malava-Gana-Sthitya In concluding the controversy Dr F W Thomas conclusively proved that, the Sanskrit word Gana does not mean "tribe" or "corporation" but it refers to the "existence in ancient India of cities and tribes 'not ruled by kings,' but having republican or rather oligarchical constitution" Then he adds, "Precisely the evidence required has been supplied by Mr Jayaswal evidence for the use of gana in a definite political sense, which he renders by *republic*" The evidence referred to was embodied in a paper which Mr Kasiprasad Jayaswal wrote in Hindi, for the Hindi Sahitya Sammilan, 1912, and I translated it for the Modern Review, 1913, under the title of 'An Introduction to Hindu Polity' The brief yet extremely important and highly convincing evidence produced by Mr Jayaswal is a landmark in the study of the political institutions of the Hindus It is regrettable that in spite of the copious references in Sanskrit literature to republics and the evidence of Greek writers, the

subject has not engaged the attention of oriental scholars and political philosophers, to any serious extent

THE EVIDENCE OF GREEK WRITERS

The ancient Greek authorities testify to the existence of Republics, in Northern India, particularly in the Punjab, Sindh, and Malava, immediately before and after Alexander's expedition The notices of the Greek writers are based on their own observation and firsthand information, and as they were familiar with republican states and democratic institutions in their own country their observations command our serious consideration, and are conclusive evidence to corroborate and support my conclusions, which are mainly based on Sanskrit and Pali authorities, and epigraphic and numismatic records

Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador in Chandragupta's court (B C 302) mentions [in his Frag 9] that 453 kings had ruled in Magadha during 6042 years from the time of 'Dionius' to that of 'Sandrokottos' (Chandragupta), "and amongst these a republic was thrice established" And, after many generations, says he, "the monarchy was dissolved and 'democratic' government was established in the cities" Then, he gives some examples of republican peoples of his own day "Malticorae, Singhae, Maiorhae, Basingae, and Marani," says he, "are free, have no kings, and occupy mountain heights where they have built many [free] cities" Referring to Megasthenes, Professor Hopkins remarks "Megasthenes plainly implies that 'self-ruled cities' in distinction from cities governed by kings, were common in his day" [J A O S, XIII, p 136]

Arrian writes that the tribes called Abastonoï, Kathroi (Khatris or Ksatriyas), and Arahitai* (presumably Arora Khatris) were quite independent peoples Evidently they had no kings About the Nasains he expressly says that they were an independent people whose government was carried on by an aristocracy at the head of which was a president He refers also to Maloi as "a race of independent Indians," and speaks of the Oxydrakai (Ksudrakas) as passionately in love with freedom which they preserved for a long time, until Alexander's expedition [McCrindle, "Ancient India", pp AE-G, G, — G-A, GLO, C, O, pp 79-81, 149, 154-156, 167 & 350-1]

Curtius describes the Oxydrakai as an independent tribe with leaders, Sabarcae as "a powerful Indian tribe whose form of government was 'democratic' and not regal", Cedrosi as a free people with a council for discussing important matters [Ibid, pp 167-9, 262]

* Arahitai or Adsaistae of Arrian, Lessen is inclined to identify with *Arastra*—the kingless people spoken of in Sanskrit literature, particularly in the Mahabharata

Diodorus [CIV] describes the Sambastai as dwelling in cities with a democratic form of government. As an example of a democratic City State he mentions Patala, which he describes as "a city of great note with a political constitution drawn on the same lines as the Spartan, for in this community the command of war was vested in two hereditary scions of two houses, while the council of elders ruled the whole State with paramount authority" [McCrindle, pp 2, 292, 296, n 356, 57, 4]. He also speaks [XVII 103, 1] of a Brahmanical Republic. "A city of Brahmanas had to be stormed whilst the operations against the Sambus were going on." This remarkable instance of the City Republic of Brahmanas is also referred to by Arrian [VI 16, 5], and stands by itself, as apart from the fact that Alexander was faced by the stubborn opposition of the republics of the Sindh valley, during his retreat. Brahmanas persuaded the Republicans to fight to the last in order to preserve their independence. And Greek writers mention, too, that Brahmanas dissuaded the "free people" from coming to terms with Alexander at the cost of their freedom.

The republican tribes, the Maloi, Katharoi and Oxidrakai were the most formidable opponents of Alexander [V Smith, E H I 94]. It is the Maloi republicans who inflicted a severe wound on Alexander [Arrian]. The Maloi and Oxidrakai submerged their differences and united (though too late) to offer a national opposition to Alexander. The army of the Oxidrakai (Ksudraka) Republic was estimated as being 80,000 foot, 10,000 horses and 700 chariots, by no means a small unit for that age [400 B C] and for so small a republic. However, the isolation and extreme independence of these Republics was then besetting sin, which made them an easy prey to Alexander and Chandragupta.

MODERN AUTHORITIES

Mr Vincent Smith in his *Early History of India* [1914, Pp 286] says "The Punjab, the Eastern Rajputana and Malawa were for the most part in possession of tribes or clans living under republican institutions. The Yaudheya tribe occupied both the banks of the Sutlej, while the Madrakas held the central part of the Punjab. In Alexander's time those regions were similarly occupied by autonomous tribes, Maloi, Katharoi [Oxidrakai, Xatharoi, Sambastai, Cedrosi, and Nasains] and so forth." Then he adds, that other republican states which he calls 'autonomous tribes,' were the Arjunas, Malavas and Abhiras [Ambhiyas?], settled in the Eastern Rajputana and Malawa. Mr Smith maintains that presumably there were also "autonomous tribes and nations" in the south, "beyond the Narvada."

I have had the good fortune of seeing the proofs of some of the latest investigations of

Mr Edwyn Bevan into Greek notices about ancient India, and Dr F W Thomas' research concerning the age of Chanakya and Chandragupta. And I am able to give here some references, with their kind permission, although their own essays have not yet been published. Mr Bevan says "The country [the Punjab and North-Eastern Frontier] as we see it, is held [immediately before and after Alexander's expedition, 4th century B C] partly by a number of independent tribes, governed by their own headmen and owing authority to no king. But this republican type of community is holding its own with difficulty against another type of government, the monarchic." Since Mr Bevan has publicly noticed "In ancient India the village community may have had a more or less democratic character, and perhaps the tribes noticed by the companions of Alexander as being 'without kings' may have been governed by the general will of the tribesmen" [The New Europe, 11 July, 1918].

Dr F W Thomas, who to my mind, is the one of the foremost, acutest and most profound students of Sanskrit literature living, says, in one of the two chapters he has contributed to the forthcoming Cambridge History of India "The Vedas afford evidence of tribes in which authority was exercised by a family or even by a whole body of nobles who were actually designated kings [rajanah] (Zimmer, *Alt Leb* p 166-7). Of such ruling oligarchies the age of the Buddha furnishes, as is well known, a number of examples such as were the Mallas of Kusinara and Licchavis of Vaisali. To these oligarchical communities the growth of the large kingdoms proved destructive. At the time of Alexander's invasion they had largely disappeared from Eastern Hindustan and in the Punjab also Porus was working for their subjugation." Alexander's invasion accelerated their destruction. Kautilya devised a unique method for their overthrow. "Nevertheless," says Dr Thomas, "a number of them survived through and after the Maurya empire and one of them, that of the Malavas, gave to India its present era, the so-called Vikram era," which dates from the constitution of the Malava Republic, *Malava-gana-sthitaya* [58 B C].

On the whole Dr Thomas is inclined to render the word Gana by 'governing body,' 'senate' or a 'council of powerful families.' In holding this view he is in the company of some of the very eminent Oriental scholars, such as Prof Foy who believed Gana meant a 'village assembly' [Die Königliche Gewalt p 20 n 1] and Prof Jolly who presumed that the word gana was used for 'local committees' or 'courts.' It is quite likely that these continental savants might be prepared to change their views, in the light of recent research. However, with due deference to these authorities, I venture to suggest that they are as far from the real meaning of the word Gana as Dr Fleet, who latterly

translated Gana by tribe, formerly rendered the compound *gana-siestha* into 'leader of the assemblage' [Corpus Inscriptionem Indicarum, III, p 291 n 3] and even in the last controversy admitted that the Sanskrit word Gana "obviously has to be translated exactly in each particular case according to the context" [J R A S, 1915, p 138-40]

The sense in which Gana is used in the Santi-Parva (107), Sangha in the Arthashastra (Bk XI) and Ganarajani in the Acaranga-sutta (II 3 1 10) can give no other meaning but a system of government or a political community, that is to say, a community which had no king and in which the government was carried on by the will and the participation of the people themselves, who elected their leaders and officials

REFERENCES TO REPUBLICS IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

In Sanskrit literature Gana and Sangha are two synonyms for Republics. The word *sangha* seems to have been used largely by Buddhist writers, and it seems the orthodox Brahmanical authors, latterly, came to make less frequent use of the word *sangha*, which the Buddhists practically monopolised for monastic order, their spiritual republic or fraternity, and the pandits used the word *gana* more frequently

Mr K P Jayaswal was inclined to suggest that *Sangha* having been, more or less, exclusively employed by the Buddhists, pandits used, instead, the word Gana for republic. But, however plausible this explanation might appear, there is not sufficient evidence to prove that the word *Sangha* was altogether boycotted by Brahmins, because of its association with the Buddhists. As a matter of fact, we find both the words used in Sanskrit, long before the Buddhist period as well as after it. Gana was used by Panini [III 35 6, IV 3 54, IV 4 84, V 2 52, V 4 73]. So that we cannot say that Gana was invented or exclusively used, instead to avoid the use of *Sangha*. Again, the word *sangha* itself has often and repeatedly been used by orthodox Brahman writers, even long after it was associated with the Buddhists. It occurs in the Mahabharata [Santi-Parva, 107, 3970, 71, 88]. Mallinath uses *sangha* in his commentary on Yajnavalkyasmṛiti [Ch 8, sl 219-20]. In short both the words are used in Sanskrit literature often indiscriminately, but as a rule in slightly different senses. Sometimes *gana* is used almost technically, for 'political community', a people, and *sangha* for 'republic', a state. *Gana* is also used for a republican or republicans, just as *sangha* is used for a republican state or states.

Prof Buhler translated both these words by corporation and guild. And to my great astonishment even a distinguished Sanskrit scholar like Sham Sastri, the discoverer and translator of Arthashastra, accepts Prof Buhler's

rendering. I wish Pandit Sham Sastri had duly considered the context where and in what connection Kautilya uses the word *Sangha* which is said to mean corporations. It can conclusively be proved that Kautilya never used it for guilds but for Republics, which he even classified, and located. However, as this is no occasion to enter into a controversy, I will simply point out the key which has solved this problem of profound interest and historical importance. In the text of the Acaranga Sutta [II 3 1 10, the Text of the Pali Text-society, 1882] the Jain Saint Kevalin advises Jain monks and nuns, while on pilgrimage, to avoid passing through the countries or territories 'where-there-is-no-king' (*arayani*), 'where-everybody-is-king' (*Ganarayani*), where 'heir-apparent' is *de facto* king (*juvarayani*), where there are 'two-kings' (*dorayani*), where there is a weak government or sovereignty is disputed (*vimaddharayani*) and where there is anarchy (*irajai*). This is a list of numerous types of states known to or conceived of by the Jain writers. The word that we are concerned with and that supplies us the key is 'Ganarayani', which is a form of government, a state in which 'every-body-is-king' that is to say where the government is carried on by the whole community, every member ruling all and being ruled by all, collectively. And this is true only of one system of government, e.g., Republican. The meaning of the word *gana* is unmistakable, clearly distinguishable from a kingless country or anarchy [Ac S II 3 1]

Having dealt with the meaning of Gana and Sangha, I return to their use in Sanskrit literature [Rig Veda (5 66 6)]—सुखात् according to Sayan means सुखात् 'one's own rule', 'self-rule' "May we strive for our own rule," so the Rishis pray]. In the Atareya Brahmana [VII 3 14] where the Great Coronation is described, Bhoja and Svarat (one's-own-state) constitutions are mentioned. In the same connection it is said that Uttara Kurus and Uttara Madras had Vairajya or kingless states, and that among them the whole community was consecrated to rulership. It also adds that the monarchy was to be found only in the Middle Country, in the East, the Doab of the Ganga and the Jamuna.

Patanjali in his Mahabhasya [IV 1 84] compares Ganapati, the president of a republic, with Rastrapati, the king. Panini also speaks of Ganapati [IV 1 84 and XVII 5 167, 39] and Ganapada.

In the Mahabharata the word Gana is distinctly used for a political community, which was autonomous and owed no allegiance to any monarch and managed its own affairs. For instance, the Santi-Parva [Ch 107, sl 3956 to 3989] deals with Ganas, Republics. In which the characteristics, strength and weakness of the Ganas and the policy to be adopted, by a king, towards them, is discussed. In the opening

lines of this most remarkable chapter Yudhisthira tells Bhishma, 'you have told me all about the social structure, Law, Economics, Politics (royal policy), kings, their duties, ministers, treasury and army, etc., now tell me something about the *ganas* (the republicans) What are their chief characteristics? What is the cause of their success and prosperity? Wherein does their strength lay? How do they secure allies and how do they overcome their enemies?' Yudhisthira was told that unity, collective action, secrecy in the affairs of the state and faith in their leaders were their great virtues. The republicans were very cultured, orderly and law-abiding. They were always anxious to render assistance to one another or even to outsiders. Those republicans who were rich, strong, versed in military science and learned in the Sastras were always ready to help those overwhelmed with difficulties or in distress. On account of their unity and strength "even foreigners sought their friendship." And it was suggested to King Yudhisthira by Bhishma that if a monarch wished to destroy a neighbouring republic he should excite jealousy and create differences among the republicans and corrupt their leaders through spies, by offering them bribes and by prying into their secrets.

Kautilya, in his *Arthashastra*, devotes a chapter [Bk XI 160-61] to *Sangha* (republics). In this most remarkable chapter he suggests the methods how to destroy the Republics, in order to enlarge and consolidate the Maurya Empire. As the Chancellor of Chandragupta he seems to have carried into practice his Machiavellian policy against the innocent Republics. He employed spies to sow seeds of dissension among the republicans and to misguide their youth. He sent spies to their assembly halls and taverns in the guise of astrologers to win the confidence of a republican leader and foretell his future, that he was destined to be a king. So that he may try to establish a monarchy. And then Kautilya advises his master that "to those (leaders) who are thus prevailed upon (by the spies) he should send men and money for the purpose of winning over other (royal) partisans." He sent agents, provocateurs to become citizens of republics so that they may betray their secrets and provoke wars between different republics and neighbouring monarchies. Kautilya had no scruples to employ harlots, dancers and actresses, in his secret service, who were to "excite love in the minds of the republican leaders," and in the ensuing affray the spies may do their work and declare "Thus has he been killed in consequence of his love." It seems Kautilya was convinced that in order to consolidate and strengthen the Maurya Empire it was necessary to eliminate the republics of northern India. He was aware of their inability to offer a united national opposition to Alexander. Nevertheless, it appears from the opening lines of his discourse on the

republics [Bk XI, Ch I, p 376, text] that he did recognise the power of republics, as he expressly says, "The acquisition of the help of republics is better than the acquisition of an army of (a royal) ally." Therefore he advises his master Chandragupta, "to secure and utilise the services of those republics which, on account of their union, are invincible to the enemy and are favourably disposed towards himself."

Thus, we gather information about republics, in an indirect manner, from a strictly political treatise, which is the work of a statesman and minister, belonging to the 4th Century B C.

The *Ganas* (republicans) are spoken of as independent sovereign people, in Sanskrit literature, even when they are conquered, side by side with the monarchs meeting the same fate [Mbh II 1025]. Varahamihira speaks of republican-leaders (*gana-pungava*) along with kings (*nripati*) [IV 24], and of the president of a republic (*ganapa*) as against the king (*arajapala*) [XXXII 18]. Similarly, *Kathasaritsagara* speaks of *Gana-nayaka*, the leader of a Republic.

One very interesting as well as most remarkable fact is that the ancient Indian pandits feared and hated the republicanism almost as much as the governing classes of modern Europe (England included) fear the Bolsheviks. This fear and hatred of the ancients can be gathered from the way in which they refer to republicans. Gautama laid down that a republican as well as an incendiary, a publican, or a criminal, should not be invited to a public feast [XV 9 18]. He would even decline to take food offered by a republican [XV 18]. Manu, on the other hand, boycotts a priest living in a republican country [III 154]. And Yajnavalkya forbids a student to accept help from a miser, a thief, an usurer, a prostitute and the priest of the republicans [I 161]. While Varahamihira seems to have believed that Saturn, the evil star, presided over the destiny of old and ugly men, bird hunters, dealers in hogs and leaders of republicans [*Irishat-Samhita*, Ch XVI 33]. In what curious categories the Republicans of Ancient India have been placed by those whose authority they defied and whose prerogatives they did not recognise! Their love of freedom and faith in the equality of men and their inalienable right to govern themselves, which was their chief distinguishing feature, made them an object of hatred and fear both to the monarchs and the priests. On the one hand, like the European Junkers and Jingoists, the Hindu pandits and imperialists tried to suppress and discredit them, on the other hand, they were careful not to offend the Ancient Hindu Republicans. For instance, Yajnavalkya advises the king to punish those of his subjects who embezzled the money of the republicans and violated their constitution [II 187].

NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

"Amongst the most interesting monuments of Ancient India are few autonomous coins of peoples, cities and countries" [Cunningham, *Archæological Survey of India Report*, Vol XIV, p 135] "And, Cunningham rightly remarks, "they are of more interest and greater value than the numerous coins of kings and princes" For my thesis these coins are of paramount importance

Cunningham divides the "autonomous coins" into ten groups I propose to deal with seven sets of "autonomous coins" as numismatic evidence in my thesis The figures, symbols and legends which are on these coins, very clearly set them apart and distinguish them from the dynastic or monarchical coins which are so abundant in Museums There is a great deal of similarity between the figures and symbols of these republican coins No royal symbols, crowns or other paraphernalia of royalty appear on these coins, which bear the legends of a whole people, as in the case of the coins of the Yaudheyas or the Malavas, or of a city, as in the case of the coins of Eran and Ujjain, or of a country or territory, as in the case of the Odumbara coins and Janapada coins

Evidence derived from literature has shown us that there were republics so far back as the fifth century B C, and numismatic evidence brings them down to the fifth century A D Thus, they seem to have had a life of full one thousand years and more, in India, leaving behind them their shadow in the form of Panchayats, the village assemblies

1 THE YAUDHEYA COINS

The Yaudheya coins cover two periods and are of two sizes (i) The older (1st century B C) are smaller in size Their obverse bears an elephant and *dharma chakra*, the sacred wheel, and the reverse has a bull moving towards a pillar which has a garland pendent (ii) The later (3rd Century A D) are larger and have three different kinds of symbols and slight variations of legends (a) The first type shows on its obverse, a male figure standing with a spear in the right hand and the left hand on the hip, below the figure is a cock, the legend being "*jaya yaudheya ganasya*," 'victory to the yaudheya-republic' (b) The second and (c) third class of Yaudheya coins have two ordinal numerical adjectives, *dwi* [tīya] (second) and *tri* [tīya] (third), respectively

Thus are the coins of the second and third Yaudheya Republics distinguished from the first The reverse of all the three varieties shows one common figure a male figure in long garments (on the left) with the right hand up-raised before his face, and the left hand resting on the hip Some of them show a vase or a shell with a Buddhist symbol

2 THE MALAVA COINS

Several thousand Malava coins were discover-

ed at the ancient city of Nagar (45 miles south-east of Tonk and 15 miles south-west of Uniyai) All of these coins with the exception of one, have the legend "*Jaya Malavana*," "Victory to the Malavas" Out of this colossal number, only on one coin the word *Jaya* (Victory) does not appear

There are numerous symbols on the coins of the Malava Republic, the common and most important being (obverse) a recumbent bull surrounded by a circle of dots, a man's head (to the left) surrounded by circle of dots, a vase surrounded by dots, a lion moving to the left, (reverse) a tall tree and the legend, *Jaya Malavana*—Victory to the Malavas

3 THE SIBI COINS

The Sibis of the Sanskrit literature are the Sibi of Curtius and Sabœ of other Greek writers They occupied the country between Lahore and Multan

Only ten specimens of the Sibi coins have so far been discovered The obverse of these coins bears *Swastika* (cross symbol), with a small symbol in each angle On the right is a tree rising from within a rail The legend is very significant as it distinctly tells us that the coins are issued in the name of the Sibi people (Sibi-Janapada) *Majhimikaya Sibi Janapada*, "[coins] of the middle Sibi people, or nation"

4 THE ODUMBARA COINS

The region where Udumbara (ficus glomerata, Indian fig) tree grows is called Odumbara by Sanskrit writers and the people inhabiting that region Audumbaras Seven coins with word Odumbara, the only word of the legend left, were found at Pathankot (between the valleys of the Bias and the Ravi) And Udumbara tree has been found to grow in this district (Narapur), north-eastern Punjab

The obverse of these coins shows an elephant approaching a tree, and below is a snake The reverse bears a pyramidal temple of three storeys, to its left is the mystic symbol, *Swastika* and on the left is *Dharma-chakra*, the sacred wheel The date is the beginning of the first century B C

5 THE COINS OF THE CITY OF ERAN OR ERAKAINA

A few copper coins of the ancient city of Eran (Erakaina) on the bank of the Bina, which surrounds it on three sides, have been found amongst its ruins The site of the city is on the left or south bank of the Bina, 16 miles above its junction with the Betwa (50 miles N-E of Bhilsa and 45 miles W-N-W of Sagai) Its ancient name Erakaina appears on the Toraman inscription, on the coins themselves is Erakanya On the obverse of the coins there are three concentric circles and two circles divided into compartments, and above these circles is the name of the city These

semicircles evidently represent the city. It appears from the map of the old city (Arch. Sur., Vol. X, pl. 23) that the ground plan of the city was semicircular, enclosed in the bend of the river Bina. The reverse of the coins shows the Bodhi tree with *Swastika* (cross), a bull to the left and a snake above. A small square copper coin has (on the obverse) a bull, *dharmachakra* below, and the name of the city above, the reverse showing the *Swastika* and the bull similar to the one appearing on the coins of the city of Ujjain.

6 THE JANAPADA COINS

The word *janapada* is a most appropriate word in Sanskrit for a nation, people, community, the subjects or the masses, as opposed to sovereign or king. The legend on the Janapada coins is in Arian and Indian Pali: "*Rajna Janapada*" This evidently is equivalent to *rajyam janapadasya* in Sanskrit and Prakrit, and thus to my mind gives only one possible meaning "people's State", which must be a republic. Hence the coins "of Republic", and of "Royal country", as Cunningham suggests. The obverse of the coins has a male figure standing with the legend—"*rajna janapadasa*", the people's state—around it. The reverse shows a humped bull surrounded by a radiated circle.

7. THE COINS OF A BRAHMANICAL REPUBLIC

There are over three hundred coins, most curious and interesting numismatic finds, which to my mind are of great importance for students of Indian History. Cunningham having, apparently, been misled by the presence of the word *Yaudheya* in the legend of the silver coins, has included them in the list of the Yaudheya coins. I have ventured to extricate them from the parasitic position which they do not, in the least, deserve and have also some corrections to offer regarding the translations of the legends.

There are three legends on these coins which I think are the coins of a Brahmanical Republic: (1) *Bhagavato Swamina Brahmanya Yaudheya* (on silver coins) (2) *Bhagavato Swamina Brahmanya Devasya* (on most of the copper coins) (3) *Bhanu Varmma* (the rest is erased, on only one copper coin). Neglecting the presence of *Bhanu Varmma*, and introducing *Brahma*, I fail to see wherefrom Cunningham calls the coins "*Brahma Deva coins*" and wishes us to believe that this *Brahma Deva* was "worshipper of *Bhagavat*", who this particular deity *Bhagavat* is we do not know. To my mind *Bhagavat* is the name of the particular leader of the Brahmanic republic just as *Bhanu* is the name of another leader to whose period the coins belong. And *Deva* is as much the honorific suffix to a Brahman's name as *Varmma* is to that of a Ksatriya's. *Swami* in each case rightly means the master or leader, the president. In regard to the word *yaudheya*, which appears in one

legend, I venture to suggest that the Yaudheya republicans were so well known that *yaudheya* simply became a synonym for republicans. And even if we were to accept the view taken by Cunningham, that there was also a Brahmanic Yaudheya people, my main thesis holds good that these coins are of a kingless people, who evidently were republicans, having their own coins, an incontestable proof of their sovereignty. Thus the coins bear witness that there were "[coins] of *Bhagavat*, the leader of the Brahmanic Republic (*yaudheya*)" or "of *Bhagavat Deva*, the master of the Brahmanic (republic)," or "of *Bhanu Varmma*,"

In regard to the description or symbols of these extremely interesting coins, the obverse of the silver coins bears a six-headed male figure with a spear in the right hand, and the left hand, as usual, on the hip. The reverse shows a female figure, with right hand upraised, and the left on the hip. Below, on the left, is a vase and on the right the Bodhi tree surrounded by Buddhist railings, and a *chaitya* surrounded by *dharmachakra*, the sacred wheel. Round this group of figures is a circle of dots.

The copper coins are in a bad condition, otherwise, probably they would have thrown more light on the legends. Their workmanship is distinctly inferior. The obverse almost of all of them is the same, except that one of them, at a corner, shows a bird perching on the elbow of a male figure. All the copper coins do not agree in detail. However, the reverse of all of them has a deer in the centre, which has an "S"-shaped symbol between the horns. It is one of these coins that has the singular incomplete legend, in which *Bhanu Varmma* occurs, right in the centre, with a *chaitya* and *Swastika* above and a snake below.

SOME EXAMPLES OF REPUBLICS

Kautilya in his *Arthashastra* gives a list of twenty-six republics or republican communities, known to him. The most important of which were the republics of Anga, Magadha, Kasi, Kosala, Vriji, Kuru, Panchala, Avanti, Gandhara, Kamboja, Licchavis and Sakyas. He gives, too, in a cursory manner, prominent characteristics of some of them. For instance, he says, the republicans of Kamboja, *Surastra* and certain other provinces, being Ksatriyas, lived by military profession (*varta sastra upajinah*). Evidently, they belonged to military republic, bearing strong resemblance to the Swiss republicans of the Middle Ages, who were employed as soldiers by the warring races of Europe. And Licchavik, Vriji, Madrak and Kuru and Panchala republicans were so aristocratic or else so extremely democratic that every member of the community was called 'king' (*rajan*) [Artha Bk XI text, p. 376].

Out of these 26 republics some, formerly, were monarchies and some, later, reverted to that form of government. Anga, Chedi, Kasi, Kosal,

Kuru, Panchala and Gandhara, which were republics up to the time of Kautilya [4th century B C], are mentioned as republics in the Mahabharata [100 to 500 A D]. Similarly the ancient renowned kingdom Videha, the kingdom of Janaka, the father-in-law of Rama, was a flourishing republic in the Buddhist age.

The Sakya Republic consisted of one million citizens. They conducted their public business in an assembly where "young and old were alike present in their common Mote-Hall (Santhagara) at Kapilavastu." It was in this Assembly Hall that Ambatha sees them "where the Sakyas were then in session." "It was at such a parliament that King Pasendi's (Piassanadip's) proposition was discussed." The king of Kosala had proposed marriage alliance with the Sakyas. They discussed the proposition and "held it beneath the dignity of their clan" to form a matrimonial alliance with the royal family of Kosala. [Buddhist India, pp 19 and 11]. In the next century, in Kautilya's time, Kosal itself was a Republic and not a Monarchy. I wonder if this question of marriage alliance or the contempt of royalty on the part of these republicans had anything to do with this transformation of a monarchy into a republic!

The Sakyas used to elect one of their leaders as executive officer or president. He presided over their sessions, and officiated as the executive head of the state, the republic, bearing the title *raja*. We find two Sakya presidents specially mentioned, who, while out of office, were treated as ordinary citizens. Siddhodana, the father of the Buddha, is described as having been elected president. But he is spoken of also as a private citizen, when he is, evidently, out of office. Once, Bhaddiya, a young cousin of the Buddha, was elected president [Vin 2 181].

The Republic of Vaisali was a City Republic of an aristocratic people the Licchavis. This City Republic, also, formed part of the Vrijjan Confederacy, along with other seven republics, "which was afterwards defeated but not broken up by [king] Ajatasatru." "It was somewhere in Tirhut (modern Behar). It must have been a very flourishing place [state]." [Buddhist India, page 48 and the Jataka, I 389, 504, 3, 1]. The leading members of the Republic of Vaisali were called *raja*'s. Thus the Licchavis are said to have 7707 *rajas* or leaders*. This sounds as a mythical number. But Prof E W Hopkins [Journal of American Society, Vol XIII, p 136] quotes Lassen (Indische Alterthumskunde, II, pp 727 & 866) who says that the City Republic of Vaisali had a council of five thousand, each member provided one elephant, they had an *uparaja* or vice-president as state officer, under him was a commander-in-

chief of the army, they had a "book of customs" which, I venture to suggest, was their constitution and dealt also with constitutional law. Taking into consideration the laws "already enacted" and "ancient institutions" to which the Buddha pays such a warm tribute, and which I mention below, in the concluding part of this paper, it will be conceded to me, I hope, that my suggestion is not farfetched.

The Yaudheya Republic The discovery of Yaudheya Coins has supplied us with most reliable evidence regarding the Yaudheya Republic. The legend on their coins, *jaya yaudheya ganasya*—'victory to the Yaudheya Republic,' is the most conclusive proof of the existence and sovereignty of the Yaudheya Republic. Their coins can be grouped into three classes or periods. The second and third class of coins contain the additional words *Dwi* [*tiya*] second and *Tri* [*tiya*] third, respectively, in the legend, as qualifying *yaudheya*. I am inclined to suggest that the Yaudheya-Republic-coins belong to three periods of Yaudheya Republic. That is to say, the continuity of the Republic was disturbed and the Republic was established twice over again, hence the coins of the first, second and third Yaudheya Republics. Cunningham was of opinion that Yaudheyas were divided into three tribes, hence "second yaudheya" and "third yaudheya" coins. He could not produce any plausible evidence in his support. But, on the other hand, history supports my explanation of the "second" and "third" *yaudheya gana* coins. The Yaudheyas were first attacked by Alexander (326 B C), then by Rudradaman (150 A D) and for the third time by Samudragupta (350 A D). And we know that they still maintained their independence, as is evident from the fact that about the year 395 A D, Chandragupta II completed his conquest of Western India, "which involved the incorporation in the empire of the territory held by the Malavas and other tribes [the Yaudheyas], who had remained outside the limit of Samudragupta's dominion." [Early History of India, by V A Smith, p 291]. Thus we can clearly see three distinct periods of Yaudheya people's history, and evidently the coins belong to these three periods which are separated by three invasions.

There are copious proofs of their being an essentially military people. According to Panini "*ya*" is the suffix generally used to form singular and dual of nouns signifying military or warlike people. Greek writers also regarded them as "one of the most powerful people of India." They are said to have fought against Alexander with an army of 60,000 foot and 6,000 horse. Rudradaman in his Junagarh inscription speaks with a sense of pride that he "rooted out the Yaudheyas," though as a matter of fact he did nothing of the kind, he simply led an expedition against them and probably drove them further west. Anyhow it effected

* In his speech at the Congress of W's S's Councils Herr Ebert said, "the Republic must, to quote M. Jaures, be a nation of kings." D News 18-12-18

he second break in the continuity of the Yaudheya Republic. They seem to have taken not much time on re-establishing the Republic. Sumudragupta had again to lead an expedition against them (336 and 350 A D). And finally Chandragupta incorporated their territory within his empire.

As regard their correct geographical position it is very difficult to be very precise. Cunningham thinks that they must have been occupying "both the banks of the Sutlej along the Bahawalpur frontier; then territory must have extended much further to the north-east, as their coins are found all over the country as far as Ludhiana" [Arch. Sur., Vol. XIV, p. 140]. Their oldest coins have been found at the Behat, to the east of the Jamuna. But the notices of the Greek writers and the references to the Yaudheyas, in the Junagarh inscription (150 A D) and the Allahabad Pillar (470 A D), indicate that they occupied the country about the mouth of the Indus and were the neighbours of Malavas, Arjunayanas, and Abhiras. And I am of opinion that the Yaudheyas are the descendants of the Yadus (one of the five tribes of the Rigveda) and the Yadavas (of the Mahabharata). We learn from the Epics and the Puranas that Yadavas lived in the Western India, the modern Kathiawar and Gujarat, and that their capital was Dwaraka, in Kutch.

Like the Yaudheyas, Yadavas also were a warlike people. They took a prominent part in the Great War of the Mahabharata. And when the War was over their warlike spirit still remained and finally they exhausted themselves by a civil war. During the Great War the sympathy of their republican leader, the president, Krisna, was with the Pandavas, who, he thought, had the Right (dharma) on their side. Whereas the Yadavas threw all their national forces on the side of the Kauravas. Thus a most curious position arose. The leader, Krisna and his people the Yadavas were found in the opposite camps.

The Yadavas were a well known republican oligarchy. The presence of their president Krisna was objected to by Sisupala in the assembly of monarchs, on the ground that Krisna was not a king nor was of royal blood.

THE MALAVA REPUBLIC

The evidence concerning the existence of the Malava Republic is most convincing and satisfactory, coming as it is from two most reliable sources, numismatic and epigraphic.

It has now been fully recognised that the Hindu national era, the so-called Vikrama era, is really the legacy of a people called Malavas, who inhabited the western Rajputana. The find-spots of the coins, described above (p. 22), also indicate that roughly speaking the Malava territory extended between the Sutlej and the Narbada at one time or other.

There are three inscriptions which go to prove

two incontestable facts: (1) That there was a people called Malava who are responsible for the 'Vikrama era'. (2) That Malavas did not live under any monarchical form of government nor owed allegiance to any king but were republicans, ganas. The inscriptions in question are

(i) Malava-gana-sthitya—'from the republican constitution of the Malavas'.

(ii) Malava-gana-sthiti-vasat—'on account of (vasat) [from] republican constitution of the Malavas' [Mandasor inscription].

(iii) Malava-ganamana—'handed down traditionally by Malava tribe' [Dr Fleet's translation].

Even if Dr Fleet were to insist on translating gana by "tribe" in spite of its obvious and true meaning, which I have already discussed, and which Dr Thomas has so conclusively proved, in the J R A S (1914 to 1916), one fact is thoroughly established, namely, there was a people called Malavas who lived in Malava either giving their name to the country or were themselves called after the name of the country, and that they gave to India their National Era (which dates from 58 B C). The significance of a Republican Era in the History of India itself is very great. For the Malavas themselves it is of no less importance. Together with Malava coins, the republican era proves the independence and sovereignty of the Malavas. That is why (in the words of Dr Thomas) "the Malava gana issues official documents in its name," and puts their designation on their coins *jaya Malavana*, 'victory to the Malavas', which signifies "the actual non-existence of a superior, royal authority," over the Malavas.

A REPUBLICAN CONFEDERATION

True, the isolation of and lack of co-ordination between the republics made them an easy prey to Alexander and two Chandraguptas, yet there were some confederations of republican states, which, when united, became formidable foes of neighbouring monarchical states. Kautilya was quite cognisant of the fact that union between several republics made them invulnerable—*Sanghabhisanghatvat Adhrisyanaparesam* [Artha text, p. 376]. Similarly the Mahabharata also recognises the strength of the confederated republics [Mbh. S. P. 107.32].

One typical example of a Republican confederation, which may very well be compared with the Swiss Confederation as it stood before 1848, is given by Beal, in his translation of Hsien Tsiang's Buddhist Records [Vol. II, p. 77 ft. n.]. "The country of the Vrijijs or *Samvrijijs* [the united Vrijijs], was that of the confederated eight tribes of the people called Vrijijs."

* Gupta Inscriptions, Northern List No. 37 and 4, Mandasor Ins., and Indian Antiquary 1913, p. 161. J R A S 1905, p. 233, 1907, p. 171, and Malava-gana controversy in J R A S 1914-1916.

or Vajjis, one of which, viz, that of the Licchavis, dwelt at Vaisali. They were republicans, they were a confederation of Northern tribes who had at an early date taken possession of this part of India. They were driven back [from modern Behar] by Ajatashatru, king of Magadha" [Compare also Cunningham *Anc. Geog.*, p. 449, and *Sacred Books of the East*, XI m ss.]

THE CONCLUSION

The Buddha founded his Sangha, the monastic order or the spiritual republic, on the model of the republican constitution and adopted their rules of deliberations and election of office bearers of the order. He had unbounded admiration and reverence for the Republics of his time. Once, he said to his disciple Ananda "So long as the Vajjians hold full and frequent assemblies, so long may they be expected not to decline but to prosper. So long, Ananda, as the Vajjians meet together in concord, and rise together in concord and carry on their undertakings in concord, so long as they enact nothing not already established, abrogate nothing that has been already enacted, and act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Vajjians, so long may Vajjians be expected not to decline but to prosper" [The Dialogues of the Buddha, S B E, p. 32].

In spite of the prophetic hypothesis of the Buddha, the Republics did, in the course of time, disappear from Northern India, as did the Buddhism. They disappeared partly on account of their obvious inherent shortcomings, and partly owing to historic and political reasons, the rise of the Maurya and Gupta Empires.

The causes of their disappearance will be dwelt with, in detail, in my next paper, where I propose to deal with their constitution, procedure, and the types to which they belonged. However, I cannot help making an observation here that the Republics of India and Greece disappeared almost simultaneously.

The republicanism of India was not a superstructure, above and beyond the life of the people. The people, young and old, even women, took part in the deliberations, legislation and administration. "The State [the Republic] constantly exercised the co-operation of the villagers, including women, who were proud to take an active part in public affairs" [Buddhist India, p. 49]. The people elected their own office-bearers, the Executive, the President and the vice-president in some cases they elected even the Commander-in-chief of the army from amongst themselves or from some particular family.

The connection between the local and the central government, in every respect, was well established, the local governments, the village communities and municipalities were modelled after the central government, the Republic. "Besides the Mote-Hall at the metropolis there were several minor halls in the towns and other

important places, as also in every village where the people did their share of government administrative business" [Buddhist India, p. 2]. The Maurya emperors adopted this centralisation from the Republics. Kautilya even laid out the plan of the villages, on an imperial basis. The group of villages were to be little imperial units, just as the republican villages were little republics in themselves [Artha Bk II, p. 46]. The municipal government of Pataliputra was the model of local government of the Empire. The Maurya Emperors linked the whole realm by excellent highways and made their viceroys answerable to the central government. There were well-arranged provinces, districts and sub-districts through which inspecting officers travelled and made reports to the central government. The opinion of Sir W. W. Hunter expressed in 1883, in the Legislative Council, which has recently been quoted by an Indian publicist, in his dissertation that "it does not appear that, as a rule, there was anything of the nature of a political institution between the village and the Central Government is absolutely unfounded and is contrary to facts and the evidence of history. In its best days the State in India has always been unitary. The provinces of the Maurya and Gupta Empires were governed by the Viceroys. In Indian History whenever there has been a tendency towards local autonomy and devolution, the results have been disastrous.

Although republics were finally overthrown by the Emperors of the Gupta Dynasty, towards the end of the 4th and early 5th centuries A. D., yet the republican tradition itself has survived until very recent times. The Elective Protectorate of ancient Kerala had up to the eighteenth century autonomous republics within it, which carried on the local government through a *Sabha* or assembly which sat for the last time in 1743 A. D. The most important and powerful and central republican assembly was called *Nad* (which literally means country). This Parliament contained the elected representatives of the people from all the *Taras* (groups of villages), *Gramas* (villages) and *Cheris* (wards of villages), and they discussed matters concerning the whole *Nada* (country).

Besides the large Republics which were independent and sovereign bodies with which I have been dealing so far, there seems to have been in existence local or tribal bodies of men with a certain amount of authority and autonomy within the state. Sukraniti gives an indication of this type of autonomous bodies which were also called *Ganas*. Sukra advises the king to entrust the *Kulas* (clans or families), corporations (*Srenis*) and republican communities (*Ganas*) to investigate into all cases, except robbery and theft. Then he says "The *Srenis* (corporations) will try cases not tried by the *Kulas* (clans), the *Ganas* will try those beyond the jurisdiction of the *Srenis*, and king's own judicial officers

will try the cases not decided by the *Ganas*” [Sukraniti, Bk IV, Ch V, sl 29 & 30] It is this type of *Ganas* that Jolly must have had in his mind when he rendered the word into “local committees” or “courts”

From South Indian inscriptions which are gradually coming to light, it appears that in the South, Republican tradition has been kept up until comparatively recent times by groups of villages combining together. “A large number of villages in the Chola country had *Sabhas* or regularly constituted village corporations which watched jealously over the internal affairs of the village. The Uttarmallur inscription of Parantaka I [911-921, A R 1904-5, pp 131-145] lay down rules for the selection of members to the village committees which were apparently controlled by the village assemblies” [Intro p 19 South Indian Inscriptions, Vol II, pt V 1917] Under the Chola King Parantaka I, who ruled from 907 to 948 A D, there was a rural autonomous community referred to above, which had six committees which carried on the government these committees were—Annual (Standing) Committee, the Agricultural Committee, Sanitation Committee, Finance Committee, Judicial Committee and Executive Council. The committee of justice which I prefer to call Judicial Committee “counted amongst its members a lady named Perungarunaryatti” [A S (Madras) A R 1909-10, p 98] The inscription also gives a list of qualifications of electors and the method of electing (by a peculiar kind of ballot) the members for the said committees [Cf Archaeological Survey of India, 1904-5, (Calcutta) p 930 Madras Epigraphy, Annual Report 1898-9, p 23 (Uttarmallura Inscriptions)] These village assemblies generally managed temples and were trustees of public charities. They had the power of negotiating loans and to alienate lands whenever the liabilities incurred could not be otherwise discharged (Intro p 19 S I I, Vol II, Pt V, 197)

This Republican tradition which was perpetuated in the South, is still carried on by the village assemblies or the Pachayats in some of the out-of-the-way districts where the vandal-

ism of bureaucracy has not yet extended its sway. Up to the early part of the 19th century what Metcalfe said about the “little republics” was true. He said “They are little republics, having nearly everything they want within themselves and almost independent of any foreign relations each one forming a separate state itself. In time of trouble they arm themselves. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down revolution succeeds revolution,” (Baden Powell’s Land Systems, Vol I, p 170) But popular institutions which are part and parcel of a people’s life do not disappear with dynasties nor are they swept away by revolutions, they depend on certain conditions and motive force. Those conditions having changed and motive force having been removed they are bound to dwindle or become lifeless. An alien government naturally could not trust the “little republics” or afford to let them enjoy the old legislative and judicial authority. Thus the British bureaucracy removed the motive force—the desire to govern themselves—from the village communities. The communal life of the country is rapidly breaking, owing to the spread of modern ideas and new conditions of life. So, the conditions and the motive, which made the continuance of the Panchayats possible, having disappeared, the indigenous self-governing institutions cannot help meeting the same fate what the kindred institutions of Central Europe did before the rise of the modern State and are meeting today in Russia.

It is futile, in my humble opinion, to talk of reviving the village Panchayats, in the absence of the conditions and the motive force which kept them alive. But they can either be modernised or replaced by similar new popular institutions which will suit modern conditions and will be in harmony with the machinery of the Central Government. The “little republics” cannot be revived and given a new lease of life unless they become feeders to the Great Republic which will not be affected by the convulsions and shocks and falls of dynasties and shocks of revolutions.

MUKANDI LAL

LABOUR REFORM

A PERMANENT proprietary interest in the health and physical efficiency of the labourer as distinguished from a desire to get the maximum kinetic value of the labourer’s muscles within the period of employment terminable at will, was one

of the advantages of the slave system of labour. But even in the modern system of factory labour, employers may remember that the supply of labour is practically limited by local and other conditions, and that in reality, output and, therefore,

employer's profit, depend on the physical efficiency of available labour

*FATIGUE

Employers of labour should not forget that they are dealing with muscles that get fatigued. The employer cannot by increasing the work of the employee indefinitely get an increased output. Beyond certain limits the method defeats itself. Fatigue diminishes output indirectly as well as directly. It increases accidents and spoiled work, and causes sickness and unexpected absences. It is therefore in the interests of employers as much as in that of the workmen that fatigue should be reduced.

HOURS OF WORK

Reduction of hours of work is the most important fatigue-reducing reform wanted in Indian labour conditions. It is not only necessary in the interest of the workman and his family and the State of which they are citizens and component parts, but is desirable from the point of view of the employer, as the most obvious method of reducing the element of fatigue. It is a mistaken notion that decreased hours means reduced output. A man can do more work in two hours than in one hour, but it does not necessarily follow that in 12 hours he can do more than in 10, or more in 10 hours than in 8. If the work is of such duration, that we must allow for the element of fatigue, shortening of hours of work actually increases the amount of work done. This may not be so in the first few weeks, but is certain to happen in the long run. Instances are recorded in the Public Health Reports of the United States of America, which prove this beyond doubt.

OVERTIME

Overtime work should be avoided by employers. If the usual day's work stops just short of undue fatigue, over-time means over-work, and consequent deleterious effect on man as well as on employer's output. It is apt to result in increased spoiled work, and reduction of efficiency during ordinary hours, sickness, and absence on subsequent days.

COMPULSORY OVERTIME

If this is as regards voluntary overtime, it is obviously much more so as regards overtime work ordered on the penalty of fines to be imposed on default. Most employers think that if they order their men to work overtime, they are bound so to work, and that failure is a breach of discipline justifying fines and dismissal.

A SCANDALOUS CASE

Holidays for workmen are believed by employers of labour to be a curse on industrial efficiency, and are grudgingly tolerated as one among the many evil customs of the land. Informed opinion, however, accepts periodical holidays as a necessity. Those who have studied the question most carefully acknowledge that workmen should have one day's rest in seven. Continuous work is a profound mistake and does not pay. Yet a case came under public notice recently in Madras, where though the men had worked on several previous Sundays, and at last took a holiday when compelled by a religious ceremony, they were not only not paid for the day, but in addition were fined for absence on that day on which they had been orally ordered to work, though it was a public gazetted holiday for the whole State, and had also been so notified by the authorities of the particular factory.* When the fine was imposed, the men went on strike, but the directors were obdurate and the fine was not remitted! In the highest interest of employer, workman and Nation, it is desirable that overtime and holiday work should be discouraged, or at least made strictly voluntary.

REST PERIODS

Recess periods during a working spell should be introduced in all cases where hard fatiguing work is exacted. Experience has established the efficacy of such a system.

FURNITURE

A great deal has to be done by way of providing suitable seats and other furniture during work to save unnecessary strain on the muscles. The Indian workman is

* Mahalaya Amavasya

ordinarily not considered worthy of furniture costing capital outlay. Yet an inconvenient posture takes away a great deal of the efficiency of the workman and improvement in this direction would add to output and profit in the long run.

SANITATION AND COMFORTS

The provision of good drinking water within easy reach of the workman during work, suitable leisure, place and conveniences for workmen's mid-day meals, clean latrines and urinals and provision for washing after work are all the Indian labourer's fair share in the profits and bonuses earned by directors and shareholders of factories, and would in the long run increase the efficiency of labour.

MONTHLY PAYMENT OR WEEKLY ?

The system by which in India wages are paid only once a month, and that, too, very long after they are due, so that the employer has always about two weeks' work done for him in advance of payment for the past month, and has got a firm hold on the workman without any need for allurements by way of Provident Fund, bonus or prospective increase in wages, is an unjust system which should be modified by immediate State intervention. There is no sort of reason or justice in demanding that a daily labourer who has no legal claim on the employer for being kept in service, and who is paid by the day even excluding Sundays and other holidays so that in a month he is paid at a daily rate for only 24 to 27 days, should wait for his wages so long after the work is done, and get into debt for maintaining himself and his family in the meanwhile. An enquiry into the economic conditions of workmen's families would disclose shocking tales. It should be made compulsory in law that all wages should be paid by the week on the Monday following the week, if not on Saturday itself. It is easy to see how a system by which men, possessing no property to fall back upon, have to work a

whole month and another fifteen days in the new month to get their wages for the past month, and to know what fines and deductions have been ordered, make these ignorant workmen the slaves of the money-lender, as well as of the head-jobber and other tyrants of the labour world. This system of late payment with its consequent loss of freedom, interfering with the operation of the law of supply and demand, is perhaps the most potent factor preventing a natural rise in wages to meet the increasing cost of living.

A STATE BOARD

Besides greatly improving the Factory Act, Government should seriously take up the formation of a Board of Protection in the interest of factory labour. The duties of such a Board should include revision of unjust fines, and general relief of all oppressive conditions, besides arbitration in disputes. In a country where Government protects tenants against their own contracts with landlords, and the State has enacted provisions to govern their mutual relations, it is much more necessary that there should be similar State protection for the ignorant factory labourer. British Trade Unions are now able to protect themselves effectively and are not therefore inclined towards compulsory arbitration, but such a condition does not and cannot for a long time yet prevail in India. Indeed one part of the work of the suggested State department would be to protect Child Labour Unions against the insidious attacks of the all-powerful employers, and foster strength and independence in them, till the time is reached when they may be left to themselves. Of course, the danger of too much protection, defeating its own end, should be avoided. The department, it is needless to add, is one eminently suited for Indian and popular responsibility, as distinguished from the bureaucratic arm of the impending diarchy.

C. R. GOPALACHAR.

INDIA REFORM LEGISLATION

(RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE)

ACCORDING to Mr St Nihal Singh, Mr C P Ramaswami Aiyer pointed out to the Parliamentary Joint Committee in the memorandum he submitted to them on behalf of the All India Home Rule League that "the number of constituencies proposed by the Southborough Committee is far too small." This is pre-eminently the case in Bengal and the United Provinces. In Bengal the average size of a rural electorate is 17000 voters, while it is about 24000 in the United Provinces against some 8000 or 9000 of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies and of the Punjab, the Central Provinces and Assam. In their Report to Parliament the Parliamentary Joint Committee have made the following recommendations which specially affect Bengal —

(i) Allocations of seats is to be adjusted so as to secure a larger representation of rural population as distinct from urban

(ii) A better representation of wage-earning classes in urban areas

(iii) Adjustment of the disparity of the size of electorates in different provinces. This adjustment, however, must in all cases be by increasing and not diminishing the representation or franchise already proposed by the Southborough Report

(iv) A large share of real representation of the depressed classes by nomination, by increasing and not by diminishing the general electorate

(v) Reconsideration of the special representation of landlords in consultation with Local Governments

(vi) Franchise for University seats to be extended to all graduates of seven years' standing

(vii) Adjustment of European consideration

(viii) Maintenance of the Lucknow compact of National Congress and Muslim League

(ix) Acceptance of the Franchise Committee's proposals for residential qualification

These recommendations can be given effect to, if the size of the Bengal Legislative Council be doubled as suggested by Mr Rangaswami Aiyer in the case of the Madras Presidency, and not otherwise

Very much the same number of elected members has been allotted to the United Provinces with a population of 47 millions, to Bengal with a population of 45 millions, and to Madras with a population of 40 millions, as to Bombay with a population of only 19½ millions. If Bombay Legislative Council is to have 120 members, it stands to reason that Madras Council should have at least 200 members as suggested by Mr Ramaswami Aiyer and Bengal and the United Provinces Councils 250 members each. The Southborough Franchise Committee have suggested 125 members for the Bengal Council, 75 members being elected by Urban and Rural areas, 10 members by various Indian interests, 15 by industrial, trading, commercial, and other European interests, and 25 by Government (4 ex-officio, 16 officials and 5 non-officials). In order to meet the recommendations made by the Parliamentary Franchise Committee, I beg to submit below a scheme of distribution of seats, side by side with the Southborough Committee's scheme, on the basis of 250 members for the Bengal Council

| Several Interests | | Proposed by the Southborough Committee | | Suggested by me |
|----------------------------|---|--|-------------|--------------------|
| I | Urban (a) Muslim | 6 | | 6 |
| | (b) Non-Muslim | 11 | | 11 |
| | | — 17 | | — 17 |
| II | Rural (a) Muslim | 28 | | 62 |
| | (b) Non-Muslim | 30 | | 71 |
| | | — 58 | | — 133 |
| III Special (Non-European) | | | | |
| | (a) Educational University | 2 | (i) Muslim | 1 |
| | | | (ii) Hindu | 3 |
| | (b) Landholding | 5 | (i) Hindu | 6 |
| | | | (ii) Muslim | 4 |
| | (c) Trading & Com- mercial & In- dustrial | 3 | (i) Hindu | 4 |
| | | | (ii) Muslim | 2 |
| | | — 10 | | — 20 |

| | | |
|----------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| IV Special (European) | | |
| (a) Trading, Commercial &c | 12 | 24 |
| (b) European Commercial | 2 | 4 |
| (c) Eurasian Commercial | 1 | 2 |
| | <u>15</u> | <u>30</u> |
| V Nominated | | |
| (a) Ex-Officio | 4 | 5 |
| (b) Officials | 16 | 18 |
| (c) Non-Officials | 5 | 27 |
| (i) Depressed | 1 | |
| (ii) Indian Christians | 1 | |
| (iii) (?) | 1 | |
| (iv) Others | 2 | |
| (v) Europeans | nil | |
| | <u>5</u> | |
| | <u>25</u> | <u>50</u> |
| Grand Total | 125 | 250 |

The 27 non-officials nominated are to be distributed thus

- (i) European 5 (iii) Indian Christians 2
(ii) Landholding Magnates 5 (iv) Depressed Classes 15

According to official description the castes called depressed classes are about 37 and number about ten millions. Of these castes the numerically principal ones should have the following representatives

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---------|
| 1 | Namasudras (two millions) | 4 | Members |
| 2 | Rajbansis (one and a half million) | 3 | " |
| 3 | Bagdis (one million) | 2 | " |
| 4 | Chamars and Muchis (two-thirds of a million) | 1 | " |
| 5 | Jugis and Jolahas (two-thirds of a million) | 1 | " |
| 6 | Jaliakabarta, Malo, Keyat (two-thirds of a million) | 1 | " |
| 7 | Pods (two-thirds of a million) | 1 | " |
| 8 | Domes, Haris &c | 1 | " |
| 9 | Baishnabs (two-thirds of a million) | 1 | " |

The Census officers and the Southborough Franchise Committee have done the Sonarbaniahs, Shahas and two or three other castes the great injustice of declaring them officially as "depressed", untouchable, &c, &c. I believe these respectable castes resent this official description and classification. They have never sought any special representation for the Legislative Councils either by nomination or by election. The Sonarbaniahs of Bengal are more literate than even the Kayasthas and the Brahmans, and the Shahas than the Baruis, Telis and Sadgops. They are both as charitable as, if not more

charitable than, any other Bengali caste. They require no special representation and they seek none.

Now how are the recommendations of the Parliamentary Committee satisfied by my scheme?

(i) The Southborough Committee allowed 17 out of 75 elected members to urban areas, that is to say 23 per cent of the total. According to my scheme the urban members will form only 11½ per cent. Now the total population of the areas marked urban by the Southborough Committee is only 2 millions out of 45 millions or only 4½ per cent. The urban population if given 17 seats against 133 seats for rural areas will have thus more than 2½ times the representation of rural areas. Is this too little?

Now remember that the 36 representatives of trade, commerce and industry—both European and Indian,—will be townspeople representing town interests. Representatives of the university and the landholding classes mostly reside in Calcutta. Now that the residential qualification of candidates for the rural areas has been removed for Bengal, there is no doubt that a very large number of representatives for those areas will be persons who habitually, aye, permanently reside in Calcutta and have nearly all their domestic ceremonies performed there. If all these considerations be borne in mind, 17 seats that I have suggested for urban areas are more than enough against 133 seats for the rural areas.

(ii) Out of the 17 seats allotted to the urban areas a fairly large number, say one half, should be allotted to wage earning classes, employed in mills, factories, docks, presses and railways.

(iii) The size of the rural electorates is unmanageably large in Bengal. In mending this evil, the representation or franchise recommended by the Franchise Committee should not be reduced, but enhanced if desirable. In Bengal we cannot maintain even the representation or franchise proposed by the Southborough Committee without making the size of the electorates unmanageable from 13000 to 24000 voters, unless we double the number of Council members. The average size of an electorate

1 Bengal is 17000 Voters, by doubling the number of elected members from 75 to 150, we shall make the size of the electorates manageable, otherwise the absentees will be many at voting owing to the great distance that they shall be required to walk to come to polling stations, corrupt practice will be easy to carry on and the difficulty of trying corruptions will be great. The election system will be a great orce

(iv) If we are to have a real representation of the ten millions of people officially classed as depressed, we cannot allot less than 14 or 15 members, whether they are elected by the literate amongst these classes or be nominated by government until literacy has become very general amongst them and has reached the standard of at least 25 per cent amongst the males

(v) If the landholders be given ten members to be elected by big landlords (6 Hindus and 4 Muslims) and if 5 landholding magnates, one from each Division, be nominated by the Governor, there will be no complaint from that section of the zamindars who feel their dignity or self-respect considerably compromised if they be asked to seek the suffrage of their fellow-countrymen who are not zamindars. In the memorial of the zamindars to the Franchise Committee, Raja Kishorilal Goswami laid much importance on the 'feudal' houses being represented by nomination and not by election. Two-fifths of the elected and nominated zamindars should be Muslims, according to the Lucknow compact

(vi) Of the four members elected by the graduates of the two universities, one should be reserved to be elected by the Muslim graduates. This should be done during the first twelve years or until the time when both the communities have found out the unwisdom of commercial representation

(vii) The European merchants, tradesmen and lawyers prayed for 18 per cent of the totally elected members being of their community, and they have got 15 out of a hundred elected members (including Anglo-

percent of the total number of elected members. These extra 5 members may be nominated so that the evils of commercial system, of which they are great admirers, may be removed as much as possible. Broadminded Europeans like Mr Andrews, Mr Pugh, Mr Norton and Sir Daniel Hamilton will find great difficulty to be elected by their fellow-countrymen to the Provincial Council

(viii) My suggestions fully satisfy the Lucknow compact of the National Congress and Muslim League, by which 40 per cent of the Indian elected members should be Muslims. The Muslims will be—

| | |
|--------------|--------------------------|
| Urban | 6 |
| Rural | 62 |
| Educational | 1 |
| (University) | |
| Landholding | 4 elected 2 nominated |
| Trading | 2 |
| Total | 77 |

The non-Muslims will be—

| | |
|-------------|--------------------------|
| Urban | 11 |
| Rural | 71 |
| Educational | 3 |
| Landholding | 6 elected 3 nominated |
| Trading | 4 |
| Christians | 2 |
| Depressed | 14 |
| Total | 114 |

Now 77 members would make 40 per cent of 191 (77+114) and would thus satisfy the condition of the Lucknow compact

There is however one flaw in this calculation. Why bring in the representatives of the depressed classes, when making up 60 per cent of Non-Muslim Indian representatives. The Mussalmans have no caste system, depressed classes are unknown to them. The Brahmans and Kayasthas claim the depressed classes as Hindus, when calculating the number of appointments to Government services or of members of Legislative Councils or elected self-governing institutions. They cannot have therefore the full measure of representation first through election

depressed castes by nomination. This will be very much, though not exactly, like "Heads I win, tails you lose." This question was raised by Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu in their joint report, when they considered the proposal of abiding by the Lucknow compact. The utmost that the Hindus may claim is that the representatives of the depressed classes, nominated by Government, should be Hindus, whether they are officials or non-officials or retired officials or whether they belong to uplifted or depressed classes.

(ix) The Southborough franchise committee recommended that there should be no residential qualification for the candidates in the case of the Bengal Presidency and that has been approved of by the Parliamentary Committee. I am rather glad of this. The residential qualification might be so easily evaded. Besides this most of the best men of a district in Bengal are found to habitually reside elsewhere, if the electors of a district have faith in their fellow districtmen who live most of their time in Calcutta, why should they be deprived of the right of electing them against their stay-at-home friends? Let these voters have free choice.

I have said nothing about the justice

or otherwise of the recommendations made by the Parliamentary committee after listening to almost anybody and everybody—English or Indian—who managed to secure a passage to England and was fortified by a certificate of some association, especially after the declaration that the English Government have accepted the India Reform Bill based on it.

If there be 133 seats for rural areas, 71 for the Hindus and 62 for the Muslims, we may then have 40 Muslim members and 58 Hindu members for single sub-divisions, where the Muslims and the Hindus may be respectively most numerous. In the remaining 44 and 26 sub-divisions, two sub-divisions shall have to be joined together for a single constituency. Out of 84 sub-divisions we shall have then a Muslim member for each of 40 sub-divisions in East Bengal and 22 members for 44 sub-divisions in West Bengal. This will be a more hopeful arrangement than the one necessitated by requiring 3 or 4 sub-divisions to be clubbed together to form a single constituency. The voters shall not have to travel out of the limits of their sub-divisions in 40 sub-divisions for the Musalmans and 58 sub-divisions for the Hindus.

SRINATH DUTT.

ARE INDIANS DEGENERATING PHYSICALLY ?

BY PRAMATHA NATH BOSE, B SC (LONDON)

COMPARING present day India with India half a century or so ago, one of the facts that strikes us most forcibly is physical degeneration and diminution of vitality evidenced by the enormous growth in the number, malignity and destructiveness of disease. Plague* and Influenza of the deadly type which has exacted such a

* History records occasional epidemics which were probably of plague. But they were very infrequent and incomparably less fatal than they are now. One such occurred in A D 1729 and is described in the *Seir-Mutaqherri* (Vol I, p 265). It commenced at Patna and extended through Agra and Delhi to Lahore where it stop-

heavy toll of late were then unknown; and tuberculosis, diabetes, rheumatism, heart-disease, pneumonia, malarial fever, dyspepsia, diseased teeth and defective eyes were as uncommon then as they are common now. Life was as generally a thing of joy then as it is of misery now. This is a matter of grave apprehension to all well-wishers of India. Health is the first requisite of happiness. Its importance is pithily expressed "But by favour of divine Providence," says the author, "none of the sick died, they all recovered except a few whose last hour had already arrived."

pressed in the Sanskrit aphorism—*Sarira-madyam khalu dharma-sadhanam* (Health is one's first duty) The same idea is also forcibly expressed by the sages of the West "The first wealth," says Emerson, "is health" "The wealth of a nation," observes Ruskin, "is the health of its people"

Writing about Hindusthan in the beginning of the seventeenth century Abul Fazl says in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.—

"The whole extent of this vast empire is unequalled for the excellence of its waters, salubrity of air, mildness of climate, and the temperate constitutions of the natives Every part is cultivated and full of inhabitants, so that you cannot travel the distance of a Cos (two miles) without seeing towns, and villages, and meeting with good water Even in the depth of winter, the earth and trees are covered with verdure, and in the rainy season, which in many parts of Hindusthan commences in June, and continues till September, the air is so delightfully pleasant that it gives youthful vigour to old age"

The only exception to this general statement noticed by the writer is Bengal But even there considerable improvement would appear to have been effected during Abul Fazl's time He says that "for a long time past the air of Bengal had been unhealthy at the leaving off of the rains, afflicting both man and cattle, but under the auspices of his present Majesty this calamity has ceased"

That untillately the people of the United Provinces and the Punjab enjoyed good health is a well known fact Allahabad, Agra, Delhi and Lahore were looked upon as sanitarium Even Bengal was, on the whole, not so fever-stricken, as a large part of it has been since the middle of the last century "The Dutch Admiral Stavouinus in his *Memoirs*", says Dr Bentley, "gives a list of the diseases prevalent in the neighbourhood of Hooghly, but whilst alluding to dysentery and other tropical disorders, he makes no mention of fever or ague In Valentia's 'Travels' there is no mention of Murshidabad or Berhampore being specifically unhealthy, and some of the early records speak of this part as having once possessed a reputation for salubrity"* Towns like Hooghly, Bandel, Chinsura, Baraset, Krishnagar,

Burdwan, Midnapur, Pabna, Malda and Birbhum, now hot-beds of malaria, were until about the middle of the last century considered to be healthy, and some of them were regarded as sanitarium "Hooghly, Bandel and Chinsura were once looked upon as healthy suburban retreats by the Europeans in Bengal Bandel, for example, was referred to as "sweet Bandel," "the pleasant and healthy settlement of Bandel" In the beginning of the nineteenth century there was a college at Baraset for cadets on their first arrival from England, which would not have been the case if it had been as intensely malarious as it has been for sometime past Vansittart had a country residence there In regard to Nadiya, which is now being depopulated by malaria, the Census Report of 1901 observes, that "it was once famous as a health resort, and it is said that Warren Hastings had a country house at Krishnagar" Midnapur was practically free of malaria in the beginning of the last century Even as late as 1851-52, of the total admissions for treatment at the dispensary there, only 40 per cent were cases of intermittent fever As regards Burdwan, the District Gazetteer observes that "before 1862 the district was noted for its healthiness, and the town of Burdwan particularly was regarded as a sanitarium In fact it was customary for persons suffering from chronic malarial fever to come to Burdwan where cures from the disease were common" Dr A J Payne, in a report on the Burdwan division submitted in 1871, remarks that, "a fatal fever has of late years become epidemic, with seasonal outbreaks of extreme severity over a large tract of country which includes districts formerly among the healthiest in the province" Dr R F Thomson says of the Hooghly district in his sanitary report of 1868 that, "if a common belief or impression among natives is of any value, the Hooghly district would seem to have undergone a vast change for the worse in respect of the health of the people" "In regard to the history of Bengal malaria," says Dr Bentley, "and the question as to whether there has or has not been an increase of

the disease in comparatively recent times, an examination of existing records seems to afford overwhelming proof that many areas now suffering intensely from malaria enjoyed a relative immunity some 50 to 60 years ago. Recent investigation has shewn also that in certain localities a rapid increase of infection has occurred within the course of the last 10 years”*

What a sad change since the beginning of the seventeenth century when Abul Fazl wrote his *Ain-i-Akbari*. It would be extremely difficult to point out now any large tract of the country, the climate of which might be truthfully described to be salubrious and where the people might be said to enjoy the modicum of health essential for their well-being.

The following table shows the variations in the numerical strength of the two most important sections of the Indian population within thirty years (1881-1911)

| | Actual number in 1911 | Variation per cent (increase or decrease) | | |
|--|--------------------------|--|-----------|--|
| | 1901-1911 | 1891-1901 | 1881-1891 | |
| Hindu | (217,586,892)+5.04 | - 3 | +11.8 | |
| Musal- | | | | |
| man | (66,647,299)+6.7 | +8.9 | +14.3 | |
| “Census of India, 1911, Vol. I part I” p 141 | | | | |

There has been a considerable falling off in the rate of increase of both the Hindus and the Musalmans since 1881. But the reduction in the case of the former is much more serious than in that of the latter. In regard to the major provinces, Bengal, Bombay, the Punjab and the United Provinces, Sir E. A. Gait observes that the material conditions during the decade 1901-11, were “favourable to continued rapid growth of the population.” That such was not the case is attributed by him to the deterioration of public health. Malaria has long been the special scourge of Bengal. “It is not only responsible for a heavy mortality, but it saps the vitality of the survivors and reduces the birth rate. Except in the neighbourhood of Calcutta where industrial developments are the most important factor, it may be said that the growth of the population is determined mainly by the prevalence of malarial

affections.” In Bombay “during the greater part of the decade, plague continued to be very prevalent causing a registered mortality of 1.4 millions. Owing to this scourge the net increase in the population was only 6.3 per cent.” In the Punjab, plague which first appeared there in 1896, “prevailed throughout the decade, and in British territory alone was responsible in all for about two million deaths, of which nearly one-third occurred in 1907. Malaria also has been terribly prevalent, especially in the irrigated tracts in the eastern and central districts. It was worst in 1908 and the three first years of the decade. Altogether in the British districts alone, four and a half million deaths were recorded, or more than one-fifth of the total population of 1901. The result of these virulent epidemics is that, in spite of a marked advance in material prosperity, the population of the province (British territory) shows a decline of 1.7 per cent.” In the United Provinces, the state of the public health “was extremely unsatisfactory. There were virulent outbreaks of plague, which were responsible for 1.3 million deaths. The mortality from malaria was even more serious, and in 1908 alone, nearly two million deaths from fever were recorded, of which more than half occurred during the last four months of the year when the epidemic was at its height. An indirect consequence of this epidemic was an abnormally low birth-rate in 1909. The prevalence of plague and malaria resulted in a decrease of one per cent during the decade”*

Owing to the havoc recently committed by the influenza epidemic the next census is expected to reveal a much more disastrous state of things than the last one. The official estimate of the number of deaths ascribed to it is some six millions during the concluding quarter of 1918.

“The birth-rate,” observes Mr. Bain in his Census Report of the decade 1891-1901, “is indeed very far above that of any European country, if we except Russia, and reaches nearly 48 per mile in the

whole country. But the death-rate per mile is equally abnormal, even if we omit the more frequent occurrence of famine and epidemic diseases in India, and may be taken to reach, on an average, 41 per mile."

The physical degeneration which is proved alike by the experience of elderly people and the evidence of statistics is shared by all classes everywhere except in very fertile and comparatively healthy tracts like Eastern Bengal, but by the middle class more than by the others. Constituting as they do the brain of the community this is a matter for serious concern. In Bengal the western and central districts, where they were most numerous and influential, "are all nearly stationary. The largest increase is less than 4 per cent, while two districts, Nadiya and Jessore, show a decrease."^{*} The Census Report of 1891-1901 shows that the Brahmans of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa who increased from 1872 to 1881 by about thirteen per cent, had their rate of increase reduced to about two per cent during the succeeding two decades and to four and a half per cent in 1901-11. The Kayasthas of Bengal Bihar and Orissa who increased by 3.41 per cent in the decade 1871-1881, had their rate of growth reduced to 1.09 per cent during 1881-1891, and the next census showed an actual decrease by so much as 8.1 per cent. The last census shows an increase of 8.4 per cent, which would make up the loss they had suffered during the previous decade. But the increase occurred chiefly in the Dacca and Chittagong divisions, and Mr O'Malley observes that "in the former division there is an increase of 55,000, over half of which may be accounted for by Sudras entering themselves as Kayasthas, the number of Sudras has fallen by 29,000. In the Chittagong division, where there has been an increase of 48,000 Kayasthas, we find a decrease of 9,000 Sudras."[†]

Lord Minto who was Governor-General in the beginning of the last century, describing the physique of the Bengalis in a

letter, said, he "never saw so handsome a race. They are much superior to the Madias people whose form I admired also. Those were slender. These are tall muscular athletic figures, perfectly shaped and with the finest cast of countenance and features. Their features are of the most classical European models with great variety at the same time." Alas! As a general description of the Bengalis the reverse of this would be true now.

If there were improvement in the quality of life, it would to a great extent compensate for the diminution of quantity. But such is not the case, especially in the more advanced parts and among the cultured middle classes. "An educated youth in India," observes Lieut Col Kanta Prasad I.M.S., "instead of being in a better position to maintain his health by virtue of his knowledge and education, breaks down far too early and does not enjoy life even to that extent which an ordinary illiterate workman does. Those who have made a special study of the subject are of opinion that more than 50 per cent of our educated youths are potentially tuberculous and die before their time. Others, who escape this evil, contract diabetes before they are forty and are carried off before they are sixty." "Those who know best about India and its people," says the same writer, "are of opinion that even the fighting races of India are deteriorating. It is said that every race in India has within the last fifty years become an inch shorter in stature."^{*} With a view to arrest the physical degeneration of the Paisis, an honorary staff of thirty-five doctors including eight lady doctors, under the auspices of the Zoroastrian Conference lately examined 1265 school children. The result of the examination showed that there were 194 cases of enlarged spleen, the effect of malaria, while there were 391 cases of defective eye-sight. The proportion of children suffering from ear, throat and nose diseases is very large being about 50 per cent but the percentage of children with bad teeth is the largest, some 896 being

* E. A. Gait op cit p 56

† Census of India Vol V Pt I, p 312

* Health and Mortality among Educated Indians," pp 4 and 159

'ound suffering from such teeth. This is in the case of a community in which Western education has made the greatest advance, among men as well as women, and which is materially better off than any other community. I have no doubt that an examination of the children of other classes, even when they are fairly prosperous, would reveal similar results.

A fact so patent as physical degradation could not have escaped observation. It has been noticed by various writers. The late Raj Narayan Bose noticed it as a conspicuous fact of his experience. Among more recent writers may be mentioned Lieut Col U. N. Mukherji, Babu Kisharilal Saikar, Lieut Col Kanta Prasad, Rai Bahadur Chunilal Bose and Dr Indu Madhab Mallik.

I have to endorse every word of the following description of the physique of our middle class people which appeared in an article in the *Modern Review* sometime ago entitled "Can we save ourselves yet?"

"Take your stand in any of the busy main thoroughfares of Calcutta. Having stationed yourself, watch now the streams of people that are passing up and down the street. Look at the boys and youths that are going to their schools and colleges, and please observe them closely and well. Now do they look strong, full of life and animation, and overflowing with health and energy, as they should at this time of their life, or do they look ill grown, lifeless and poorly? The very appearance of the Indian boy would seem to indicate as if his body has not had a normal healthy growth. The impression that will remain with you as the result of your observation would be that what-

ever may be the state of his mental equipment, his body is sadly in need of looking after.

Setting aside now the student class, observe the other citizens constantly passing up and down the street. Look at the streams of young and middle-aged men, clerks and others, who evidently make up the gentry or middle class, proceeding to their places of business between 8 and 11 o'clock. Does their appearance show them to be possessors of a good physique, with strong and well developed muscles and bones, or do they give you the idea that, instead of life being regarded as a gift to enjoy and be thankful for, life to them is a burden which they are evidently finding it rather unksome to carry?

you may perchance find one strong, healthy, energetic person in a hundred, while the remaining ninety-nine will present a very poor appearance indeed, weak in limbs, and wanting in spirits. If you now transfer your attention to the remainder of the passers-by, the same thing will strike you, only perhaps in a greater degree, namely, that they are a sorry lot, with a very poor physique and with very little life in their bodies.

The people you have seen may be taken as typical not only of the inhabitants of Bengal, but fairly also of almost the whole of India.

Now after a careful scrutiny of the general appearance and physique of the vast mass of people that are seen crowding in Calcutta from the shrunk bent old men down to the little ones playing about in the streets and bye-lanes, does it strike an observer that this people belong to a race that is thriving physically and materially, or does it look as if the race was rather going down and going down at a pretty fast rate, along the broad road of physical decay and degradation? There can be no question that the Bengali is no longer what he was before, that he has degenerated considerably. That the degeneration has been very marked and rapid within the last fifty years will also be apparent to many."

INDIAN DEPUTATIONS AND THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE

III THE MODERATES DEPUTATION

By ST. NIHAL SINGH.

WHEN the memorandum submitted by the Deputation of the All-India Conference of the Moderate Party to the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill was indited, its signatories* apparently had not

christened their organisation as the National Indian Liberal Federation—a title in which some

Mr W. A. Chambers,
Mr M. G. Chitnavis,
Sir K. G. Gupta,
The Hon. B. S. Kamat,
Mr H. N. Kunzru,
Sir B. C. Mitter,

* The names of the signatories (in the order in which they appended their signatures) are.—
The Hon. Surendra Nath Banerjee (President),

of them afterwards delighted. They had, however, brought authority with them from that Conference, held in Bombay on November 1-2, 1918, "to urge on British statesmen, members of both Houses of Parliament, political associations, the Press, and the British public generally, the wisdom and necessity of supporting the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform scheme, and giving legislative effect to it at an early date, with such modifications and improvements as have been formulated or suggested" in the Resolutions of the Conference. Perhaps to avoid misunderstanding they took care to add, under the heading "General attitude," that they "supported in the main" the joint report of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, and that they "would regard it as a substantial first step towards the progressive realization of responsible Government in India, if its proposals be adopted without curtailment. At the same time, they advocated certain modifications and improvements in the scheme which 'seemed to them 'desirable' and in certain cases, necessary to make it yield the utmost results of which it is capable."

ADVANTAGES—AND DISADVANTAGES

I have made these quotations, because they explain, in the words used by the moderates themselves, the general line of policy which they have chosen to pursue in Britain, and which, in spite of all the advantages it gave, has not proved entirely a blessing.

The advantages are apparent on the surface. The open manner in which they established an alliance with the author of the Government of India Bill gave the Moderates access to the Secretary of State and to persons co-operating with him, which members of no other deputation could have had. I do not make that statement in a spirit of cynicism. On the contrary, I know that such access to the powers that be enabled the more able among the Moderate leaders to learn from the inside what was happening, long before those not in the inner ring heard of it, and what was still more important, enabled them to give counsel at a time when the entire Bill was (supposed to be) in the melting-pot and when subsidiary matters arising out of it, were in the formative stage and, therefore, when it was easier to adjust details according to Indian ideals and desires, than it would have been at a later stage when they had assumed a more rigid form.

Mr Sastri and Mr Ramachandra Rao particularly have enjoyed the confidence of the Secretary of State, and those closely associated

with him. While I cannot divulge any details, I have good cause to know that they have used that opportunity to the advantage, not of themselves, but of their countrymen, who, in my opinion, cannot be sufficiently grateful to them for what they have been able to do to safeguard Indian interests.

So much for the creditor side of the account. Now for the other side.

The policy adopted by the Moderates meant the subordination of their demand for the liberalization of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, which was particularly deficient in regard to the Central Government, to giving support to that scheme. That policy, I am sure, will prove a tactical blunder that will cost India dear. It will have to share with personal ambition and jealousy, the responsibility of preventing Indians from conjointly striking the iron when it was hot. In the face of such attitude, moreover, if any important part of the Central Government is made directly responsible to Indians, it will be little short of a miracle.

BREACH IN CENTRAL BUREAUCRACY.

To show the reason why I take that view, it is necessary carefully to examine the Moderate attitude towards the immediate application of the principle of responsibility to the Central Government.

Let me note that no statement regarding that subject indited by any Indian organisation makes more impressive reading than the section entitled "Diarchy in the Central Government" which occupies a considerable portion of the memorandum to which I have referred but only if that section is read without bearing in mind the introductory sentences that I have reproduced from that memorandum at the beginning of this article.

"We urge," write the moderate leaders, "that an element of responsibility should be introduced into the Government of India by placing some departments under a Minister who will be amenable to the control of the Legislature." They add that "Salt, Income Tax and 'General Stamps' suggest themselves readily to the mind in this connection," while "subject to conditions imposed by military considerations, Railways and Posts and Telegraphs may also be dealt with in the same way." Since they are essentially departments which render services to the public, "no political consideration operates against their transfer to popular control, subject to the conditions above mentioned."

The signatories state that the reason why diarchy must be introduced in the Central Government is, "that the power of the government of India to supervise the administration of transferred subjects in the Provinces is obviously one which should be exercised by a Minister responsible to the Legislative Assembly." In that connexion they invite "attention to para 18 of the statement by Sir James Brunyate ap-

The Hon Ramchandra Rao,
Mr Prithwis Chandra Ray,
Mr K C Roy,
The Hon V S Srinivasa Sastri,
The Hon C Y Chintamani (Joint Hon Secretary),
The Hon N M Samarth (Joint Hon Secretary)

pendent to the Crewe Committee Report, p. 24, in which he outlines a grouping of all-India subjects into the categories of 'controlled' and 'popular' though with a more limited object." They add later, that "the progress of responsible Government in the provinces will be injuriously affected by the limited vision of an unenfranchised Government of India, which is to have not only over-riding and concurrent power of legislation, but also the power of acting as an arbiter between the Governor and his Council, and of sanctioning the removal of services from the reserved to the transferred group."

The moderate leaders find fault with the third formula enunciated in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report "which lays down that the authority of the Government of India shall not be impaired in any way," in other words "that whatever means might be adopted to make it increasingly amenable to popular influence, it shall remain independent of popular control," and "that the elected representatives of the people are to have greater opportunities of criticising and embarrassing the Government without the check, as in the case of the Members of the Provincial Legislative Councils, imposed by a sense of responsibility."

Having said that much, the signatories of the memorandum remind the Committee that the authors of the Report did not hesitate to point out in that report that the fundamental defect that vitiates the existing system of Government and the Congress-League Scheme "was the absence of this element of responsibility, and further, that it is the introduction of this element into the Provincial Legislatures that constitutes the chief value of the declaration of August, 1917." They naturally ask, "how can the application of the principle which is to be the keystone of the new fabric, be withheld from the most important sphere, viz, the Government of India, where it is needed at least as much as anywhere else?"

The moderate leaders recall the fact that "the Report does not contemplate, nor is it compatible with the line of argument adopted therein, that at any particular time when the people may be supposed to be ripe for it, the entire Government of India should at one stroke be brought under the control of the popular representatives." The scheme being based upon the principle of 'successive stages' and 'progressive realization' applies to the Government of India as much as to the Provincial Governments, and the signatories add rightly that those who are capable of managing education, local self-government, and industries in the Provinces will surely be able to administer the Salt and Income Tax Departments. Merely to extend the range of jurisdiction "can create no new problems, and should, therefore, give rise to no feeling of hesitation or anxiety."

The moderate leaders complain that the Bill even does not clearly provide that "the

Commissions periodically appointed under the authority of Parliament with the express purpose of recommending suitable stages of progress in the provincial sphere, will concern themselves with investigating into the desirability of progressively popularizing the Government of India." They admit that some comfort may be derived from the language of paragraph 288 which says that one of the duties of the periodic Commissions will be to examine and report upon the *new Constitution of the Government of India*, but the hope is rendered almost illusory by the words "with particular reference to the working of the machinery for representation, the procedure by certificate, and the results of joint sessions." They say that that proviso shows "that the Commissions will have power to recommend not constitutional changes with a view to the establishment of popular government, but small improvements in the constitutional machinery which experience may render necessary or desirable."

The Moderate leaders say that "the Indian people will not rest content with authority in provincial matters, when their destinies are largely in the hands of the Government of India." For this reason, they think that "to take no steps to bring some part of it under the authority of the people argues an inability to appreciate the dominating factor in the Indian political situation, viz, the desire of the people to have a hand in the shaping of their destinies."

The signatories are unable to see why the process of making government in the Provinces responsible "must be completed before a similar process is begun in the Government of India." The doctrine of *Hansot Delhi dui ast* (Delhi is yet far) laid down in the Report fails to convince them.

The Moderate leaders further contend that every care must be taken to guard against the inevitable danger that if the bureaucracy is taught to regard any part of the Government as specially its own, it will bitterly resist all attempts to transfer it into other hands. On the contrary, the bureaucracy has to be taught at least as much the virtue of subordinating its self-interest to the good of the country as the people of India the art of governing themselves.

After declaring that "the only justification urged for this glaring omission to provide for the popularisation of the Government of India is found in para 190," namely, that without experience of the results of diarchy in the Provinces it is impossible to affect similar changes in the Government of India, and further declaring that the attitude adopted is due to excessive caution and is utterly inconsistent with the spirit which animates the Report, the signatories of the memorandum urge "the extension of popular control to the national sphere." They say that unless this is done "the scheme will be inconsistent with itself, the spirit of the declaration of 1917 will not have been fully

carried out and England will not be able to claim justly that she has set India firmly on the road to self-government."

Who can make out a stronger case against the preservation, for the time being, of the "irresponsible" character of the Central Government, than that made by the Moderate leaders?

As I have already written, much of the force of this argument—sound as that argument certainly is—is lost by the general attitude of these leaders, who, in the beginning of the memorandum, indicate that they are quite prepared to accept and to work an Act passed along the lines laid down in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, which of course, refuses point blank, to make the Central Government responsible in any manner or to any degree. To show how this general attitude crept out of all that nearly all the Moderate witnesses said, before the Joint Committee, let me refer to their evidence relating to the Central Government.

MR BANERJEA'S EVIDENCE

Mr Banerjea, the first Moderate (in fact the first Indian) to appear, began exceedingly well. He said that the preamble of the Bill should be altered to indicate that the object of that measure was to provide for responsibility in the Central Government, simultaneously with its introduction in the Provinces, though to begin with, not, perhaps, to the same extent. The clause relating to the statutory commission, he added, should make it clear, that the next Commission would enquire into the means of extending responsible Government in the Central as well as in the Provincial sphere. He indicated that the subjects marked popular by Sir James Brunyate, should be placed under a Minister or Ministers, and in this connection, called particular attention to the Income Tax and Salt Departments. The reason why he urged that the process of diarchy in Central Government should begin now, was partly to prevent the evil of criticism without responsibility, and partly because an unreformed Central Government was not suitable for supervising reformed Provincial Governments. His question "Is the lion the best person to look after the lamb?" made even the members of the Committee smile.

When, however, the time for cross-examination came, Mr Banerjea, true to the instructions that he and his colleagues had brought from the Moderates Conference indicated to the Committee that while he should like to have diarchy in the Central Government, he was not prepared to say the Bill was unacceptable, or that he and his friends would not be prepared to look at it if that demand was not conceded. On the contrary, he affirmed that if the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, without attenuation of any kind, was given, the Moderates would accept it, although that would mean that the partial

popularisation of the Central Government would have to wait.

This Mr Banerjea said, in effect, to Mr Ben Spoor who, as the sole representative of Labour on the Committee, would no doubt have liked to elicit a reply far different to the one that he received. At any rate, after the Moderate Leader had committed himself in that manner, Mr Spoor was able to get him to say that the bulk of opinion in India desired that a measure of control and responsibility in the Central Government should immediately be conceded, and that Lord Southborough was wrong, when, at a previous session, he stated that no such demand existed in India.

MR SAMARTH VS MR ROY

The next Moderate witness to be examined was Mr N M Samarth. Beside him, sat Mr C Y Chintamani, Mr K C Roy, and Mr P C Ray, each of whom was allowed to supplement Mr Samarth's statement. Mr Samarth greatly shocked Lord Sydenham when he told the Committee that if the Central Government was left irresponsible as it is, "within three years agitation of such a character would be set up in the Provinces that it may stagger the imagination." I noticed that Mr Bennet made an attempt to get the witness to withdraw, or at any rate, to modify that statement, but he held firm.

Nor did Mr Samarth hesitate to tell the Committee that if the Central Government was left irresponsible, and therefore the Legislative Assembly was no more than a "glorified Debating Society", that Assembly would fail to attract capable Indians who would prefer to stay in the Provinces where they would find great opportunities waiting for them. With dramatic effect, he added that "men with more money than brains" would fill that body.

What more full-blooded advocacy of the Indian wish for the partial democratisation of the Central Government, could have been possible?

But shortly after Mr K C Roy began his statement, he took care to tell the Committee that the remarks that "his leader", Mr Samarth, had made about the imperative necessity of diarchising the Central Government was not the considered opinion of his party. He added that the control of the Government of India had always been for the good of India and that he, for one, would prefer central bureaucracy over provincial bureaucracy.

Mr Roy declared that in his opinion customs, tariff, and cotton excise should not be treated as popular subjects. The reason he gave for tendering that advice was, that he would not like to offend the British industrialists and commercialists. Railways and Post, he added, were indissolubly bound up with military affairs and whatever his colleagues may have said to the contrary in the memorandum,

they should not be treated as popular Mr Roy would, however, not object to such treatment being accorded to salt, income tax, and "General Stamps"

When Mr Samarth came up for cross-examination, and was given the opportunity by the Duke of Northumberland to restate his position in regard to the Central Government, he took care to emphasize the necessity for immediately beginning the process of partially popularising that Government, everyone desirous of seeing a breach made in the Central Government felt relieved, but alas! that relief lasted but a few moments

Almost immediately after Lord Sinha began to cross-examine him, and asked a series of questions that made Mr Samarth acknowledge that the demands made by him in respect of the Central Government were not part of his party's programme. What was more damaging still, Lord Sinha made Mr Samarth add that his party would be quite willing to take up a Bill that refused to introduce the element of responsibility in that Government, and work it for all it was worth

MR SASTRI TO THE RESCUE

The impression that these questions and answers produced upon the minds of persons anxious that a breach be made in the Central Bureaucracy, can be imagined

It would have been extremely unfortunate, had Mr Sastri not appeared before the Committee some time later, and made it clear that he was very strongly in favour of immediately beginning the process of liberalising the Central Government

Some Departments, such as Income Tax, and General Stamps, he declared, should be placed under a Minister or Ministers. Liberalisation, he added, should also mean increasing the power of the Legislative Assembly in Finance

Let us hope that these words of Mr Sastri removed the unfortunate impression left upon the Committee by his colleagues who appeared earlier, otherwise the Committee will be justified in feeling that since Mr Banerjee and his Party are willing to accept a measure which refuses, for the present, to confer upon Indians any control over Central Government, that Government may continue, for the time being, to remain irresponsible

RECONSTRUCTION OF PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

The attitude of the Moderates Deputation towards the reconstruction of the Provincial administration did not materially differ from that of the other Indian bodies, which had accepted diarchy. Perhaps the main difference lies in the fact that the Moderates placed greater emphasis upon the fact that, without resort to a dual form of government, the pronouncement of August 20th, 1917, could not have been

carried into effect, whereas, the others merely resigned themselves to that system as an unavoidable transitional measure

The Moderates, like all the other Indian witnesses, objected to the modifications of the diarchical system suggested by the Government of India, and more particularly, the demands made for the institution of the "separate pulse" system, upsetting all the nicely-balanced arrangements proposed in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report for the reconstruction of the Provincial Executive Council, and also of the system of Grand Committee proposed in that Report. The Moderate witnesses who appeared before the Committee, especially Mr Sastri, rendered great service in showing up the hollowness of the contentions advanced by the spokesman of the Government of India, and in subjecting to critical analysis certain provisions of the Bill which whittled away provisions laid down in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. While it is unnecessary to enter into a detailed discussion of the modifications of the part of the Bill pertaining to Provincial Governments asked for by the Moderates, attention may be called to two or three points

Firstly one after another Moderate leader resisted the suggestion thrown out that the power of ordinance may be given to the Governor to carry out his responsibility in regard to reserved subjects, since objection had been taken by the Government of India, to the institution of the Montagu-Chelmsford type of the Grand Committee, whereas the type proposed by that Government had been objected to by Indians. In this matter their attitude differed radically from such witnesses as Mr Ramaswami Aiyer and Lord Carmichael, neither of whom was prepared to permit the adoption of a device that would enable a Governor to throw the burden of executive action upon a body of his nominees

DISCORDANT NOTES

Secondly, while the Moderate leaders had emphasized in the memorandum the necessity of sending Governors from Britain, and some of them who appeared before the Committee, took particular pains to lay stress upon that point, one of the moderates (Mr K. C. Roy) took pains to say that he would not like to see men belonging to the permanent services in India debarred from holding that office

Thirdly, another Moderate witness (Mr P. C. Ray) took the occasion to tell the Committee that he disliked diarchy, considered it cumbersome and uncalled for, and urged that it be replaced with a system of double chambers in the Provinces. He added that the number of seats allotted to Bengal Zemindars, whom he described as "the acknowledged leaders and protectors of the masses," was an insult to their position and growing intelligence. He also asked the Committee to go into the whole question of the

representation of minorities or backward classes

These notes appeared to me at the time to be discordant, and I remember that they called forth a good deal of criticism from Indians belonging to the Moderate Deputation, as well as outsiders

Three members of the Moderates Deputation, namely, Mr Sastri, Mr Ramachandra Rao, and Dr Sapru, deserve to be singled out for the valuable work that they did while in Britain

Mr Sastri's analysis of the financial clauses of the Bill was masterly, and I hope that the defects that he pointed out, will be removed. He also submitted a memorandum, asking for the extension of the application of a conscience clause to Indian children, and also urged that point in the evidence that he gave

Mr Ramachandra Rao smashed the argument that non-Brahman separatists had put forward for separate communal representation. He, moreover, gave oral and written statements on budgetary procedure and legislative rules and regulations, which, if followed, should make the new Provincial legislatures far superior to those that exist at present in India

Dr Sapru delivered a withering attack upon the witnesses who had asked the Committee to reserve higher education in the provinces. He proved, that the very officials who now showed great concern for education had starved it

HOME ADMINISTRATION OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

The Moderate position in regard to the re-organisation of "Home Administration of Indian affairs" does not call for much comment. As Mr Samarth told the Joint Select Committee, the Cleave Committee had given effect to most of the suggestions that he had submitted to the latter Committee, particularly in regard to

non-intervention by superior authority where the Central and Provincial executives were in agreement with their respective legislature. That canon, together with the use that Sir James Brunyate has made of it in his minority minute, and Mr Bhupendia Nath Basu's note, appear to have coloured the recommendations made by the Moderates in regard to the reorganisation of the India Council and of the India Office. I may add that the Moderates seemed to me to give the Committee the impression that they looked forward to the concession of fiscal autonomy through the Samarth-Brunyate canon

Mr Sastri appeared to me to be the one Moderate witness who rose superior to his surroundings, when he bluntly told the Committee that the India Council had proved to be a reactionary body, and must go

The Moderates, like the other Indians (Sir Sankaran Nair alone excepted) who took the trouble to say anything about the constitution of a standing Committee of Parliament, recommended the limitation of such a Committee to members of the House of Commons,

TO SUM UP

The Moderates Deputation, numerically the largest, and, because of the attitude it adopted towards the Bill, and the author of the Bill, favoured above all other Indian deputations, has had unique opportunities to get at many of the persons who have been moulding the destiny of India. In my opinion, so far as pressing for the reconstitution of Provincial administration is concerned, that Deputation used these opportunities to the immense advantage of India, but I regret to say, that so far as demanding the reorganisation of the Central Government is concerned, their attitude proved to be hopelessly weak

INDIAN DEPUTATIONS AND THE JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE

IV. EVIDENCE GIVEN BY SPOKESMEN OF THE DEPUTATIONS

(PART I.)

IN the preceding article, I found it convenient to deal simultaneously with the memorandum submitted by the Moderate Deputation, and the evidence given by eight members of that Deputation. Now I propose to make a rapid survey of the statements made by Indian witnesses in behalf of those deputations to whose memoranda I called attention in the first and second articles of this series, though I was unable, at that time, to refer their evidence,

for the simple reason that they had not then appeared before the committee

THE CONGRESS DEPUTATION THE CONGRESS WITNESSES

It is unnecessary to deal at length with Mr Patel's evidence, because he followed generally the lines laid down by the last Congress at Delhi, to which, it may be remembered, the memorandum sent in by the Congress Deputation adhered

The only point on which he expressed his personal opinion was in regard to diarchy. Making it patent that he was speaking for himself, and not for the Congress, he told Mr. Montagu, who pressed him hard for his personal opinion, that if at this stage full Provincial autonomy was not to be granted, he would be willing to accept a reorganization of Provincial affairs in which such objects as law, police, and justice would be reserved for administration by the bureaucracy, while all the other subjects were handed over to the popular branch of the Government.

When Mr. Patel began to say that the latter part of the declaration of August 20, 1917, was not an integral part of the statement authorized by His Majesty's Government, but had been tacked on by Mr. Montagu, the Chairman (the Earl of Selborne) told him that the contrary was the fact. Later, when he commenced to lay emphasis upon the Congress demand for the inclusion of a Bill of Rights in the new Government of India Act, Lord Selborne again interrupted him. He sought to show how the point that he was making was germane to the general subject of constitutional reform. But the Chairman would not give him the opportunity to go on. Later, however, Mr. Ben Spoor, M. P., asked him a question, in reply to which he was able to tell the Committee that the forthcoming reforms would be of little avail if the primary rights of citizenship were not guaranteed to Indians by a specific provision in the Act.

To Mr. Spoor the witness also said that without fiscal autonomy India's industrial regeneration would be impossible. He and his colleagues, therefore, considered fiscal autonomy as the most essential part of the reforms to be granted to India.

Mr. Patel was subjected to a hot cross-examination from almost all the members of the Committee who were present, perhaps by none more severely than by Mr. Montagu. Being a practiced lawyer and an experienced legislator, he fenced off the thrusts made at him, giving as good blows as he received.

The duel that he had with Mr. Montagu was particularly interesting inasmuch as he refused to budge from the position he had assumed that the Bill—and, indeed, the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme—was ungenerous and disappointing. Naturally the Secretary of State did not like it that the spokesman for the Congress should speak of his *Chef d'oeuvre* as "a little thing." He said that he (Mr. Montagu) could understand that it would be disappointing to him, seemingly implying that Mr. Patel had formed expectations that were impossible to satisfy, but he could not understand why he should call it "a little thing."

Since the witness kept saying that in view of the announcement of the August 20th, 1917, the mere transfer of a few departments in the Provinces, without any real reform in the

Central Government, was little, Mr. Montagu asked him if the Congress-League scheme, of which he (Mr. Patel) was a part author, asked for any department to be placed under Indian responsibility. Mr. Patel answered by saying that if the dual demands made in that scheme—namely, that the control over the budget and the power of legislation should rest in the people's representatives—he, for one, would feel satisfied.

Mr. Montagu and Mr. Patel also had a tussle over the question of electorates. The latter flatly contradicted the former when he declared that at the present moment no electorate existed to which control over administration could be transferred. Mr. Patel, on the contrary, contended that if the Southborough (Franchise) Committee had merely taken the trouble to draw upon persons who at present possessed the municipal vote, a very good and very strong electorate could have been formed. In the Bombay Presidency alone between 300,000 to 400,000 voters had been enjoying the local franchise for something like 40 years. The material for superior electorates was, therefore, ready at hand and only needed to be developed and utilized.

When Mr. Montagu reminded Mr. Patel that earlier in the day he (the witness) had told Lord Ishington that if persons in Bombay, earning Rs. 250 per annum and over were to be given the vote, the number of voters in that Presidency would amount to 1,000,000—or 400,000 in excess of the number of persons whom the Southborough Committee would enfranchise. Mr. Patel told him that he personally believed in universal suffrage, and that Lord Southborough's Committee should have aimed at that ideal.

Mr. Patel's passage-at-arms with Sir John D. Rees was as interesting as his bout with Mr. Montagu. Sir John was anxious to have the Congress witness withdraw the reflection he had made upon the character of British rule in India. He only succeeded in getting him to emphasize his original statement, namely that he considered that the existing system of government by the bureaucracy was "bad."

Ex-Dewan V. P. Madhava Rao, who followed Mr. Patel, was subjected to a still hotter cross-examination because the Indian administration had been even more uncompromising in his statements. First, the ex-Prime Minister of Baroda, Mysore, and Travancore, refused to yield on the matter of provincial autonomy—even to the extent of saying that he would personally consent to the reservation of certain departments. He was the only Indian who took that stand. On the contrary, he affirmed that Indians, at this very moment, could easily bear the burden of administering the provinces without the aid of the bureaucracy, and since that statement was backed up by long and varied administrative experience—that

had received the highest commendation from the most competent British authorities—it could not be dismissed lightly. Secondly, he told the Committee that the Indian Civil Servants were hostile towards constitutional reforms and that, in any case, the time had come for them to make their bow and retire.

Relating his experiences of the time when Mysore was rendered back by the British to the father of the present Maharaja, ex-Dewan Madhava Rao declared that the British officials employed in Mysore felt so sure that the Indian administrators who had taken their places would make a failure, that they actually sat on the fence expecting to be recalled to evolve cosmos out of the chaos that would certainly be created by incompetent Indians. That call, however, never came. To shew how completely the table was turned, he cited the case of a non-Indian ex-official who, in the days of the Commission, had lorded it over the people of Mysore, but who did not hesitate to return to Mysore knowing that he would have to serve under an Indian Administrator, who not so very long before had been working under him in a subordinate position, and who had been receiving a small salary and had been denied any direct opportunity to initiate policy.

The ex-Prime Minister added that British industrialists and commercialists in Mysore found the Indian Administrators so pleasant to deal with, and so progressive, that the much talked of exodus never took place. And the Indian administrators had initiated industrial schemes of a magnitude undreamt of in any part of India—British or Indian.

To a man who had spent the best part of his life at Indian Courts and who is the soul of courtesy, it could not have been a pleasure to make statements which he could not help knowing would prove unpalatable to persons with vested interests in the Indian public services, and their partisans. But some one had to tell the truth. No living Indian was more fitted to undertake that task than ex-Dewan Madhava Rao. All honour to him for discharging the highly unpleasant duty of tearing away the network of fiction about Indian unfitness that interested parties had woven.

Being a man of action rather than of words and employing, as he did, a foreign tongue, ex-Dewan Madhava Rao used certain expressions in his replies to questions asked in tense tones by members of the Committee, that have been used by critics to prejudice his position. To any one who heard him, as I did, however, or who, at any rate, took the trouble to read his evidence, it is clear that under cross-examination he not only refused to yield ground, but even strengthened the case against the continuance of the bureaucratic system that he had made out originally.

That ex-Dewan Madhava Rao scored heavily

against bureaucracy was clear from the questions that various members of the Committee put to witnesses who appeared subsequently. But tributes to the Indian Civil Service that such efforts secured from members and ex-members of that service could hardly affect the position taken by the distinguished Indian administrator, that India could very well get along without them.

HOME RULE WITNESSES

Mr Tilak, who followed the ex-Dewan, emphasized in his statement most of the points that Mr Patel had already made. It was a good thing that he had traversed fully the ground, because, as already noted, he was not cross-examined.

There are just two points in Mr Tilak's evidence that need to be emphasized.

Firstly, he stated in the clearest possible terms that he did not believe that all the declaration of British policy in India made on August 20th, 1917, was made in behalf of His Majesty's Government, but he was of opinion that the latter part of it had been added by Mr Montagu of his own motion. Strange to say, the Chairman who had peremptorily told Mr Patel that his explanation was unwarranted, let Mr Tilak repeat it without challenging it.

Secondly, Mr Tilak laid emphasis upon the necessity of making definite and unambiguous provision in the forthcoming statute, to guarantee liberty of person, movement, speech, and Press. Again he was not interrupted.

MRS ANNIE BESANT

Mrs Besant made a comprehensive survey of Indian Constitutional Reform and put the case of India with great vigour and ability.

This friend of India was unhappy that no provision had been made for even a partial liberalisation of the Central Government, and insisted that a beginning, no matter how small towards that end, must be made immediately. Customs and tariffs, she declared, must no longer remain with the bureaucracy. It was felt—and not without reason—that Indian industries had been destroyed, and India had been converted from an industrial nation into a nation that merely produced raw materials for the use of other industrial nations.

Cotton excise, Mrs Besant added, had been imposed in the interests of Lancashire. That English County was now trying to compel India to raise cotton that would be suitable for Lancashire, but not for the Indian textile manufacturers. That sort of thing must stop, and could only stop if Indians were given control over their fiscal affairs.

Mrs Besant told the Committee that she was anxious to have central subjects other than fiscal autonomy placed under Indian control, but in any case, that one subject must be transferred. She added later, that if higher

education were reserved, she demanded that all superior control exercised by the Central Government must be entrusted to a Minister. At another point, she declared that she wished all the Central subjects, save those relating to the defence of the country and external relations, should be transferred within 10 to 12 years, and even those subjects should be handed over to Indians within 15 to 20 years.

When she came to talk of the Council of State, Mrs Besant very soon told the Committee that it had better abandon that idea. The conservative forces in India were already very strong. To fortify them by creating a second chamber, would greatly retard Indian progress.

It was clear from Mrs Besant's opening statement, and her replies to certain questions asked by the Committee, that if she could have had her way she would have liked India to follow the Dominion pattern of Government, but since the powers that be had determined otherwise, she had had to reconcile herself to diarchy. She was, however, emphatically of opinion that diarchy in the Provinces should not last more than five years. At the end of the second Council, she would have all the subjects transferred to the popular wing of the Government, and the rule of the bureaucracy brought to an end.

And Mrs Besant told the Committee that the drag of periodical examinations must not be imposed upon India. She reminded the Earl of Selborne and his colleagues that the national sense in Indians had so grown during recent years that they would resent revisions by an outside authority. She suggested that further provincial subjects should be transferred not because an outside body recommended their transfer, but because the legislatures of the Provinces asked for such transfer.

Asked about the future evolution of India, Mrs Besant told the Committee that if India was left alone to work out her salvation, she would perfect a type of self-government based upon her traditions, and suited to her wants. She went so far as to tell the Chairman that a system evolved by India herself would certainly be more successful than one imposed upon Indians, with the best of intentions, by Westerners.

Mrs Besant was equally frank when asked about the representation accorded to Europeans. She said that they had been unduly favoured. When Lord Crewe asked her about the future of the British race in India, she told him point blank that as soon as Britons in that country became fellow citizens instead of rulers, they would begin to have the pleasantest relations with Indians, and the tie between India and Great Britain would be strengthened.

The President of the National Home Rule League was frankly in favour of the abolition of the India Council. She would not permit a considerable sum of money to be wasted annu-

ally upon a Committee that may or may not be consulted by the Secretary of State. Nor would she hear of the creation of a Select Committee of Parliament, upon which would sit Lords, of whom some would have accumulated prejudices in their Indian careers. On the contrary, if the Committee was limited to the House of Commons, it may serve a useful purpose and inspire a new trust in British integrity.

MR C P RAMASWAMI AIYER.

Mr Ramaswami Aiyer was very emphatic in telling the Committee that he represented the minority view of the League for which he was acting as spokesman, and his honesty of purpose won the regard of every right-minded person. The chief difference between him and those who held the majority view lay in their attitude towards diarchy. While he had resigned himself to a system of reserved and transferred subjects, as a transitional measure, the others opposed it entirely. The Vice-President of the All-India Home Rule League, like other prominent Indians who accepted diarchy, combated vigorously the modifications proposed by the Government of India. He insisted that each Province should have a joint purse, that the budget should be treated as a whole, the Governor having the right to interfere if he found it necessary in the interests of his responsibility for the administration of reserved subjects, that taxation should be a transferred subject, that Ministers alone should have the power to ask for further taxation, that the same status and salary should be given to the Minister as to the Executive Councillor, and that the relations between the Governor and the Minister should be, as far as possible, those subsisting between a constitutional ruler and his Minister.

The Governor, as Mr Ramaswami visualized him, would occupy the position of an impartial mediator in relation to the Executive Councillors and the Ministers, with this essential difference, that, unlike most mediators, he would generally have to carry out the result of his mediation. He plainly told the Committee that the Governor should not be the Speaker of the new legislature, nor should he appoint the Speaker. On the contrary the Minister should occupy the position of the Leader of the House, the legislature should elect its own Speaker and Deputy-Speaker, and have power to make and to vary the standing orders.

Mr Ramaswami told the Committee that he did not believe in camouflaging executive action by the institution of a Grand Committee. He for one, would gladly accept a system of ordinance, which was much more straightforward.

In regard to the Central Government, Mr. Aiyer took the view that the replacement of some power and responsibility in that Government was "of the essence of the Pronouncement itself." He asked the Committee to diarchise Government. Mr Ramaswami favoured a

system of double chambers, but he was against the institution of a mere registering body, such as the projected Council of State would be, contending that if a Second Chamber was constituted, it should be a revising body and should be composed of members who represented interests that had been unrepresented in the Lower House.

The Madras leader also pleaded for the grant of fiscal autonomy to India. That could be done, he said, either directly, as suggested by Professor Keith, or, indirectly, as suggested by Sir James Brunyate.

In regard to Home Administration, Mr Ramaswami advocated the abolition of the India Council. If, however, it was not to be abolished, he would insist upon effect being given to Sir James Brunyate's proviso, namely, that that body would automatically lapse at the end of 10 or 12 years, unless a Parliamentary Commission expressly advised otherwise.

Mr Ramaswami Aiyer's evidence on questions pertaining to franchise, especially in regard to the representation of the non-Brahmans of Madras, was most valuable. He showed that the agitation set up by the late Dr Nair, and carried on by his lieutenants, was artificial and mischievous. Being a practical man, however, he was quite prepared to accept a system of reservation of seats as a matter of compromise, to enable the non-Brahmans to come into the scheme.

The manner in which Mr Ramaswami made his opening statement, and in which he answered questions, appeared to make a deep impression upon the Committee. He spoke without hesitation in terse, crisp sentences, often sparkling with humour. His rejoinders to questions put by Lord Sydenham who seemed to insinuate that the witness and his fellow Home Rulers had been carrying on a noisy agitation to worry the authorities when they should have been devoting themselves to helping in the prosecution of the war, very effectively silenced that Peer.

MUSLIM LEAGUE WITNESSES

Mr Jinnah had also to state to the Committee that he and his colleagues on the deputation had accepted diarchy, while the Muslim League, in behalf of which he was speaking, had asked for full Provincial autonomy. He had not done so because he considered that Indians were not fit to carry on full Provincial administration, but solely because the Pronouncement had laid down that progress towards responsible self-government was to be gradual and by stages. By marshalling a series of facts and figures Mr Jinnah showed that India was better prepared for responsible government than the United Kingdom and Canada were at the time when great electoral and constitutional changes were inaugurated in those countries. Speaking with great fervour, he demolished arguments put forward by bureaucrats that Indians were hopelessly divided by race and religion.

Inasmuch as the points in regard to the reorganisation of the Provincial government urged by Mr Jinnah were much the same as those emphasised by Mr Ramaswami Aiyer, it is unnecessary for me to deal with them in detail. Perhaps attention may be called to his suggestion—also made by Mr Patel—that the advanced Provinces should be given preferential treatment in regard to the number of subjects transferred—in fact, that only peace, law, and order should be reserved in the Presidencies.

The chief spokesman in behalf of the Muslim League was impassioned in his appeal for the introduction of the responsible element in the Central Government. He told the Committee that it would be most dangerous to permit the continuance of irresponsible criticism in the Legislative Assembly, or to give Indians the impression that there was no central subject that could be placed under their control.

So effectively did Mr Jinnah plead that cause that later one of the Members of the Committee (Lord Islington) asked him what departments in the Central Government he should like to see transferred. He did not give him a very definite answer, though some hours later Mr. Sastri was able to mention specifically a number of departments that could be transferred.

In regard to the reorganisation of affairs at the India Office, Mr Jinnah insisted that the India Council must be abolished. Later, under cross-examination by Lord Crewe, he gave a half-hearted support to the replacement of that Council by the advisory committee, recommended by that noble lord and his colleagues.

Mr Yakub Hasan, who followed Mr Jinnah, spoke more in behalf of the Indian merchants than of the Muslim League. He, too, accepted diarchy, though for a different reason, namely, that diarchy would give the "Europeans" in the public services the time to readjust their affairs. He did not mince words when he spoke of the mischief that the bureaucrats had wrought by creating factions among Indians, and even by setting Indians and Europeans by the ear.

This Indian Muslim leader contended that European commerce was favoured in the matter of representation, while the Indian merchants were not given their due proportion. Indian merchants, he added, were no longer the dupes of British merchants, and the latter were beginning to realize the necessity of respecting the Indian Chambers of Commerce. The British merchants had nothing to fear, however, because Indians would not differentiate against them, even though Indians had been differentiated against in South Africa and elsewhere in the British Empire.

Mr Yakub Hasan urged the transfer of industrial matters included under the following heads—Factories, settlement of labour disputes, electricity, boilers, gas, smoke nuisance, and welfare of labour including provident funds,

industrial insurance (general, health, accident), and housing

The witness was very strong in urging the liberalisation of the Central Government, and particularly in urging the grant of fiscal autonomy for India. In this connection, the following passage may be quoted from his statement

"The mercantile community particularly, desire an element of responsibility to be introduced in the Central Government, for the following reasons —

(1) The Industrial Commission has recommended that the Government of India should in future pay more attention to the industrial development of the country, that there should be an Imperial Department of Industries in charge of a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, who should be assisted by a Board to be called the Indian Industries Board, consisting of three members with separate charges

(2) In the list of the all-India subjects are included (18) commerce, including banking and insurance, (19) trading companies and other associations

(3) The Government of India will have the power to supervise the administration of transferred subjects in the Provinces, including the subject of industries

(4) The ruthless destruction that Indian industries have suffered at the hands of the East India Company and the British Parliament and their agents in India does not entitle Parliament to control this subject any longer. As a transferred subject in the Provinces, the Minister in charge of it will be responsible to the electorate. It is not reasonable that the member of the

Viceroy's Executive Council in charge of the same subject should be responsible to Parliament

(5) Fiscal matters, for autonomy in which there is persistent and unanimous demand, should also be in charge of a Minister responsible to the peoples of India. There can be no autonomy if he is responsible to the Parliament through the Secretary of State "

"As to fiscal autonomy, I lay special stress on the grant of fiscal independence to India. Without it the industrial development of India is altogether impossible. It is also necessary, in the combined interest of the British Empire, that each component part of it should have the power to develop its resources to the best advantage without outside interference. England cannot supply India certain manufactured goods at certain prices, and if German goods are cut out by artificial or accidental means—by war, for example—their place is taken, not by British goods, but by Japanese goods. Everything that Japan manufactures, mostly from the raw materials supplied by India, India can manufacture if the Government of India is not restrained from affording encouragement for fear of British voters. At present India is also placed at great disadvantage in its commercial dealings with the British Dominions. For example, England buys tanned skins and hides from India, but Australia has shut them out by a tariff of 15 per cent. On the other hand, Australia imports raw skins freely from India, for her own product is not sufficient for her requirements "

Perhaps because I am a believer in straight talk, I appreciate such a statement as this

13 Nov, 1919

ST Nihal Singh

INDIAN DEPUTATIONS AND THE JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE

IV. EVIDENCE GIVEN BY SPOKESMEN OF THE DEPUTATIONS

(PART II)

I

I PROPOSE to examine in this article, the statements made by the remaining witnesses belonging to the various Indian Deputations. It so happens that every one of them concerned himself (or herself) with issues pertaining either to a section of the Indian population, or to a part of India.

For the sake of convenience, these 18 witnesses may thus be classified —

1 For Indian Women Mrs Sarojini Naidu

2 For Labour Mr B. P. Wadia, who did not make any statement when he appeared later with Mr V. Chakkarai Chetty, and Mr P. Chenchiah. (See group 3)

3 For Non-Brahmans Rai Bahadur K. V. Reddi, Mr K. Appa Rao Naidu, Mr L. K. Tulasnam, Mr G. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Mr V. Chakkarai Chetty, Mr P. Chenchiah, Mr B. P. Wadia, and Mr B. V. Jadhav

4 For Indian Christians Mr A. H. Chowiryappa, Rev Dr S. D. Bhabha, and Mr K. T. Paul

5 For Sikhs Sardar Thakur Singh

6 For Landlords Mr Rama Rayanagar

7 For Burmese Mr Maung Pu (Birma Reform League), and Mr Sydney Loo-Nee (Karen Association)

8 For Assam. Mr Bardaloi, and Mr. Baruah.

MRS NAIDU'S PLEA FOR WOMEN

When her name was called, Mrs Naidu rose shyly from the chair she was occupying, facing the Chairman of the Committee, who, with marked deference, asked her if she would care to make a statement to supplement the memorandum that she had already sent in, which he said, enlivened the prosaic literature of the Committee with a truly poetic touch. She began somewhat timidly, telling the Committee that she had come on the All-India Home Rule Deputation, but had decided to devote her efforts to the women's cause. Before she had spoken a couple of sentences, her voice rose, and everyone in Room "A" of the House of Lords, in which the Committee was held, became spell-bound with her eloquence.

Mrs Naidu took Lord Selborne and his colleagues for a mental pilgrimage through India. First came Conjeeveram, then which there is "no greater centre of orthodox Hindu feeling unbroken for centuries," then came Benares, the Rome of India, and later Aligarh, "the centre of the modern Islamic aspiration and literature." The Members of the Committee could not but have been impressed with the fact that neither Hindu nor Muslim orthodoxy would be shocked at the enfranchisement of Indian women, but, on the contrary, that it would welcome Indian women coming forward to take part in the national life of India. Immediately afterwards she took the Committee to Hyderabad—the premier Muslim city of India—where she drew their attention to a Hindu woman, her own mother, "one who was born in far off Bengal, one who never to the end of her days, learned even to speak correctly the Urdu language," yet who became the centre of Muslim life, to such an extent, "that her face was the first shown to the Muslim bride, and the newborn Muslim babes were put into her arms, and when she died, a Hindu widow, who had never heard of political problems, her corpse was carried to the burning-ghat by the sons and grandsons of Muslims whom she had counselled and helped." Finally, she came to Delhi—"the great custodian of conservative and social traditions, in the north"—where the Indian National Congress unanimously passed a resolution in favour of the enfranchisement of Indian women.

With a toss of her head, Mrs Naidu dismissed the arguments that had been advanced by officials, against giving the vote to members of her sex. These officials, she declared, had not come intimately into contact with the social feeling of the Indian people, and therefore, objections put forward by them, should not carry any weight. As for her friend, Mr Banerjee, the only Indian who, that far, had spoken against the enfranchisement of Indian women—his own deputation was supporting her demand.

Opponents of Woman Suffrage made altogether too much of the difficulties that would be encountered in providing machinery for register-

ing women's votes. Mrs Naidu asked why the provinces could not be left free to decide whether or not special arrangements were needed for that purpose, since puidah existed in some provinces, while it did not exist, or, at any rate, did not exist in a rigid form, in others.

Because the Indian woman was a unifying force in Indian life—a force making for solidarity in spite of racial, religious, and caste differences, because the Indian woman had always cared for service and had not been ambitious for power as power—because the Indian home, over which the Indian woman presides, would always remain the unit of Central Government in India, Mrs Naidu pleaded that the Indian woman should be given a voice in the national affairs of India, and called upon the British sense of chivalry to give the Indian woman the opportunity to stand beside the Indian man, in the new era that was now dawning in India.

MR WADIA ON LABOUR

Speaking in behalf of the three Labour unions which had elected him their President, and which were the first Labour unions formed in India, Mr B P Wadia gave the Committee a graphic description of the conditions in which industrial labourers in our land lived and worked, in order to persuade that Committee to do justice to those workers—justice that the Franchise Committee, presided over by Lord Southborough, had refused them. Men and women, he related, came from the countryside filled with the desire to make or to retrieve their fortunes, but they were forced to work such long hours without proper intermissions of rest, and were paid such low wages, and the environment in which they worked and lived were so foul, that, in the course of a few years, they returned to the country, entirely broken down. Although there was no other community that needed the vote more urgently to protect its interests, and although the industrialists had been given over-representation, yet the Southborough Committee refused to enfranchise the industrial workers, as such, and he was afraid that the number of industrial workers who may acquire a vote through the rural qualification, would not be large. Mr Wadia submitted two alternative schemes, for enfranchising the workers, namely,—

1 To give votes to men earning Rs 15 per month in Madras—a little higher in Bombay and Calcutta, and

2 To inaugurate a system of indirect voting, by permitting each factory with 1,000 employees to elect a representative, these representatives to form a panel from which the provincial Government may select one or more representatives.

While being cross-examined by Mr Ben Spoor, the Labour representative on the Committee, Mr Wadia seemed to indicate willingness to accept a promise, provided it was a statutory pledge to the effect that the case of

industrial workers would be considered in time to ensure the election of workers' representatives to the second councils to be elected under the forthcoming Act

Mr Wadia told the Committee that he was not pleased with the recommendations made by the Feetham Sub-Committee for the transfer of certain industrial subjects and the reservation of others. He desired that the welfare of labour, provident funds, industrial insurance, and housing should be transferred. Government, he said, should limit its work to the creation of a permanent board of arbitration, to which labour disputes could be referred. In a very short time, he indicated, the legislation for the recognition of trade unions and other labour organisations would be needed.

When Sir J D Rees suggested to him that radical labour agitation might prevent British capital from coming into India, Mr Wadia sharply retorted that he would much rather not have British capital, if it was not to be employed under decent conditions.

NON-BRAHMAN WITNESSES

The non-Brahman witnesses fall into two categories—

(1) Those who asked for separate communal electorates and

(2) Those who would be contented to have a certain percentage of seats reserved for non-Brahmans in the general electorates.

Thus classified, Rai Bahadur K V Reddi, Mr K Appa Rao Naidu, Mr L K Tulasiram and Mr G Ramaswami Mudaliar fall into the first group, while Mr V Chakkarai Chetty, Mr P Chinchiah, Mr B P Wadia, and Mr B V Jadhav fall into the second category.

The witnesses belonging to the first group, all Madiasis, showed deep and concentrated hostility towards the Brahmans, who, they contended, wielded not only the power derived through the exercise of priestly functions, but also power due to their monopoly of higher education, of government posts—especially in the revenue, judicial, and educational departments, and who used the tremendous advantages possessed by them to keep down and to oppress the non-Brahmans, more particularly the depressed classes. They further contended that the Brahman interest in the upliftment of the submerged classes did not extend very far, and that, in any case, it was not at all genuine.

Because the Brahmans were so powerful, and because the non-Brahmans, and more especially the depressed classes, were so cowed by Brahman oppression, these witnesses claim that it would be impossible for the non-Brahmans to win any seats through the general electorates, while those non-Brahmans who might be elected through the device of reservation of seats, would be persons who would be subservient to Brahmans. They even went to the length of

stating that if they were not to be given separate electorates, they would rather not have any constitutional reforms in which non-Brahmans, in any case, were not keenly interested, and which, without the safeguards they asked for, would only add to the power of those who tyrannised over them, while they would lessen the ability of the non-Indian Civilians to shield them from that oppression.

Under cross-examination one of these witnesses—Rai Bahadur K V Reddi—half-heartedly assented to the proposition that next to separate communal representation, reservation of seats in plural constituencies offered the best method of safeguarding non-Brahman interests. But earlier in his evidence he had stated that he did not like the method of reserving seats proposed either by Lord Southborough's Committee or by the Government of India, the reason, so far as I could gather, being that the Brahmans, who numbered merely 1,250,000 persons, would be given the opportunity of capturing most of the 30 seats left open to general election, and would more than likely capture 27 or 28 of those seats, while non-Brahmans, numbering 27,000,000 persons, could be sure of only 31 seats.

Mr Chakkarai, supported by Mr Chenchiah and by Mr Wadia, controverted—and I thought, effectively controverted—the allegations made by the non-Brahman witnesses who were hostile to the Brahmans. He said that it was wrong to maintain that the Brahman is a tyrant. The present generation was not entirely to blame for the social conditions that had their origin in ancient times. If responsibility for the state of the panchamas were to be fastened on any community, it must be on both the Brahmans and non-Brahmans.

As a social worker himself, Mr Chakkarai asserted that in the last ten years the Brahmans of Madras had become fully alive to their responsibilities and had rendered meritorious services to the panchamas. The statement that caste prejudices were on the increase in the Presidency, he asserted, was contrary to the impartial testimony of Europeans (British) and Indians alike. The Varnashrama Dharma movement to which pointed reference had been made in the proceedings of the Committee, was no doubt reactionary, but he maintained that not a single Brahman had appeared upon the platform. With regard to elections he gave instances to shew that the question of Brahman and non-Brahman was not the decisive factor.

Nevertheless Mr Chakkarai admitted the need for safeguarding the non-Brahmans of Madras. They wished to avoid putting any barriers in the way of the solidarity of national feeling, and, therefore, did not take the side either of those who wanted communal representation altogether or those who wanted communal electorates. They arrived at a compromise, to have for Madras 12 general territorial

electorates with nine members each, no more than two to be Brahmins in any constituency

Mr Jadhav was the only non-Brahman witness who confined his evidence to championing the cause of the non-Brahmins outside Madras. If he was hostile to the Brahmins, he possessed the ability effectively to keep such hostility out of his statement to the Committee.

The plea that Mr Jadhav made on behalf of the Mahratta League and Deccan Ryots Association was that they should have reserved to them certain seats in the general electorates, say 30 per cent so that even though the candidates did not secure the maximum number of votes they should be considered as elected. Such a protective device, he declared, would be needed only for a few years—perhaps for one or two elections, and not for any long period.

This Maratha champion of the Marathas and Kunbis (he regarded the latter as Marathas and said that in that contention he was supported by Mr Carmichael of the Bombay Executive Council) did not desire separate electorates for them. On the contrary, he asked that all the backward communities be taken together, meaning those who had less than 10 per cent literacy among them, more than 80 per cent were agriculturists.

INDIAN CHRISTIAN WITNESSES

Of the three Indian Christian witnesses who appeared before the Joint Committee, Mr Alfred Chowrryappah was treated by that body as a non-Brahman witness, perhaps because he admitted to the Chairman that he was one of the lieutenants of the late Dr T M Nair. I do not, however, propose to refer to what he said in regard to that question, because he said much the same thing as did Rai Bahadur K V Reddi, and in much the same words, and it would add nothing to what I have already written.

Mr Chowrryappah contended that for a community numbering 1,250,000 persons, which was rapidly growing in importance and strength possessing a high standard of literacy, the three seats assigned to them were inadequate, especially in view of the fact that the 2,500,000 Muslims of the same presidency had been allotted 13 seats, six, he considered, would be more equitable—two for Madras City, and four for rural areas.

The smallness of the number of Indian Christian electors compared with Muslims, said Mr Chowrryappah, was due to the property qualification. He would prefer a literacy test, and gave figures to show that, from the point of view of literacy, the Indian Christians were far ahead of the other communities.

If there were general electorates, Mr Chowrryappah asserted, there would be no chance of Christians getting in. But if the interests of the non-Brahmins were safeguarded by limiting the number of seats that Brahmins would occupy, they would be willing to go along with the non-Brahmins.

Though Mr K T Paul gave his evidence

after Dr S. D. Bhabha, I find it advisable to deal with it here, because it forms a sort of bridge between the statements made by Mr Chowrryappah and Dr Bhabha. He, like Mr. Chowrryappah, told the Committee that the Indian Christian representation allotted was unsatisfactory. He would have five seats reserved in general electorates on a territorial basis. He preferred election to nomination. He also wanted one member on the Imperial Council, by nomination, for the present.

Dr Bhabha spoke as an Indian Nationalist and not as an Indian Christian separatist. He blamed the English missionaries for bringing caste into Christianity. There was, he said, an English missionary, who while in Madras, had used his influence to keep Indian Christians split up, and who now was going about Britain seeking to rouse reactionary forces to impede the progress of Indian Constitutional reform. In any case Christianity as preached in India by the foreign missionary, was an anti-national force.

On the national platform, declared Dr Bhabha, there was no Brahman, no Pariah, no Muslim, no Christian, no caste-man, no out-cast. All were sons of India and subjects of His Majesty King George.

SIKH WITNESS

Sardar Thakur Singh, a Sikh employed in the revenue (?) service in the Punjab, appeared in behalf of the Sikhs, though so far as I could make out, he did not speak for any particular association or society. He was not satisfied with the representation allotted to his community, which, he contended, was much larger than shown in the Census (taken by persons inimical to the Sikhs) and whose contribution to victory had been in excess of its numerical strength. He did not favour the enfranchisement of women, though he indicated that the Sikh religion gave woman the same status as to man, and Sikh women played an important part in the life of the community and figured prominently at meetings and conferences.

In regard to the recommendations made by Lord Southborough's Committee, Sardar Thakur Singh thought that the rural voter had been unfairly treated. In view of that fact, and even more so of the clash of interests between the rural and urban populations, he would not favour the transfer to a popular minister of such a subject as land revenue, unless he could be assured that that portfolio would be held by a Minister who would not betray the rural community to placate the money-lenders and other town-dwellers.

ASSAMESE WITNESSES

Mr Nabm Chandra Bardaloi, supported by Mr Prasanna Kumar Baruah, objected to Assam being treated differently from other

Provinces Educationally and socially Assam was not at all backward Excise, the Public Works Department, Fisheries, and Forests should be transferred subjects in Assam as in other Provinces If the Hill Districts were kept in Assam, they should be under the Assam Legislative Council, and if they were not included in Assam, as recommended by the Feetham Sub-Committee, Assam should not have to pay for that

SPOKESMAN FOR THE LANDLORDS

Speaking as a Zemindar, in behalf of Zemindars, though at times lapsing into statements of the nature of those made by the non-Brahmanseparatists, Mr Rama Rayaningar contented that the landlords paid the State between one-third and one-fourth of the total gross revenue, so they should have representation adequate to protect their interests The seats allotted by the Southborough Committee in both the Provincial and Central Legislatures were utterly inadequate, especially when regard was had to the fact that at present Government held the balance evenly between the people and the landholders, but when officials were ousted out of their present position of power, matters would be very much worse

Zemindars, who were mostly non-Brahmans, wanted special representation, both in the Provincial and Central Legislatures If there was a bicameral system in both legislatures, as it should be in provinces and Central Government alike, Mr Rayaningar wanted representation in both In the Second Chamber, members should be nominated by the Governor of the Province Even if an Upper House were instituted, the smaller Zemindars would have no chance of representation through general electorates

BURMESE WITNESSES

Mr Maung Pu, President of the Burma reform League, appeared before the Committee accompanied by Mr Bernard Houghton, late of the Indian Civil Service, who, however, sat silent beside him The Montagu-Chelmsford Report had stated, he pointed out, that Burma was not India, and had no desire for elective institutions He claimed that Burma had an old civilisation, the standard of literacy was high, and the social system was democratic and not handicapped by caste, or landed aristocracy, or *purdah*, and, therefore, Burma should be included in the present Bill

Sir Reginald Craddock's scheme of indirect election through headmen and Circle Boards, declared Mr Maung Pu, was extremely unsatisfactory He demanded that a Lieutenant-Governor be sent out from Britain and that an Executive Council of three members (one European and two Burmese), and a Legislative Council to consist of four-fifths elected and one-fifth nominated members, be constituted, and franchise be given to all persons over 21 paying

poll-tax, with no residential qualification or sex discrimination

MR SYDNEY LOO-NEE

Mr Sydney Loo-Nee, a 'Christain convert, who followed Mr Maung Pu, speaking in behalf of the Kaien Christians belonging to the Karen Association, said that the Karens formed one-seventh of the Burmese population, and desired to participate in the reforms in store for Burma In Sir Reginald Craddock's scheme the Karens were to come only by nomination into the Legislative Assembly The Karens objected to this They wished to elect their own representatives, and through the general electorate

The list of Indian witnesses who spoke for the various Indian deputations before the Joint Committee is now exhausted * I may, therefore, close this series with general remarks that appear to me to be pertinent

REPRESENTATION ACCORDED

I for one have been greatly puzzled over the principle upon which the Committee allotted representation to the various deputations Shortly after the enquiry opened, I heard that its Secretary had written requesting each Indian deputation then in London to answer a set of questions enclosed by him, and to depute one member to appear before the Committee

A little later I learned that the Congress deputation had replied that it was anxious that, in addition to Mr Patel, who had been deputed to speak for it, so distinguished an Indian statesman as ex-Dewan V P Madhava Rao, C I E, should be permitted to draw, for the benefit of the Committee, an analogy from his experience in three large and progressive Indian States for application to Provinces in British India To that request the Committee could not but gracefully yield I a little later heard that Mr C P Ramaswami Aiyer, of the All-India Home Rule League, had written to the Committee asking that another member of his deputation (Mr B G Horniman) be asked to give evidence Since Mr Aiyer had taken pains to emphasize the fact in his evidence, both written and oral, that he was representing a minority view, it would have served a useful purpose if that request had been acceded to But the Committee refused, without, I think, assigning any reason, though it did not require much imagination to guess why it did so

Later, when Syed Hasan Imam and Mr A

* This remark must not be taken to mean that the list of Indian witnesses is exhausted, for besides those Indians who appeared for the various organisations with whose evidence I have dealt here, there were Sir C Sankaran Nair, Mr Bhupendra Nath Basu, Mr A C Chatterji, Sardar Thakur Singh, who spoke as officials or ex-officials, and H H the Aga Khan who spoke in his individual capacity

Rangaswami Iyengar, arrived in London, it was hoped that if the Committee felt any hesitation in asking Mr. Ramaswami Aiyer's nominee to appear, either of them or both would be given an opportunity to state the majority view for the All-India Home Rule League. Mr. Iyengar took no pains to disguise the fact that he was anxious to appear, and that he had even made more than one attempt to seek such an opportunity. But neither he, nor Mr. Hasan Imam was asked to give evidence.

Before either of these gentlemen arrived in London, it was said that the Indian Home Rule League would not be permitted to send in a representative, because that League insisted upon having Mr. Tilak act as its spokesman, and Mr. Tilak was *persona non grata*, the Earl of Selborne having called him a rebel in the course of an open debate that had taken in the House of Lords only a few months before. Later, when he appeared and was dismissed without being cross-examined, dismissed without even being formally thanked, as the other witnesses had been—it was whispered that the Committee had asked him to appear, but refrained from putting any questions to him because of a compromise that had been effected between members who were opposed to his appearing, and those who insisted that it would be a political blunder of the gravest description, if he were denied access to the Committee.

All these issues were, however, of minor importance compared with the question, why the Congress—the largest and the most important political organisation in India—was allotted one-fourth the representation assigned to an organisation that had been formed but yesterday and consisted of a comparatively small section of men who had chosen to break away from the Congress on account of their attitude towards the Contagious Diseases Bill.

The Committee has chosen to give no explanation. It has, however, been suggested that the witnesses belonging to the schismatic body had "friends at Court" and some of them did not hesitate to push themselves upon these friends. Another explanation—perhaps not so cynical—would have us believe that most of these witnesses appeared, not as members of that organisation, but because they had either served upon one or the other of the Committees which worked out proposals that Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford had left for subsequent investigation, or had given evidence before one or the other of these subsidiary Committees.

That, I take it, is another but a nicer way of saying that the "Moderate" witnesses had pledged themselves to support Mr. Montagu. In a preceding article, I wrote that they had definitely and openly labelled themselves as the allies of the author of the Bill. To anyone who knows human nature, it will, therefore, not come as a surprise that whereas the largest political organisation in India had to beg that a second

witness might appear, a small branch that had recently broken away from that organisation, was given eight representatives, or really nine counting Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu as a moderate, as he no doubt is.

SEQUENCE OF WITNESSES

That the first Indian witness who appeared before the Committee should not be the spokesman for the Congress but a member of this schismatic body may, perhaps, be due to the same reason. At any rate, so long as no authoritative explanation is forthcoming, persons who are not in the know, cannot but feel that precedence was given to those Indian witnesses who took a favourable view of the Bill, over those who did not, because persons anxious to get the Bill through were eager to ensure that the first impression made by Indians upon the Committee should be what they considered to be favourable, and that they possessed the necessary influence to secure that object. I do not think that the pro-Bill members of the Committee had to use much persuasion to accomplish that purpose, because, unless I am gravely mistaken, no one wished more to squelch the Indians who dared to demand and demand manfully reforms greatly in excess of those proposed by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford than members of the Committee who did not wish to go even that far.

Why were so many non-Brahman witnesses, mostly separatists, called? That is another question that suggests itself to anyone who takes the trouble to examine the list of Indian witnesses called.

WHY ENQUIRY WAS MADE

I think the true explanation is to be found in the debate that took place in the House of Lords shortly after Mr. Montagu returned from India. It was initiated on August 6, 1918, by Lord Sydenham who pointed out among other things that Mr. Montagu had "ignored a great volume of non-Brahman and non-lawyer opinion expressed often most passionately by politicians in memorials and resolutions passed in public meetings." From that statement it may be presumed that the men who forced the Joint Committee upon the Secretary of State—that it was forced upon him—is an open secret—did so with the object of giving prominence to views of Indian (and also non-Indian) reactionaries in order to slacken the pace of Indian progress.

When the Southborough Committee on Franchise went to Madras, Dr. Nair at the head of the fissiparous section of Non-Brahmans, refused to appear, fully conscious that when the Parliamentary Committee met to enquire into the proposals made for the reconstitution of the Government of India he and his partisans would be given every facility that their heart may desire for being heard in London. Indeed they made no secret of that fact, and even boasted of it.

The statement that Lord Broderick (Viscount Midleton) made in the House of Lords on October 23, 1918, in moving for the appointment of a Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament to consider the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals for constitutional reforms in India, and the discussion that followed, removed any doubts that might have existed as to why agitation was being carried on for the appointment of such a Committee. The dominant note struck in that debate was that Mr. Montagu and his collaborator, Lord Chelmsford, had paid too much attention to the small minority of Indians who knew how to make themselves heard, but who represented nobody but themselves, and even were the sworn enemies of the Indian masses, and therefore, it was necessary that Parliament should supplement the Montagu-Chelmsford enquiry, which in any case was perfunctory, with an investigation that would give the comparatively backward Indian communities an opportunity to be heard. That being so, it is not to be wondered at that the fissiparous section of the non-Brahmans bulked so large before the Joint Committee.

In view of that fact, is it wrong to infer that a sense of delicacy would have prevented the father of the Bill, and his supporters in the Committee, from using their influence to curtail the list of "non-Brahman and non-lawyer" witnesses who no doubt were backed up by Lord

Sydenham. Besides, it is just possible that, as a matter of tactics, they might have deemed it useful to neutralize the effect that might be produced by (what they might have regarded as) one extreme—the Congress School—with the impression that might have been made by the opposite extreme the non-Brahman separatists.

NET EFFECT PRODUCED

The sequence in which witnesses appeared before the Joint Committee, had certainly the effect of strengthening the position that the author of the Bill had assumed, and discouraging any advance either in the direction of radical liberalisation of the Bill or any important whittling away of its provisions. Not only were officials given precedence over Indians, but also those Indians whose demand was low were allowed to take precedence over those Indians who desired to secure a measure of reform that would be worthy of the giver and the recipient and that would be in accord with the spirit of the time. Immediately after the spokesmen for the Congress and allied organisations had given their evidence, officials and others who believed that the Bill, or at any rate the original Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, represented the largest measure of advance that in the present conditions of India could be made without danger of collapse were given hearing.

13 Nov., 1919

ST NIHAL SINGH

BRITISH WITNESSES BEFORE THE JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE

IN order to understand the effect that was produced upon the Committee by the evidence tendered to it, it is necessary to read the Indian statements to which I have already called attention, in conjunction with those made by British witnesses. I, therefore, propose to survey, very rapidly, the evidence given by British witnesses—officials, ex-officials, and non-officials.

THE RT HON E S MONTAGU

The Rt Hon E S Montagu was, I believe, the first witness to appear before the Committee. Though he gave his evidence *in camera*, it does not take much imagination to realise that he must have made as strong a case for his Bill as he possibly could. Judging from the tone of the statement that he made in moving the second reading of that measure, he must have asked the Committee to liberalize the measure. Since he knew that every political party in India was dissatisfied with that part of the Bill dealing

with the Central Government—whether or not it used the word "dissatisfied"—he probably pleaded especially for improvement in that part. But these are mere conjectures and a truce to them.

SIR JAMES MESTON

After Mr. Montagu, so far as I know,—came the spokesman for the Government of India (Sir James Meston) who gave his evidence in public, his opening statement and cross-examination occupying two and a half sessions of the Committee. His plea for the amendment of the Bill followed the general lines laid down in the Government of India despatch and, therefore, need not be stated here. But if he had expected that he would easily win the sympathies of the Committee, he soon found he was mistaken for nearly every member present subjected him to a hot cross-examination—more particularly Lord Islington, Lord Sinha and Mr. Montagu, who, between them, brought out the fact that

compliance with the Government of India's wishes would seriously whittle away the reforms proposed in the Joint Report—proposals that had been generally accepted by Lord Chelmsford and his colleagues as well as by the Secretary of State and most of the members of the India Council—and would, therefore, be unacceptable to Indians. Their cross-examination further showed that some of the modifications suggested, especially the water-tight division of provincial finance, would make the scheme unworkable.

SIR CLAUDE HILL

Sir Claude Hill, who followed the Government of India witness, though a member of that Government, did not hesitate to say that he preferred the scheme of diarchy as proposed in the joint report to the scheme as modified by the Government of India. The effect produced was dramatic, and whoever arranged it, must be complimented upon his consummate ability.

LORD SOUTHBOROUGH

Then followed Lord Southborough, who resisted every suggestion that Sir James Meston had made for the modification of the franchise proposals, reading the officials a severe lecture for asking for modifications in proposals which were based almost entirely upon the recommendations made by officials, and particularly deploring the suggestion made by the Government of India to upset the "Lucknow Compact." He resisted equally every modification that had been asked for by Indians, saying that the enfranchisement of women, the direct representation of industrial workers *et al*, must wait until the next periodical revision took place. He did not try to hide his anger at the cold shoulder given to his Committee by the non-Brahmans of Madras, and told Lord Selborne and his colleagues that the non-Brahman demand for safeguards should be met only if they showed a disposition to make a compromise.

SIR FRANK SLY

Sir Frank Sly, one of the most experienced officials, sought to resist any change in the Bill, which he considered went as far as it could possibly go in the conditions that existed in India to-day. He was opposed to the views put forward by the spokesman for the Government of India, except in one respect, namely, the constitution of the Grand Committee, which he thought should be so composed as to give a clear definite official majority to the Government and not the bare majority provided for in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. He was, indeed, a good witness for the Bill.

MR RICHARD FEETHAM

Sir Frank Sly was followed by Mr Richard Feetham, who, I believe, belongs to that powerful body—the Round Table Group—and who resisted every suggestion that had been made by

the spokesman for the Government of India for shortening the list of subjects to be transferred in the Provinces, and equally all the suggestions made by the Indian witnesses for the expansion of that list. He would have no quinquennial revisions, and point-blank told the Committee that it was not correct, as Mr Banerjea had contended, that the reservation of land revenue had been accepted, because it was understood that there would be revision five years hence. He and Lord Islington had an interesting discussion over the question of centralization of authority at Simla, but Mr Feetham refused to say anything one way or the other.

MR H L STEPHENSON

Mr H L Stephenson, I C S, who had cooperated with Mr Feetham in formulating the proposals embodied in the report of the Functions Sub-Committee, sat silent beside him the whole time he was talking. After Mr Feetham had finished, Mr Montagu asked Mr Stephenson two leading questions, which enabled that member of the Indian Civil Service to pay a rather florid tribute to the Service to which he belonged.

SIR ARCHDALE EARLE

Sir Archdale Earle effectively disposed of the case made against the transfer of higher education, though his arguments referred more to those put forward by Sir James Meston than to those employed by Mr Chowriyappa. His general attitude towards the Bill was sympathetic, though he was disinclined to go beyond its provisions.

MR T EARLE WELBY

Mr T Earle Welby, the first non-official Briton to give evidence, spoke from a point of view directly opposite to that of Sir Archdale Earle. He emphasized the difference caused by caste and the disadvantages arising from illiteracy, and laid down the dictum that responsible government was impossible in the conditions that existed in India today. Since he was not able to resist entirely the movement, he sought to retard it by asking the Committee to limit, within the narrowest possible limits, the area in which the experiment was to be tried.

SIR MICHAEL SADLER

Sir Michael Sadler, the second non-official witness, followed Mr Welby. An educationist who had recently presided over the Calcutta University Commission, confined his evidence to the subject of education, and made out a strong case in support of transfer of higher education. In view of the authority with which he could speak, the support that he gave to the Feetham recommendation which had already been supported by Sir Archdale Earle, not to speak of all but one of the Indian witnesses, it was impossible to conceive that the plea

advanced by the Government of India and reinforced by Mr Chowrryappah, would be accepted

SIR STANLEY REED

Sir Stanley Reed, the next witness, also a non-official, spoke in a most sympathetic strain. He was the first non-Indian witness who clearly saw that in case the Central Government was not partially popularised immediately, the process of popularisation must begin within a short time. He favoured the creation of a Senate, instead of a Council of State. He urged the concession of fiscal autonomy, and the development of industries mainly through provincial agency. He supported communal representation, and declared that in the present Indian circumstances it tended towards national unity.

SIR HARRY STEPHEN

Sir Harry Stephen, an ex-judge of the Calcutta High Court, who appeared at the next session, did not believe in responsible government—at any rate for India—but since he was helpless in the matter, he had accepted the Pronouncement of August 20th, 1917. He, therefore, sought to retard India's progress towards the ideal set forth in the declaration by asking the Committee to abandon the Bill in favour of the scheme formulated by the ex-Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab and his fellow satraps. He talked like a "superior person," especially when replying to Lord Sinha, but now and again he had to confess that he was no match for that clever Bengali lawyer.

LORD CARMICHAEL

Lord Carmichael was as different from the preceding witness as the day is from the night. He was anxious to see the development of the Indian constitutional reforms along lines as closely as possible to constitutional developments in the Dominions, and had no patience with those bureaucrats who sought to mask executive action by throwing over it the transparent veil of a Grand Committee decree. The most surprising part of his testimony was that in which he said that he would have advocated partial liberalisation of the Central Government immediately had he not felt that Indians were luke-warm about it. What a judgment upon the Indians whom he meets!

SIR ALEXANDER CARDEW

Sir Alexander Cardew came to the Committee as spokesman for a Government that had done more to resist reform than any other administration in India. He talked much about the caste difficulties, and suggested that there could be no responsible Government in India so long as Indians did not learn the wisdom of forswearing their faith in the transmigration of souls. But he had to confess that at this stage there could be no turning back from the path chalked out by

Mr Montagu and Lord Chelmsford. He would, however, prefer the sub-provincial scheme of diarchy.

MR A J PUGH

Mr A J Pugh, a solicitor from Calcutta, who, however, spoke more like an industrialist or commercialist, demanded that industry must remain a central subject, and that the Central Government must remain unchanged. He further demanded a larger representation for the already over-represented "European" element, and suggested that these "Europeans" be elected by a mixed electorate composed of Indian and non-Indian plutocrats.

SIR VERNEY LOVETT

Sir Verney Lovett spoke at the next session, as an official who felt that the spirit of the time had over-ruled the continuance of the bureaucracy. He showed considerable skill in urging schemes that would take away in detail much that was likely to be conceded to Indians in principle.

SIR WILLIAM MEYER

Sir William Meyer, the next witness, seemed to take delight in combating practically every point that had been made by the spokesman for the Government of India, his successor in office. He made a strong case against the institution of a separate purse. He admitted the necessity of undertaking reform in the Central Government, but for the present would be contented if a statutory promise could be given that when the time for the next periodic revision came that matter would be enquired into. He was definitely against the concession of fiscal autonomy at the present stage, and did not hesitate to say that such a concession, through an indirect manner such as that suggested in the Brunyate Minority Minute, could easily be evaded.

SIR J MESTON AGAIN

The next day was the last on which the Committee was to meet before breaking up for the summer recess. When, therefore, Sir James Meston was recalled everyone quickly realized that the Government of India witness was desirous of producing the impression over which the members of the Committee would ruminate during their holidays. He began with a lengthy statement about rules and regulations, then he told the Committee plainly and forcefully that the witnesses who had spoken against the proposals he had made, and especially those who urged the Committee to go further than the Bill, must not be heard.

MR G J SIM

When the Committee assumed its labour on October 6, Mr G J Sim, a member of the Indian Civil Service, was called to give evidence.

What he said is not known to the general public, because he chose to appear *in camera*. I hear, however, that he asked the Committee to make provisions in the Bill that would protect the vested interests of the Public Services. That report may merely be an inference from the past activities of that witness, and I therefore give it for what it may be worth.

SIR T. HOLDERNESS

Sir Thomas Holderness, the permanent Under-Secretary at the India Office, who spent the best part of his life in the United Provinces, however, gave his testimony in public. He held that the time had come when a beginning must be made in transferring control to Indians, but he was not quite sure what road should be taken to reach that goal. He indicated to the Committee that he found it difficult to abandon his leanings towards the satrap scheme. On one point, however, he was quite clear, namely, that the Bill went as far as it could, and that at any rate, the Central Government must be left irresponsible.

SIR M. O'DWYER

The next day, Sir Michael O'Dwyer came up for examination, and lost no time in making a strong plea that diarchy be abandoned in favour of the alternative scheme of which he was part author. In the beginning, he talked much of giving equal status and equal opportunity to Indians in the Government, but as soon as he came under cross-examination it became clear that all that was mere "eye-wash." The purpose that lay behind every word that he uttered was to prevent Indians from acquiring any real, definite control over their affairs, and, when cornered, he tried to justify that position by saying that such power could not be conceded because of caste and racial feuds, illiteracy, and lack of administrative and electoral experience.

MR J. H. OLDHAM

Sir Michael was followed by Mr J. H. Oldham, who, I believe, spent a year in Y. M. C. A. work in Calcutta. It appeared to me that he had to discharge perhaps the most unpleasant duty imposed upon any witness who appeared before the Committee. Speaking in behalf of missionaries, and avowing interest in Indian progress and sympathy with Indian aspirations, he asked the Committee not to transfer higher education to Indians and further asked them to recommend the creation of Boards for the administration of primary as well as higher education, and if necessary a separate Board for women's education. He insisted that missionaries engaged in education in India should have a considerable percentage of the places upon such Boards reserved for them. Throughout his statement, he appeared to be of two minds—one for progress, the other for reaction.

SIR J. P. HEWETT

Sir John Prescott Hewett, the next witness, spoke as a "public servant" who had lorded it over Indians for a generation or more and who felt chagrined because India would no longer present such opportunities to his sons and cousins who, if they enter the Indian Civil Service at all, will have to be really servants of the Indian people, and not their masters. Was it any wonder that that man did not really believe in the declaration of British policy in India made in 1917, and sought to defeat its object by diverting the present attempt at reform into the alternative scheme designed by satraps like himself?

COMMISSIONER BOOTH-TUCKER.

This ex-Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces was followed by Commissioner Booth-Tucker, who told the Committee that he had been born in India, was therefore an Indian, and went about among Indian villages in Indian dress. He paid the most eloquent tribute to the capacity of the lowest and most illiterate of Indians to manage their affairs. But his vision of reconstructed governance did not extend beyond giving representation to village headmen who, as everyone knows, are no longer the servants of the rural community, but their masters, and even tyrants who, by their oppression and exactions, give an evil repute to the Government whose employees they are.

SIR WILLIAM DUKE

When Sir Wm. Duke of the Indian Council appeared before the Committee the evidence took another turn. He had presided over the India Office Committee whose rough draft formed the basis upon which the Montagu mission, of which Sir William was an honoured member, worked. He naturally supported the measure, and though he sympathised with Indian aspirations, even Indian aspirations for control over a part of the Central Government, the general tendency of his evidence was that Indians had, in the Bill, as large a slice of reform as they could possibly digest.

SIR JAMES BRUNYATE.

Sir James Brunyate, also of the India Council, chose to confine his evidence almost entirely to the reorganisation of "Home administration of Indian affairs." He would retain the India Council, though he would shear it of some of its statutory powers and provide for its coming automatically to an end, unless the first Statutory Commission expressly advised otherwise. He seemed to prefer the Committee system obtaining at present to the portfolio system. He put his foot flat down upon the proposal for diarchising the Central Government, though he was in favour of letting a convention grow up whereby the Secretary of State would not interfere in cases where the Government of India

was in accord with its Legislature, while the Provincial executives would be free from intervention from above when they were in agreement with their respective legislatures.

SIR THOMAS HOLLAND

On the plea that the greatest possible difficulty would be experienced in obtaining capable administrators, Sir Thomas Holland advised the Committee against saddling the Ministers with an entirely novel policy in industrial development—at any rate until much spade-work had been done. He called prominent attention to the arguments for postponing—not repealing—the transfer of that subject by the Government of India in the despatch dated April 16, 1919—views which no doubt must have been formed after consultation with him.

SIR MURRAY HAMMICK

The appearance of Sir Murray Hammick, of the India Council, was utilized by a member of the Committee to condemn the suggestion made by the Aga Khan for the adoption of the referendum. He had much to say about the non-Brahmans, having spent many years in Madras, and cautioned the Committee against assenting to a settlement of that question which might mean forfeiture of the faith that the non-Brahmans reposed in British impartiality, for then a truly menacing situation would arise. He knew that the Bill did not satisfy Indians, yet he refused to assent to the introduction of the element of responsibility in the Central Government, and counselled the Committee against permitting any revision of the reforms this side of 15 years.

COL R H ELLIOT

Col R H Elliot, a retired member of the Indian Medical Service, painted before the Committee a dismal picture of what would happen if the Service to which he belonged were placed under the control of Indians. Many of the men would resign, and those who would remain would work with their spirits broken. Inefficiency would take the place of efficiency, and where there now was order there would be chaos. When Lord Sinha cross-examined him on the statement he had made to the effect that European officers did not care to serve under Indians, Col Elliot felt extremely uncomfortable.

MR LIONEL CURTIS

Mr Lionel Curtis, of the Round Table group, followed Col Elliot. He would take the present Bill with all its imperfections if modifications would mean hanging up reform. Though he was still sure that the original scheme, of diarchy devised by him in collaboration with others, was superior to all other schemes of diarchy, yet he would not stand in the way of giving a trial to diarchy with a joint purse, which, he felt quite certain, would have to be abandoned in two or three years in favour of diarchy

with a separate purse. Those years, he considered, could be utilised by a commission upon which men of the independence of Mr Feetham and Sir Valentine Chirol could use to make a careful investigation into Provincial finances and delimitate reserved from transferred finance.

SIR JAMES MESTON

Then came Sir James Meston for the third time to clinch his arguments. He would have no tampering with the Central Government, not even after the fashion suggested by Sir James Brunyate, though he would have the Secretary of State make a generous delegation of powers to the Central Government. He would not have the Grand Committee with a bare majority, and if the Joint Committee could not concede the type of Grand Committee that the Government of India demanded, that Government would prefer the power of ordinance. He also insisted upon the reservation of higher education, and the division of Provincial finances into two water-tight compartments, and affirmed all the other demands that he had made when he had appeared for the first and second time. Practically the only point to which he grudgingly gave his consent was to the appointment of Parliamentary Secretaries, and the institution of Standing Committees, provided the Foreign and Political Departments and the Military Department were excluded from the sphere of this experiment, (if for no other reason than to prevent the leaking out of information through Indians who were likely to be indiscreet).

SIR ELLIOT COLVIN

Sir Elliot Colvin, until lately agent to the Governor General in Rajputana, appeared at the end of the Session. Though admitting that diarchy was inevitable, he would delay that operation for the space of a decade.

INDUSTRIALISTS & COMMERCIALISTS

The last note was struck by representatives of three British Chambers of Commerce, Mr Wardlaw Milne (Bombay), Mr M de P Webb, (Karachi), and Sir Bernard Hunter (Madras), who appeared in a group. The keynote of their evidence was that they considered the constitutional reforms that were to be given to India to be purely an experiment that might or might not prove a success, and they considered that commerce and industry were too important to subject them to experimentation. They, therefore, wished that these matters should not be tampered with.

If diarchy were determined upon, the administration of commerce and industry in the Provinces should be reserved, but the Central Government should control it with a firm hand. They suggested a scheme for administering the major Indian ports under the guidance of the Central Government, leaving the minor ports to be administered by the Provinces, and further

suggested the creation of Waterway Boards to act in conjunction with a Central Board. They declared that it was untrue to state that India was poorer than she ever had been. On the contrary, India never had been so rich as at

present, and plentiful Indian capital was available for safe investment.

November 19, 1919

ST NIHAL SINGH

ANCIENT INDIAN TREATIES OF PEACE¹

BY NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L., PREMCHAND ROYCHAND SCHOLAR

IN view of the recent attempts of the central powers in Europe to violate the terms of the Peace Treaty, it may be interesting to consider the conclusions of our ancient political theorists as regards the political conditions and circumstances under which an offer of peace by a belligerent should be accepted or rejected.

THE CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH *Hināsandhi* SHOULD BE MADE

A treaty of peace should be concluded by a sovereign in view of the fact that the continuance of hostilities will make him gradually weaker than his enemy.² It is recommended to be made with states of superior or even equal power, for in the former case the continuance of war is ruinous to the inferior state, and in the latter, to both. Should a superior power reject an offer of peace, the inferior has no other alternative but to throw itself up to the mercy of the former or have recourse to the methods of defence recommended in "avalīyasam."³ If an offer of peace by a belligerent be rejected by another of equal strength, the former should wage war only so long as the latter sticks to it. An unqualified submission made by an inferior state ought to put a stop to hostilities, for, as on the one hand, the state may grow in fury by further

maltreatment, so on the other, it may be helped by the other powers of the statal circle (mandala) taking pity on its miserable condition. Should a state allied with other states against an enemy find that the states of the adjacent zone⁴ naturally hostile to it will not attack (*nopagachchhanti*) it, even if they are tempted, weakened, and oppressed by the enemy (trying to win them over to its side) or will not do so through fear of receiving blow for blow from the allied states (*pratyadana-bhayat*), then the state in alliance, even if inferior to the enemy individually, should continue the war. When again a state in war with another finds that the states of the adjacent zone will attack it, tempted, weakened, or oppressed by the latter, or through anxieties caused by the war waged next door, it should, even if individually superior to the enemy, make a treaty of peace in the first case, and remove the causes for anxiety to the aforesaid states in the second.⁵ If a belligerent sees that he is afflicted with calamities greater than those of his enemy, who will be able to remedy them easily and carry on the war effectively, the former though superior in strength should make peace with the latter.⁶

4 Para-prakṛitayah = arī-prakṛitayah, the reference being to the rāja-prakṛitis and not to the citizens of the state of the enemy.

5 The text (*Kautilya*, Bk. VII, Ch. 3, p. 267) has "*manopagachchhanti*" which appears to be an error for *manuṣṭagachchhanti*.

6 For the texts of this paragraph, see *Kautilya*, VII, Ch. 3, pp. 266, 267.

¹ From my forthcoming work on international relations in ancient India.

² *Kautilya*, Bk. VII, Ch. I, p. 261 "paramadhyamanah samiddhita."

³ I.e. Bk. III of the *Kautilya*.

KINDS OF *Hina-Sandhi*

The various kinds of treaty of peace (*hina-sandhi*)⁷ are —

I (1) *Atmamisha*⁸ The defeated sovereign (henceforth abbreviated into DS) agrees to help the conqueror (henceforth abbreviated into C) by going over to him personally with a stipulated number or the flower of his troops. A man of high rank is also given as a hostage.

(2) *Purushantara* The DS agrees to help the C by sending the aforesaid troops headed by his son and commander-in-chief⁹. This exempts the personal attendance of the DS and hence its name. A woman is also given to the C as a hostage¹⁰.

(3) *Adrishtapuruṣa* The DS agrees to help the C by sending the aforesaid troops headed either by himself or by somebody else. In the latter case, the personal attendance of himself, his son or his commander-in-chief is exempted¹¹.

The above three kinds of treaty form the class of *sandhis* called *dandopanata*, *danda* (army) being the chief subject-matter of their stipulations.

II (1) *Parikraya* The DS gives up his treasure to the C as the price of setting free the rest of the state elements¹².

(2) *Skandhopaneya* The indemnity is paid in instalments¹³.

(3) *Upagraha* By it, according to Kamandaka, peace is purchased by the surrender of the entire kingdom to the C¹⁴.

(4) *Suvarna* Its foundation lies in friendship and mutual confidence. Hence it is called Golden¹⁵.

(5) *Kapala* This form of treaty is of a nature reverse to that of the Golden. Under this, a very large indemnity has to be paid to the C. According to the *Kamandakiya*,¹⁶ the two parties to the treaty are of equal strength, and the peace concluded between them does not produce mutual confidence rendering it the reverse of the Golden¹⁷.

The five forms¹⁸ of treaty constitute the class called *Kosopanata*, i.e., having *kosa* (treasure) as the chief subject-matter of their terms.

III (1) *Adishta* The DS cedes a part of his territory to the C.

(2) *Uchchhinna* It requires the DS to cede to the C all the rich lands in his territory except his capital¹⁹. The C intends by this form of treaty to bring misery upon his enemy (*Para*).

13 Corresponds to *Ibid*, IX, 19 ('skandha-skandhena' means, according to Sankararya, 'khandakhandena').

14 Corresponds to *Kamandakiya*, IX, 16. The *Kautiliya* is not so clear on this point but says nothing that contradicts the above definition.

15 Corresponds to *Ibid*, IX, 8.

16 *Ibid*, IX, 5. Sankararya accounts for the name of the treaty by stating that as the two skull-bones (*kapala*) of a man appearing similar to each other from a distance show points of dissimilarity when observed closely, so the two belligerents though agreeing so far as to be parties to the *sandhi* really differ from each other owing to the lurking suspicion of each for the other.

17, *Ibid*, IX, 15.

18 See *Kautiliya*, Bk. VII, Ch. 3, p. 269, last Sloka.

19 '*Atta-saranam*' in the text (*Kautiliya* Bk. VII, Ch. 3, p. 269) if taken to signify 'denuded of resources', renders the meaning of the passage opposite to that given above. '*Atta*' may mean 'seized' and '*attasaranam*' from *attah sarah yaya tasam* may be interpreted as 'possessed of resources'. This meaning is in accord with that of the *Kamandakiya*, IX, 18.

7 The treaty of peace is also called *Sama* or *Samadhi*. See *Kautiliya*, Bk. VII, Ch. 17, p. 311.

8 Corresponds to *Kamandakiya*, sarga IX, slk. 16.

9 Corresponds to *Ibid*, IX, 13.

10 The sloka in the *Kautiliya*, Bk. VII, 3, p. 268 is as follows —

"Mukhyastribandhanam kuryatpurvayoh paschime tvarim, Sadhayedgudhamityete dandopanata-sandhayah."

I have taken *mukhya* and *stri* separately in view of the fact that *mukhyas* are stated to have been given hostages at *Kautiliya*, Bk. VII, Ch. 17, p. 312. "Arim gudham sadhayet" refers perhaps to the overreaching of the other party by the subsequent secret deliverance of hostages from the C's custody (see *Kautiliya*, Bk. VII, Ch. 17, pp. 313, 314). If this meaning be accepted, "paschime" should be taken in the sense of "subsequently" instead of as referring to the third treaty in spite of the juxtaposition which at first sight appears to exist between this word and "purvayoh".

11 Corresponds to *Kamandakiya*, IX, 14.

12. Corresponds to *Ibid*, IX, 17.

(3) *Apakraya*²⁰ The DS releases his dominion by giving up the products of his lands to the C

(4) *Paribhushana*²¹ The DS has to pay more than his own land produce

These four forms of treaty are termed *desopanata*, the cession of territory (*dcsa*) being their special feature

KAUTILYA AND KAMANDAKA

Kautilya mentions in all twelve kinds of *hina-sandhis* of which three belong to

²⁰ Pandit R Syama Sastri's English rendering of the text puts the term as *avakraya*

²¹ The *Kamandakiya* of Trivendrum Sanskrit Series has *paradushana* in the place of *paribhushana*

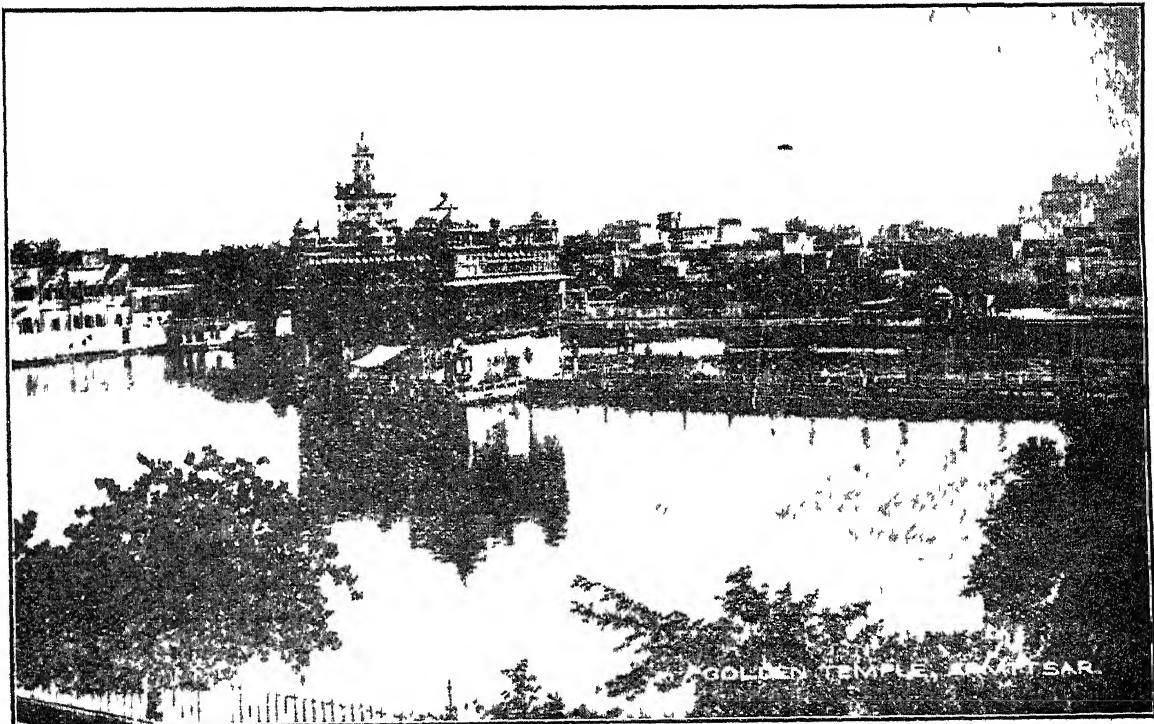
the first class, five to the second, and four to the third. Barring slight differences of meaning and taking into account the similarity of names of the treaties, all the *hina-sandhis* of the *Kautilya* are found in the *Kamandakiya* with the exception of *avakraya* alone. As the latter has sixteen altogether, these five, viz, *upahara*, *santana*, *upanyasa*, *pratikara* and *sam-yoga* have no equivalents in the former. Of these, the last two appear rather to be alliances and not forms of treaty of peace at all, *pratikara* corresponding with alliances like the *bhumi-sandhi*, and *sam-yoga* with alliances like the *karma-sandhi* of the *Kautilya*

AMRITSAR—THE CITY OF THE GOLDEN TEMPLE.

By AMAL HOME, ASSISTANT EDITOR, THE "TRIBUNE"

AMRITSAR, the second city in the Punjab, the seat of the Sikh Gurus for upwards of three centuries and of the famous Golden Temple has, of late, come to occupy a very large place in the Indian public mind. And the reasons are

not far to seek. The painful and tragic incidents of April last followed by a reign of terror had already turned the eyes of the country towards it. The recent disclosures before the Hunter Committee of the callous and cold-blooded cruelties of military rule



The Golden Temple, Amritsar

at Amritsar coupled with the fact that it is soon going to hold the thirty-fourth session of the Indian National Congress in the face of considerable obstruction from a notoriously reactionary local bureaucracy have drawn forth the deepest sympathy and the profound admiration of the country and have created more than a passing interest in Amritsar. An account of the city of Amritsar will not, therefore, it is hoped, be unwelcome at this time.

HISTORY OF THE CITY

The history of Amritsar dates back to 1574 when Ram Das, the fourth Guru of the Sikhs took up his abode beside the

it is said, was the favourite resort of Guru Nanak where he used to come for meditation. Guru Ram Das, however, obtained a grant of the pool in 1577 from Emperor Akbar and at the same time purchased 500 bighas of land surrounding it. The pool was excavated and converted into a big



Kucha (Lane) Duglan shewing its one end towards *Jamadar Ki Haveli*, where people were made to crawl and shewing the place where persons were flogged. The latter place is indicated by a wooden cross kept on the road.

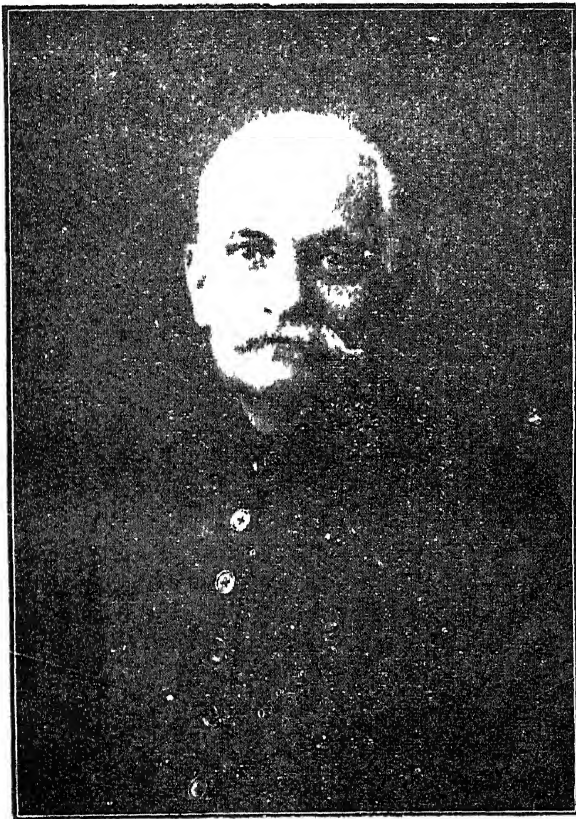
"Pool of Immortality" (*Amrita Sarobar*) in the centre of which now stands the Golden Temple and from which the city takes its name. Tradition and legend, indeed, go previous to 1574 in connecting the city with the Sikh Gurus. The pool,



The other portion of the Kucha Duglan towards *Kaurianwala Klu* shewing the other end up to which people had to crawl, marked by the projection of a house.

tank and the foundation of the future city of Amritsar laid upon the land purchased. Soon the fame of the pool, writes Major Newell in his history of Amritsar, as a spot of much sanctity, spread far and wide and the followers of the Guru hastened to build houses in so auspicious a neighbourhood, thus giving rise to a small town. Ram Das had also planned the erection of a temple on a small island in the midst of the tank, but before his plans could mature the call came for him and he left it to his son and successor Arjan, the fifth Guru, to build the historic centre of Sikh devotion. Tradition has it that for his work of building the

temple, Guru Arjan drew architectural inspiration from the shrine of the Muhammadan saint Mian Mir, near Lahore and was even actually assisted by the saint himself. Tradition goes so far as to assert that to acknowledge the assistance rendered by Mian Mir, Guru Arjan invited him to lay the first stone of the temple. The legend runs that unfamiliar with and unaccustomed to mason's work the saint could not lay the stone straight, at which one of the *mistris* standing by set it right. This annoyed



The Hon'ble Pandit Mr. Motilal Nehru,
President, The 34th Indian National
Congress at Amritsar

Mian Mir who exclaimed "Now the building is doomed to destruction! Had you not moved the foundation stone, it would have stood for ever." This prophecy as we shall see, was fulfilled to the letter.

On its completion the temple first came to be known as Hari Mandir. A flourishing city soon grew up around the holy site. From this time onward the fortunes of Amritsar rose and fell with those of the

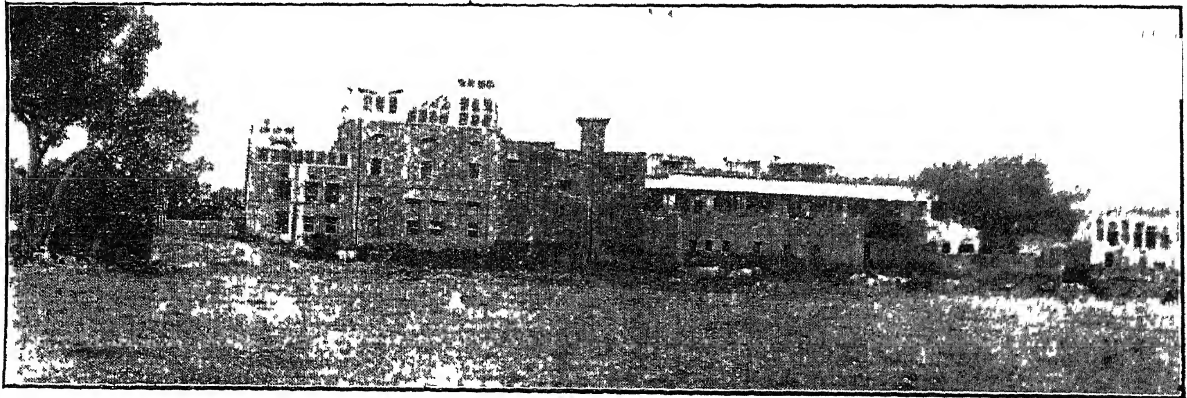
Sikhs, who had, before the death of Guru Arjan, come to be a great and growing sect in the Punjab. Muslim bigotry and persecution soon drove the peace-loving Sikhs to resort to arms and to resist Imperial power. Hargovind, son of Ram Das and the sixth Guru, first openly opposed and defeated a force sent against him by the Governor of Lahore. But ultimately he was obliged to leave the Punjab and died the death of an exile. Amritsar had in the meanwhile ceased to be the headquarters of the Gurus which were transferred to the city of Kartarpur in the Jullundur District. The *Granth* or the Sacred Book was removed there and was replaced in the Hari Mandir by a copy. Even Guru Govind, the tenth and last Guru of the Sikhs who organised his followers into a great religious-military Commonwealth, the *Khalsa*, in which all men were equal, and all were soldiers, could not regain Amritsar. It was after his death, through a long and bitter struggle that his chosen friend and disciple Bhai Banda was able to return to Amritsar. Henceforth Amritsar became the centre of constant warfare, waged with varying fortune by the Sikhs at first against the Imperial Governors of Lahore, and afterwards against the Afghan conqueror, Ahmad Shah Durani. The city was taken again and again by the Mussalmans though at the end the Sikhs always succeeded in recapturing it. Thus the struggle went on till 1761 when Amritsar suffered the most terrible reverse in its history. After inflicting a crushing defeat upon the Sikh force at the second Battle of Panipat Ahmad Shah Durani pursued the remnants across the Sutlej, attacked Amritsar, destroyed the city, blew up the temple with gunpowder, filled in the sacred tank with mud and defiled the holy place by slaughter of cows—thus fulfilling the prophecy of Mian Mir regarding the destruction of the shrine. With the departure of Durani, however, phoenix-like rose the city again from its ashes and the Sikhs initiated a final struggle, which resulted in the secure establishment of their political independence. They rebuilt the temple, enlarged the city, and Amritsar became for a while

the capital of the Punjab. The city was divided between the various Sikh chiefs, each of whom possessed a separate ward as his private State. But the greater part of the city soon fell into the hands of the Bhangi Confederacy who remained in supreme possession till 1802 when Ranjit Singh, who had previous to this obtained possession of Lahore, seized Amritsar and incorporated it within his dominions. On annexing Amritsar Ranjit Singh spent large sums of money in beautifying the city. His first care was the temple which he roofed with sheets of gilded copper, whence the name—the Golden Temple. He surrounded the city with massive and battlemented walls,—part of which still remains,—built the fort of Govindgarh which to this day stands on the north-west of the city garrisoned by British troops. The Maharaja also planned and laid a beautiful garden on the spot where stood a fort, the stronghold of the chief of the Bhangian *misl* from whose hands he had wrested Amritsar. The garden was built at a cost of two-and-a-quarter lakhs with a summer palace inside it encircled by a solid masonry wall ringed round by a moat. This once zealously guarded garden is now the seat of the Amritsar Club.

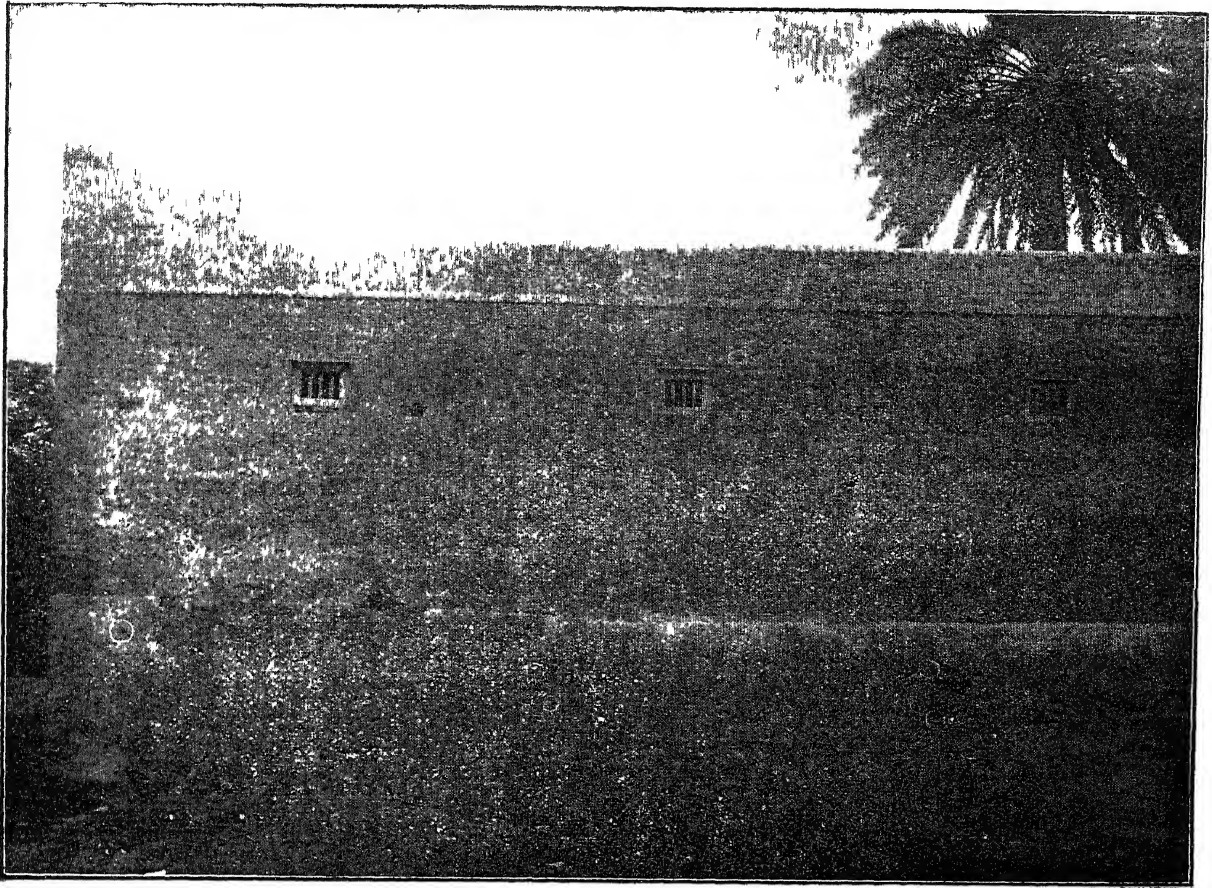


Lala Harkishanlal, Bar-at-Law

It is no wonder that after so much of care and money spent on Amritsar it became the favourite resort of Ranjit Singh. He used to go every year to the city during the Dussehra which he celebrated with great *eclat* there with the grandees of his court. It was at Amritsar that Ranjit received in 1808 Mr Metcalfe, the first English ambassador with whom he concluded a short treaty whereby he agreed to preserve peace and amity with the British,



Part of the Jallianwalla Bagh shewing two out of the four small exits from the bagh marked X on the picture



Enlarged view of a portion of the wall of Mewa Singh's Burj shewing bullet marks on the wall

not to keep more troops on the left bank of the Sutlej than were necessary for preserving his territories, and to abstain from making any further inroads, or levying contributions on the Sikh chiefs on the left bank of the Sutlej

THE CITY AND ITS SIGHTS

After the second Sikh War in 1849 Amritsar came under British rule. Much of the old city has since then been demolished. The oldest portion of the present city dates back only to the year 1762, while the greater part is of very recent erection. Some of the old dwellings in the city are quite romantic-looking and picturesque with low overhanging balconies, mysterious lattices and beautiful carved doors. The city proper is congested, innumerable dark, evil-smelling and tortuous lanes intersecting it. The Civil Lines,

however, boast of broad and well-kept roads.

The Golden Temple is of course the foremost sight of Amritsar. Standing in the very heart of the city it rises from the midst of the sacred tank connected with the land by a marble causeway. The temple is a square block crowned by a gilded cupola and with gilded outer walls. The insides are decorated with inlaid marbles, mostly carried off by sacrilegious Sikh marauders from the tomb of Jehangir near Lahore and other Mahomedan monuments. The entrance to the temple is by the marble causeway which again is entered through an archway known as the *Darshni Darwaja*. The causeway leads straight to the temple-door opposite to which sits the *Granthi* clothed in white robes before whom lies the sacred Book on

a low pedestal swathed in cloth of gold and strewn with flowers under a golden canopy of exquisite workmanship, a gift of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Throughout the day prayers are chanted in presence of this Holy of Holies. A short flight of stairs at the back of the central chamber leads to the roof of the temple where a charming panorama greets the eye. Facing the temple on the north side at the end of the cause-



Sreemati Sarala Devi
Choudhurani

Pandit Rambhaji Dutt
Choudhuri

way stands *Akal Bungah* where converts to Sikh faith receive their simple baptism known as *pahal* initiated by Guru Govind. *Akal Bungah* also has the distinction of treasuring the swords said to have been wielded by Guru Hargovind and Guru Govind and of keeping the *Granth* in safe custody after it has been removed from the temple every night. On the south-west

of the temple a seven-storied tower known as the *Atal Baba* surmounted by a gilt dome marks the spot where the body of the seven-year old son of Guru Hargovind was burnt. There is a pathetic story told about the untimely end of this boy. *Atal Baba*, that was the name of the boy, had a favourite play-mate named Mohan. One morning on arriving at his friend's home to play with him, *Atal* found him dead bitten by a snake during the night. *Atal*, the story runs, laid his hand on the body of his comrade, and his touch brought him back to life. The amazed spectators immediately fell on their knees and worshipped the super-human child. But when the news of the miracle was brought to *Atal's* father Guru Hargovind, he was annoyed and turning to his son exclaimed "Gurus should display their powers in purity of doctrine and holiness of living." This rebuke wounded *Atal* so much that he withdrew to one of the numerous tanks at Amritsar, where he laid himself down and died.

The Golden Temple frankly is not a beautiful structure. It has neither the sombre majesty nor the delicate grace of the various Muslim Mausoleums and Mosques at Delhi or Agra. It dazzles the eyes no doubt but its gaudy splendour rather repels than attracts the artist. The environs of the temple are no doubt picturesque with the old grey buildings near and around stretching in an ever-widening circle, the emerald water crossed by a white line and the blue sky overhead. But even this picturesque scene is spoilt to a considerable extent by a tall red clock-tower, of Gothic design which stands on a terrace on the east of the temple entirely out of harmony with the surroundings. Originally intended to occupy the quadrangle of the town buildings it was commenced in 1852, and finished eleven years later. Meanwhile, the site for the town buildings was changed, but the clock-tower remained.

Among other places of interest at Amritsar are the Ram Bagh and the fort to both of which references have been made already. There are several parks outside the city in one of which, the



Dr Saif-ud-din Kitchlew, Bar-at-Law
Chairman elect, All-India Muslim League
Reception Committee, Amritsar

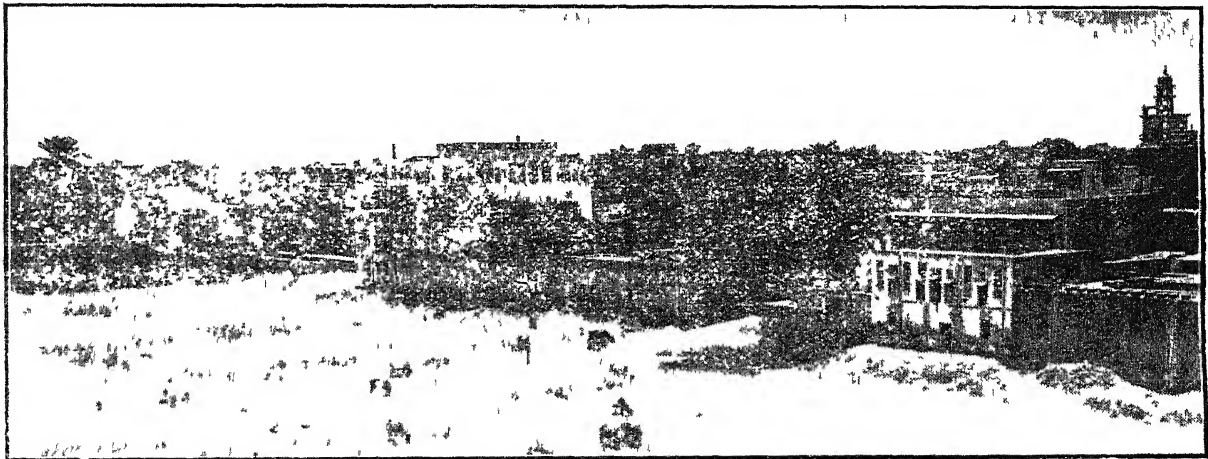


Dr Satyapal, M.B.

biggest at Amritsar, the forthcoming Congress Pandal is now being erected. This Park is named after Sir Charles Aitchison, a former Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab.

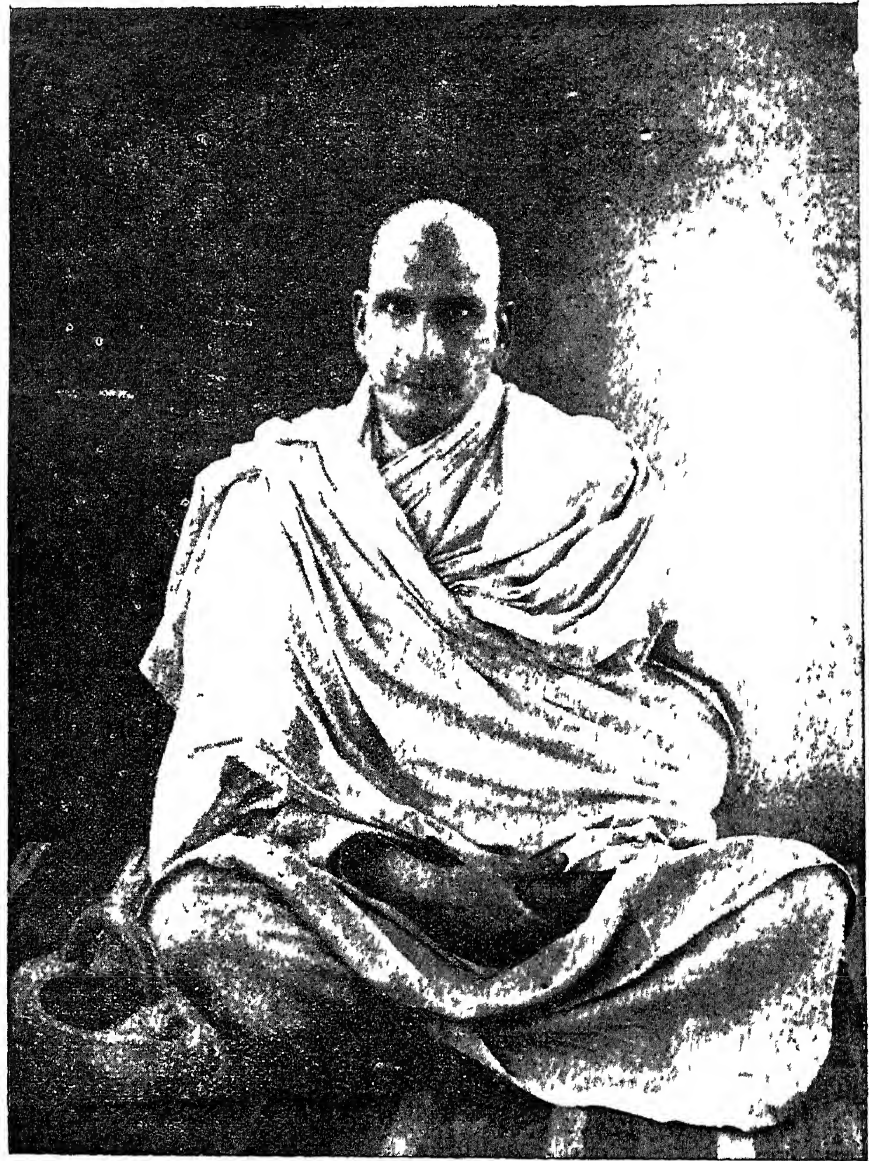
North of the city are the Civil Lines where are situated the European quarters and beyond them the military cantonment.

The chief public buildings inside the city are the Municipal Town Hall, the Kotwali, the Public Library and the Government School. A marble statue of the late Queen Victoria standing in the centre of a small garden known as the Queen's Park is also an attractive feature of the city proper. On the Civil Lines are the court-houses, and trea-



Part of the Jallianwala Bagh showing buildings on the South side adjacent to Mewa Singh's Bury. The mark on the roof of one building indicates the place from where Mr Girdharilal General Secretary of the Congress, saw the massacre. On the right-hand corner beyond the buildings is seen the Clock Tower of the Golden Temple.

On reaching the foot of these bridges the crowd were confronted by a police and a military piquet. They were ordered to disperse and on their refusal to do so this unarmed crowd were fired on, charged by cavalry and driven back resulting in the death of two and serious injuries to several persons. What followed is one of the saddest stories in our history. The disorderly element in the crowd enaged at the bloodshed spread in all directions, burnt the National Bank, the Chartered Bank, the Alliance Bank, the Town Hall, the Mission Church, the Depot of the Punjab Religious Book Society, inhumanly murdered in cold blood Mr Stewart and Mr Scott of the National Bank and Mr G H Thomason of the Alliance Bank. Two European ladies, one a doctor and another a nurse, were attacked by the mob and while the former, Mrs Easdon, escaped, the latter, Miss Sherwood, was most brutally assaulted. All these dastardly and disgraceful outrages occurred inside the city. Outside Sergeant Rowlands, Cantonment Electrician and Railway Guard Robinson, an ex-Northumberland Fusilier were beaten to death and the station goods yard burnt. An attack on the Telegraph office was successfully repulsed. The day following, the dead on both sides were buried and the authorities arrested several persons suspected of having taken part in the riot. But the city was sur-

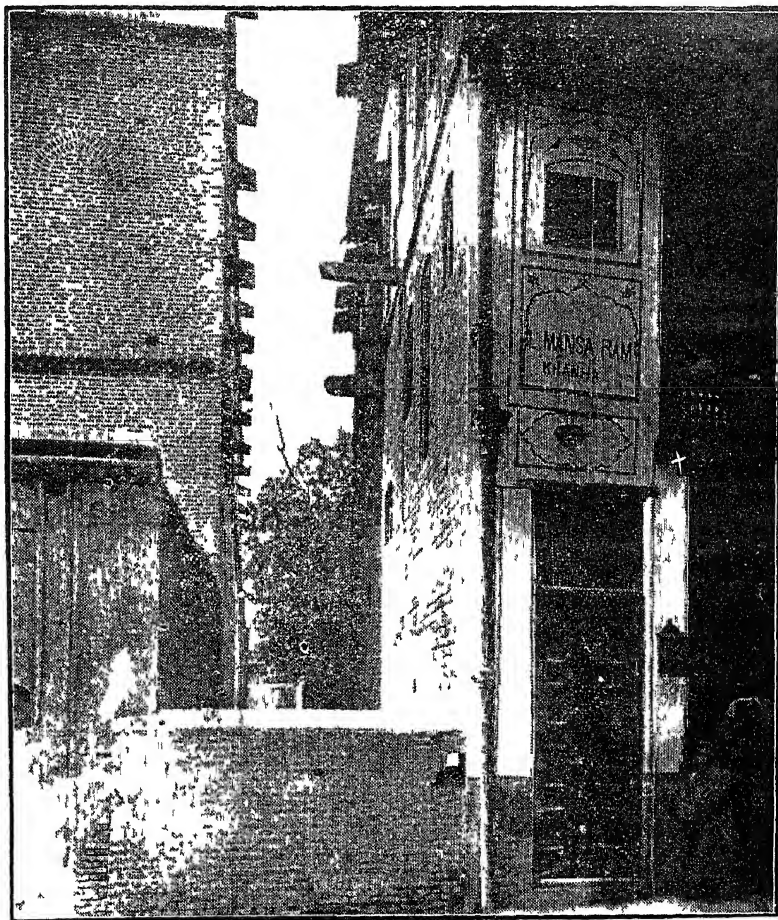


Swami Sraddhananda,
Chairman of the Reception Committee of the 34th Indian
National Congress at Amritsar

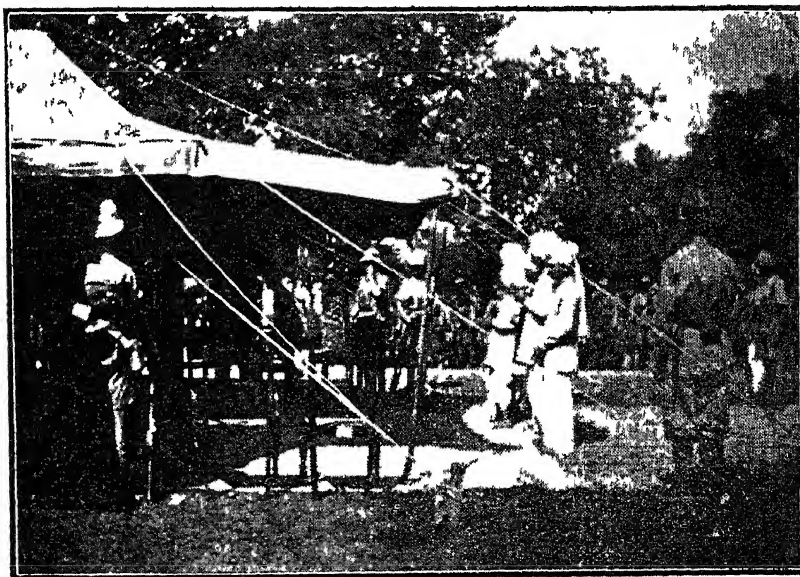
By the courtesy of Mr Dial Das,
Photographer, Roorkee

rounded by the military, all approaches to the Civil Line being well guarded. Re-inforcements were sent for from Lahore and Jullundur and the whole of the European community living in the Civil Lines were removed to the Fort and the headquarters of the civil authorities to the Railway Station. There was, however, no act of lawlessness or violence on the 11th and the 12th and everything was quiet in the city. The people had begun

settling down to their normal duties. But in the meantime General Dyer had come from Jullundur with a large military force, and had taken over the charge of administration of Amritsar from the Deputy Commissioner. Under what law this transference of authority took place before the Martial Law had been declared remained a mystery. Except for perhaps a few hours on the 10th the civil authorities had never lost control of the city. That they had regained it, if not the same evening, at least the day following, is conclusively proved by the strict observance by the people of the orders of the Deputy Commissioner regarding the burial of the dead. Furthermore, the civil authorities had without the least difficulty been able both on the 11th and the 12th to effect a number of arrests inside the city without any resistance. In the face of these facts the



A building on the south side of the Jallianwala Bagh where a person sitting on the balcony of his house was hit by a bullet



A Martial Law Summary Court at Amritsar

transfer of power from the civil to the military was clearly unjustifiable and unnecessary. But what followed was worse, worse than anything that had ever happened in British history. On assuming control of Amritsar, General Dyer made the Ram Bagh his headquarters and proceeded with his work of "restoring peace and order." On the 12th the General marched through the city with a column of troops. The next day, the 13th, was the fateful day of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. Enough have been written and said, during the last



The Hon'ble Pandit Motilal Nehru, President, 34th Indian National Congress at Amritsar. Photograph specially taken for the *Modern Review* by Messrs Satwalekar & Co, Lahore

few weeks, on this gruesome affair, but the story will bear repetition.

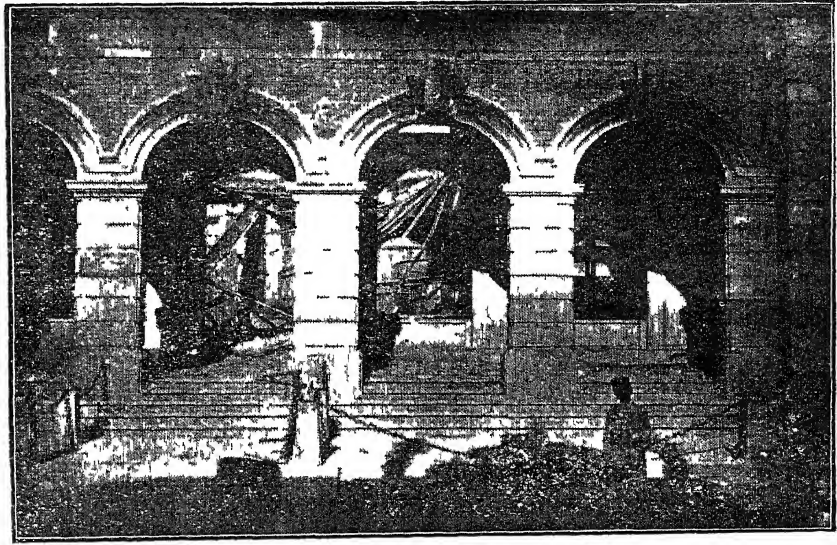
On the morning of the 13th April General Dyer entered the city with a proclamation in which he said among other things that "any gathering of four men will be looked upon and treated as an unlawful assembly and dispersed by force of arms if necessary." The proclamation was not read however at

many parts of the city at all, thus leaving the majority of the inhabitants completely in the dark as to its contents. While in the city about mid-day the General came to learn that a meeting was going to be held in the Jallianwala Bagh at 4.30 the same afternoon. But instead of taking any step to prevent the meeting taking place, he returned to his headquarters to "organise the forces" and "think the matter out". At about 4 o'clock news was brought to him that a very large crowd had collected in the Bagh. Forthwith he marched at a leisurely pace towards the Bagh with a number of troops and two armoured cars. He reached the place at about 5.

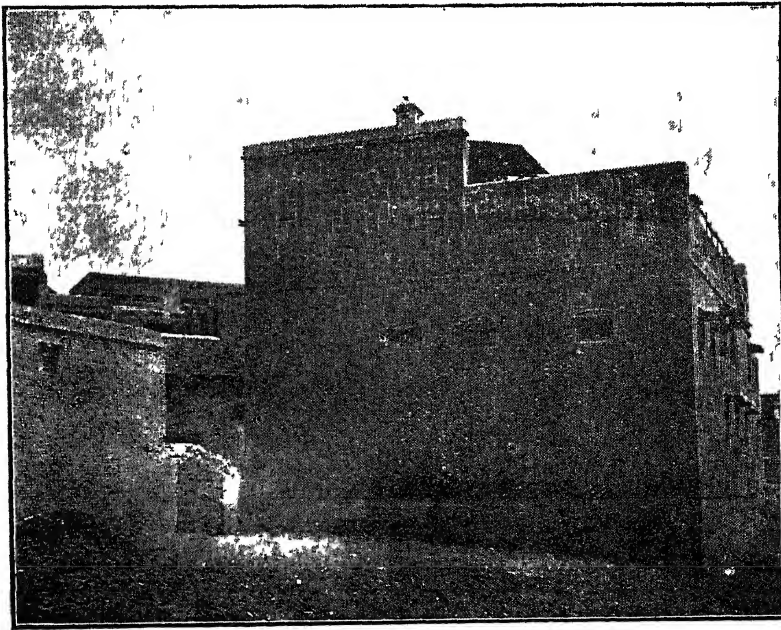
A description of the Jallianwala Bagh seems to be here necessary. The word *Bagh* is a misnomer, for the place is in no sense a garden. It is a vast *maidan* surrounded on all sides by houses, the walls and terraces of which overlook it. In the middle of the *maidan* stand the ruins of a temple and on one side is situated, underneath a couple of solitary banyan trees, a well. Of the five small exits from or entrances to this *maidan* the largest permits not more than four or five men walking abreast, while the rest are so narrow and small that they are better described as crevices. The main entrance is on a narrow lane and leads to a raised low platform of earth running from one end of the Bagh to another. All the other exits in different parts of the Bagh lead to what are known as sewage lanes.

But to return to the story. On reaching the head of the narrow lane which leads to the Jallianwala Bagh, General Dyer had to leave his armoured cars there as it was found to be too narrow for taking them in. He then entered the Bagh with his troops through the main entrance already described and deployed them to his right and left on the raised platform of earth referred to above. The meeting had begun and there was a gathering of several thousands, for on the 13th of April—the day of the meeting—the great *Baisakhi* fair is held at Amritsar when people from surrounding villages and even distant places flock to the city, and hearing that

a meeting was to be held these people had come in their hundreds to attend it. This unarmed and peaceful gathering included old men and young boys and even babes. But all this was no consideration to General Dyer. Neither did it strike him that many among those present at the meeting might be in complete ignorance of his order prohibiting all meetings. He immediately opened fire without any warning and for ten minutes his troops rained death without cease,—the gallant General himself directing the fire where the crowd on its mad rush for exit from the Bagh was the thickest. And when he did stop, as we now learn from the General's statement before the Hunter Committee, it was because the ammunition of his men ran short. As soon as this ghastly deed was over the General withdrew with his troops without any thought of the hundreds of dead and dying left behind and to crown all far from modifying the curfew order which he had issued the same morning threatening people with the severest punishment if found in the street after 8 o'clock in the evening, the General went out at 9 o'clock to see whether the order was being obeyed or not with the result that friends of dead and wounded could neither dispose of the bodies of the former nor render medical aid to the latter.



The National Bank of India, Ltd., at Amritsar



Part of the Jallianwala Bagh just behind the meeting place on the north side showing the walls of buildings with bullet marks and one of the main exits (now filled up with bricks as shown in the photo) where was found one of the largest heaps of dead bodies after the Military had left.

Such in short is the story of the "cold and calcu-

lated massacre of the Jallianwala Bagh" which has shocked India from one end to the other. It is difficult, nay almost impossible, to speak in language of restraint of this piece of "frightfulness" of a British General and the approval accorded to it by an Irish administrator. But the Hunter Committee is still sitting and we must not anticipate its verdict.



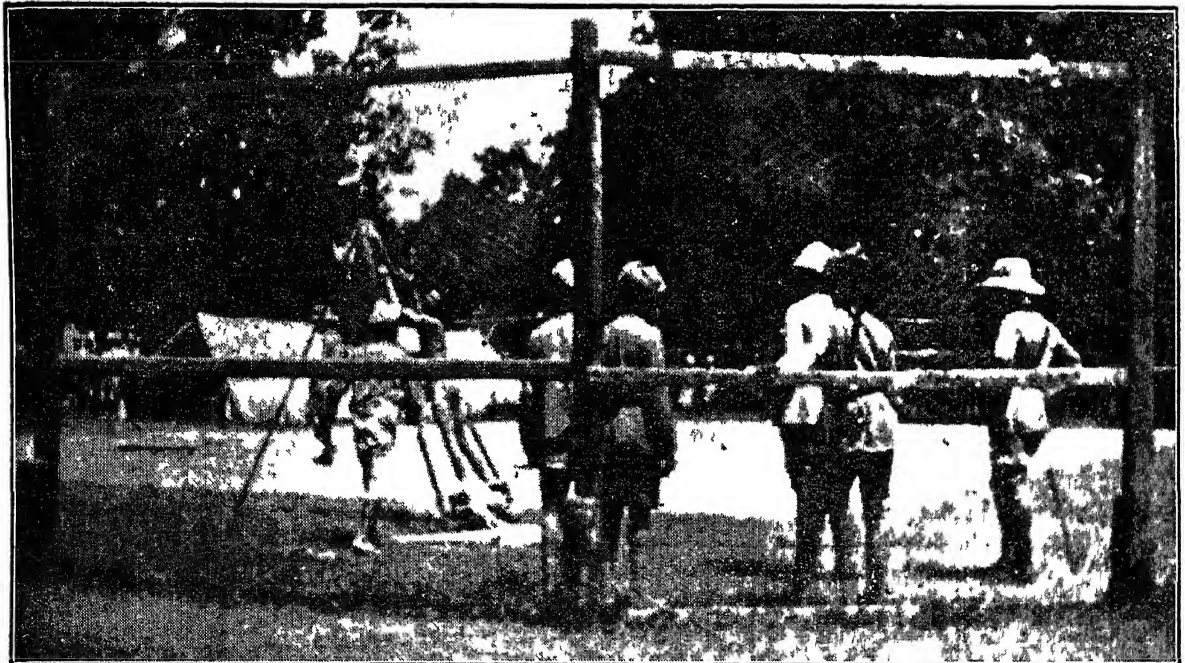
Salaaming Parade at Amritsar during the Martial law days

Undoubtedly the most brutal proceeding at Jallianwala Bagh was neither the only nor the last performance at Amritsar. On the 15th of April—two days after the massacre—Martial Law

was proclaimed at Amritsar and then followed a chapter of tyranny and oppression to which there is hardly any parallel in the history of a civilised nation barring some instances, as Rabindranath Tagore put it, remote and near. No humiliation was considered too low or no punishment too severe to "teach the rebels a lesson". Indiscriminate arrests, handcuffing, and

detention in custody for long days of respectable persons, enrolment of barristers and pleaders as special constables, compulsory salaaming by the citizens of every British Officer, public flogging are a few of the many indignities heaped on the head of Amritsar. But the most stupid and the most outrageous of all punishments was making people to crawl on all fours for the offences

of a few hooligans. It is unnecessary, however, to enter into details of all these atrocious measures. The evidence before the Hunter Committee has revealed them in all their nakedness. Suffice it to



Flogging of Citizens of Amritsar under the Martial Law

say that together they constitute what is perhaps the darkest chapter in the history of British Rule in India, and it is fairly certain that when the story of these atrocities reaches England it will so awaken the judgment and conscience of that great country that there will be no choice for the British Government and the British

Parliament except to inflict condign punishment upon the wrong-doers, however high their position may be, and to take a sacred resolve that such thing shall never again be done in their name by their agents in this country

The "Tribune" Office, Lahore
December, 1919

GROWTH OF THE DRINK AND DRUG TRADE AMONG THE EDUCATED COMMUNITY OF BENGAL

BY RAI BAHADUR DR CHUNILAL BOSE, I S O , M B , F C S

AT the Temperance Conference organised by the Calcutta Temperance Federation and held at Calcutta on the 22nd November, 1919, the subject of the Growth of the Drink and Drug Trade among the Educated Community of Bengal was thoroughly discussed. The idea is a new one to the Indian public, if not to the Government, and may be taken as an innovation in the Excise policy of the Government.

It was only three years ago, that some of our university graduates took it into their heads to apply for licenses for the sale of opium, ganja and chaisas, and only during last year licenses for the sale of country liquor were taken out by some of the B A's and M A's of the Calcutta University. It is, therefore, very desirable that the question should be fully discussed while it is still on an experimental stage and any well-considered decision arrived at as to its adaptability or otherwise to the special conditions of our country would, I am sure, be welcome both to the Government and the public at large.

It will be seen from the statement circulated by the Calcutta Temperance Federation that for the last two years, experiments have been made with B A's and M A's of our university, as vendors of these excisable articles. The results were closely watched and it is reported that

no decided improvement has been effected by the introduction of these educated people as vendors of these articles from temperance point of view. We can, therefore, take it for granted that the experiment so far has not produced hopeful results. Nevertheless, the measure is being given a further trial.

At present, fourteen of our graduates are engaged in the Drink and Drug trade in Calcutta, of whom six are B A's and B Sc's and the rest are M A's and M Sc's. One of these gentlemen is a teacher in a High School in Calcutta.

The question may be considered from two aspects, viz, (1) its *Trade* aspect and (2) the *Moral* aspect.

So far as the first aspect is concerned, I must say that, taken generally, there is not much to object to the measure. One trade, from the business point of view, pure and simple, is as honorable as another, provided it is carried on with honesty and straightforwardness. An honest shop-keeper, to my mind, is as good and respectable a member of the community as a person belonging to any of the so-called honorable professions. When, therefore, the trader possesses good educational qualifications, it is not only an advantage to his business in many ways but it also raises expectations in the minds of the public that his dealings would be honest.

and straightforward, although disappointment is by no means rare in one's expectations in this respect

It cannot however be denied that there are certain trades which from their very nature tend to blunt our moral sensibility however honestly they may be carried out, and no wonder therefore that these have at all times been looked down upon by the community. One of these, for example, is the trade of a butcher. There are butchers, no doubt, who are as honest in matters concerning their occupation as any other person, carrying on a more humane trade, but it can hardly be denied that the gentler feelings of humanity become somewhat dull or deadened in the butcher, simply on account of the peculiar character of his occupation, and pain and death do not appeal as eloquently to his moral consciousness as on any other member of the community. It is on this consideration I think, that in certain countries butchers are not allowed to sit as Jurors in murder cases.

A publican likewise does not command that amount of respect and sympathy which is shown to the ordinary traders in a country and his position in society is also inferior. It is particularly so in India. In the sacred books of the Hindus, it is enjoined "मद्यमपेयमदेयमयाज्ञम्" "Wine should not be drunk by anybody, or given to anybody or accepted by anybody." People trading in liquor in India form a separate caste by themselves called the *Soundiks*. The trade is so very repugnant to the ordinary notions of the community that from very early times those who carried on the liquor-trade have been considered an unsociable and untouchable lot with whom the other members of the community would not eat or drink or mix in society. This repugnance is in the main due to their dealing in an article of trade which is so injurious to the well-being of the community and to their getting rich at the expense of the physical, moral and social good of their fellow-countrymen.

Drinking is a human frailty and seems to be as old as the history of humanity itself. There never was any time or place in the history of the world in which

humanity was altogether free from this weakness. Drinks were made or manufactured in India in remote ages and, of course, there were people who used to partake of liquor. But the evil habit seems to have been confined to a small proportion of the population. The majority of the people not only did not drink but tried to do what they could to create an aversion and hatred against drink, as well against its trade as against the people who carried on such trade.

To familiarise oneself with an evil thing is to lose much of the aversion against it. It might gradually lead to one's liking the thing, and in the end, to be in love with it. Our forefathers took note of this simple truth and by carrying on a social warfare against those that carried on the drink trade, tried to protect society as much as possible against the insidious attack of a *poison* which would destroy the moral, physical, social and economical happiness of the people.

The question now is—Are we prepared to see our educated young men who are the future fathers of the race, to be associated with an article of trade as degrading as it is dangerous, so that not only they but their children, their relations and their friends would become familiar with this subtle poison, or do we wish that they should keep themselves aloof from this dangerous occupation for a living?

I may be permitted to observe that the adoption of this trade by the present batch of our educated young men can hardly be attributed to any desire on their part of minimising the evils of the drink and drug habit among their countrymen by strictly carrying out the regulations of the Excise Act. It appears from information at our disposal that the main reason for their taking up this trade is *to make a maximum profit out of a minimum capital*. One of them writes—"I have taken to this sort of living purely from the business point of view, because it enables me to draw the maximum profit with a minimum capital." Another says—"The main reason for my taking up this line is that we can have maximum profit with a minimum capital." A third writes—

"I am driven to take up, though with much reluctance, the business as an economic factor—more profit with a small capital." One can draw one's own conclusion from these candid confessions.

Taking all the circumstances into consideration, I would leave it to the Indian public to decide whether it is worthwhile in the interest of the liquor-trade only, "*in order to get rid of unnecessary trouble experienced by the Excise Staff and of the dishonest practices in the shops resorted to by greedy and dishonest Vendors*", that our educated young men should be exposed to such temptation and be initiated into a trade whose ultimate consequences are sure to be very disastrous.

The public agitation against the innovation has not been without effect. One of

the educated vendors, a professor in a college, in deference to the agitation in the papers, has since given up his license and has once again returned to his honorable and quiet profession of teaching. The position of a teacher carrying on this trade is particularly harmful and embarrassing. He may have to teach Temperance lessons in his class and the pupils will at once see that *precept* and *example* do not coincide in the case of their teacher.

I hope, I have been able to place before my readers both sides of the case in as fair a manner as I could. It is now for the educated Indian people to discuss the matter in all its bearings and come to a well-considered decision which will be helpful in advancing the cause of Temperance in India.

THE GOVERNMENT RESOLUTION ON THE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION

THE supplement to the *Gazette of India* dated the 15th November, 1919, publishes the Resolution of the Government of India on the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission and the Secretary of States' orders thereon together with the replies of the provincial Governments and other authorities who were consulted on the subject. We make a selection from the contents of this state document.

The Government of India begin by blessing the labours of the Commission.

The Government of India are confident that the members of the Commission will be able to look back to their work, in years to come, as the starting point of a new era of co-operation between Government and the industrial public for the economic advancement of India, and that their zealous endeavour to this end will find its best reward in the results which the Government of India confidently anticipate from it.

The Government of India then proceeds to explain the necessity for the creation of Imperial and provincial departments of industries. Mr Innes, Director of Indus-

tries, Madras, strongly supports the scheme, on the following grounds:

I am quoting from Sir Thomas Holland's Convocation speech. On political, national and every other ground the need for the development of Indian industries by Indians is urgent. In the circumstances of India, Government must abandon its *Laissez-faire* policy and must play an active part in this development. But it cannot do so "unless provided with adequate administrative equipment and forearmed with reliable scientific and technical advice." These are the two premises on which the proposals in the Report are based.

Personally, therefore, having regard to the considerations mentioned above, particularly to the general poverty of the country and to the dangers, political and economic, inherent in its present industrial backwardness. I think that the Commission was justified in its treatment of the subject. If any rapid change for the better is to be made in the development of Indian industries, it is necessary to think imperially instead of provincially, to consider the problem as a whole and to pool the limited resources available in order that they may be used to the best advantage of India. If these views are accepted, the need for an Imperial

Department of Industries requires no further argument. It will initiate the main lines of policy and in matters of lesser importance will co-ordinate the work in the different provinces. At the same time, the stage should be purely transitional, and as in political reform so in industries the goal should be the largest possible measure of decentralization to Local Governments at the earliest possible moment.

Generally speaking, the Government of India will deal with the development of "key" industries, *i.e.*, industries which are vital for purposes of national defence or are an essential link in a whole chain of other industries. All other industries will be left to the care of the provincial departments and Local Governments concerned. The Imperial and Provincial Departments will naturally be in the closest touch, and there is no danger of overlapping or confusion.

The Government of the United Provinces is not much in favour of an Imperial department of Industries. "Sir Harcourt Butler has considerable experience of Government of India, and does not wish to appear to be in any way in opposition to it. The great difficulty in practice is the congestion and delay which occur in the Government of India. The area which they have to supervise is too vast for any centralised machine. The local differences are also very marked between provinces." The Chief Secretary to the Government of the United Provinces concludes his letter thus:

In conclusion I am to say that the root of the matter is the creation of a spirit of adjustment and personal consultation. It is impossible to have life in India unless the provinces are left to develop, subject to general control, on their own lines, which are understood by the people and which create a feeling of provincial patriotism. On a question of administrative system every doubtful point should be given in favour of the principle of decentralization, because India is far too vast for any one Government really to dictate or to exercise more than a general control. His Honour anticipates little practical difficulty if every Local Government is left to settle its practical problems with the Government of India instead of trying to lay down something that may apply to India as a whole.

The Upper India Chamber of Commerce, Cawnpore, express themselves very strongly on the subject as will appear from the following extract:

What then is exactly meant by the "uniformity of policy" is not clearly understood, unless, of course, it be apprehended that without the strict supervision and tutelage of the Central

authority the Local Governments would lapse into inactivity or be otherwise incapable of carrying on a vigorous industrial campaign. There appear to be no grounds for that apprehension. Past experience at any rate tells quite a different story. It was only a few years back that the useful activities of the Madras Department of Industries were summarily put an end to by the higher authorities. In these provinces the Local Government's proposals for a technological institute met with a similar fate. Now with the changed policy of the Supreme Government matters will, no doubt, be different, but there are no reasons to suppose that the Local Governments will in any way be less anxious than the Government of India to make up for past indifference and inaction. Nor is there any justification for doubting the former's capacity to do so.

As regards the financial resources of the Provincial Governments these will be vastly improved under the new system of finance, which, it may safely be assumed, will shortly be introduced. It is the Government of India who will then look to the provinces for the making up of its own revenue deficit. That leaves no force in the argument that the Provincial Governments will lack the requisite financial resources.

My committee are, therefore, strongly of opinion that the idea of a new Imperial Department of Industries should be altogether abandoned and that industrial development should be entirely a provincial concern, for which the Local Governments, in their respective Departments of Industries, should be wholly responsible and in respect of which they should enjoy the greatest possible freedom of action and initiative. It is impossible to anticipate in what shape the Reform Scheme will emerge from the British Parliament, but it seems abundantly clear that under the new regime the Local Governments would be more popular than the Central Government. That is another reason why my committee would have industrial development as wholly a provincial subject because of all matters in the administration of which the people of the land should be given the greatest voice, that of Industries stands foremost.

The Secretary of State's decision is as follows —

I accept the two fundamental principles underlying the recommendations of the Commission, first, that in future Government should play an active part in the industrial development of the country, secondly, that Government cannot undertake this work unless provided with adequate administrative equipment and forearmed with reliable scientific and technical advice. Following on the acceptance of these principles I agree that suitably equipped organisations should be set up in the Provincial Governments and in the Central Government.

In giving effect to this policy, State assistance will take various forms such as research, the survey of natural resources, technical and scientific advice, educational facilities, commercial and industrial intelligence, the establishment of pioneering and demonstration factories, financial help, the purchase of Government stores in India, whether in the usual way of business or under a guarantee of purchase over a fixed period, and probably also fiscal measures.

I am glad to observe that in defining the relations between the Imperial and Provincial Departments, you favour a large measure of Provincial independence, and that within their general financial and other powers, the local Governments would be given a free hand subject to the reasonable reservations detailed in paragraphs 18 and 19 of your letter. I have, however, little doubt that local Governments, limited as they will be in respect of resources and staff, will readily seek the advice and assistance of the Imperial Department. But for the most part reference should be voluntary, and the necessity of obtaining previous sanction should as far as possible be avoided.

The Government of India next proceeds to give its reasons for making industries a special department of the Government in charge of a separate member of Council.

In addition to this, two still more important classes of activity have to be undertaken by the Indian Government, for which in England the necessity and even the occasion are almost entirely absent, namely, the stimulation of private enterprise and the exploitation of the great State properties. The present unsatisfactory position in India is almost entirely due to the lack of private enterprise, this has to be built up and encouraged by the provision of technical information, the training of consultants, technologists and artisans, the offer of Government orders, concessions and guarantees, and by the creation of a system of finance which will afford to industries the facilities which have hitherto been concentrated on trade. In England most of these advantages have long existed, they have been created by private enterprise and in turn they have reacted on it, and extended its scope. In the next place, the Indian Government possesses and is responsible for the economic utilisation of a very potent instrument of aid to industries, which in England is lacking, viz., the State ownership of extensive forest areas, mineral and water rights. But to make this instrument effective, it will have to be wielded with far greater skill and purpose than heretofore, and must therefore be directed by an agency which is designed to stimulate and assist industries, rather than by one which is well adapted, indeed, to assist commerce, but whose relations with industries have hitherto been mainly restrictive.

It is indeed possible to bring forward a further

reason for separating the functions of Government in relation to trade from those which concern industry. The future economic policy of India will be affected by two forces, which will often be in opposition: the wish to protect home industries by fiscal measures, and the necessity of maintaining the free movement of trade and of securing to the consumer goods at a reasonable price. It would be, we think, a serious mistake to confuse the issue by placing the interests of industry and commerce, which respectively represent these two conflicting forces, under a single representative. Each interest should have its own line of action clearly before it, in any case where these lines diverge, the course must be settled after a full and clear consideration of all the factors in that case, and should not depend on whether the Member who may be at the time in charge of both interests happens to favour protection or free trade.

In forming a decision on the necessity of a separate department, popular sentiment and expectation cannot be ignored. As the Industrial Commission have said in paragraph 320 of their report, the duties of a central industrial agency "are sufficiently important and sufficiently correlated, both in themselves, and in the public mind, to justify special treatment, and they involve interests which deserve separate representation in the Viceroy's Executive Council." This view was anticipated in paragraph 340 of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms. The importance to India of definite policy for the improvement of her industries is based on the strongest economic, political and military reasons, for years past it has been prominently in the public mind and is now urged still more forcibly by all classes of Indian opinion as an indispensable condition of the future political progress of the country. Anything short of the creation of a central department of industries will be generally considered an inadequate expression of that policy. Popular opinion will look to the central department of industries for the fulfilment of India's hopes for a great industrial future, and will regard it, in fact, as the pre-eminently *swadeshi* department.

For these reasons we agree that a central department of industries is, at any rate, during the initial stages of the new policy, the necessary and appropriate agency for stimulating, guiding and co-ordinating all forms of Government effort for the development of industries, and to this view we ask you to give your approval in principle.

The following extract from the Bombay Government's letter will give us an idea of the respective functions of the departments of Commerce and Industry —

The present understanding between the local Department of Industries and the Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and the Trade

Commissioners is that the main function of the Director-General is to foster the export trade while the Trade Commissioner pays special attention to India's requirements which can be met from the British Empire, and the Director of Industries concentrates on the possibilities of increasing local manufacture

The Secretary of State, however, cold-shoulders the whole suggestion

The desirability of placing cognate subjects, such as Commerce, under the charge of the Member for Industries should be kept in view. The arguments advanced in your letter have not convinced me that it is desirable that these two branches of the administration should be placed permanently in charge of separate Members

The next point in the Government of India's Resolution concerns the creation of All-India Scientific Services. The Commission proposed that the members of the scientific services should be seconded by deputations to teaching work in the colleges for periods of five years at a time. "The absence of a scientific atmosphere," say the Government of India, "has been particularly injurious to scientific officers in the Educational Service, and has led to great stagnation in respect of research work." In view of the criticism to which the Commission's proposal has been subjected by officers in the educational department, the Government of India propose a modified scheme of co-ordination of the scientific and educational services. They say

We are much influenced by the prospects which the proposed system affords of increasing the number of Indians in the scientific services. An Indian appointed to an isolated post, or as an assistant to an isolated professor in a country where the scientific atmosphere is non-existent, or at the best exceedingly attenuated, lacks guidance and the stimulus of his fellows in the pursuit to scientific knowledge. His ambitions tend to become limited to the improvement of his pay and prospects, rather than of his professional attainments. His membership of an all-India service, based on the pursuit of a common science will increase the prestige of that science in his eyes and in those of the Indian public, the existence of the proposed imperial nucleus of scientists under a distinguished chief will provide him with an incitement to excel with assistance in his studies and with opportunity for training if he desires it.

The institution of an industrial service seems to us also the best if not the only means of training Indians of the right type to fill the higher industrial posts, whereas the alternative system

of employing temporary experts must necessarily perpetuate the employment of Europeans

The following is from the memorandum of a committee of Punjab professors asked to report on the subject

By far the most serious results may be anticipated on the scientific education of the country. It is gravely suggested that education would benefit from the seconding, for a rest cure of five years' duration, of jaded industrialists, who would thus be enabled to renew "in a well-proportioned way their general knowledge of their special professional subjects." The aim of the educationalist should be to provide in all our Universities healthy schools of instruction and a real atmosphere of research. This will not be secured by a succession of seconded officers. A permanent policy must be maintained at each University. Frequent changes in the instructional staff of a teaching institution all tend to lack of efficiency. The conditions of employment of professors at the Universities, or lecturers in the Provincial Colleges should be such that a man might look forward with satisfaction to the prospects of finishing the greater part of his life's work in the same surroundings.

The following is from the U P Chamber of Commerce —

My committee are also strongly opposed to the creation of the various Imperial India services recommended. They fully associate themselves with the view that importation being necessary only recognised experts and specialists should be engaged on special terms and short contracts and on the express condition that the training of our own young men would form an important part of their work here. My committee repeat that the matter should be left entirely in the hands of the Provincial Governments. If the latter find the establishment of regular Industrial or Scientific services indispensable at any later stage let them organise the same. These will then be Provincial and not Imperial services and under the control of the Government under which they will be serving. We have had enough of the anomaly of these Imperial services. Besides, the proposed services will be prohibitively expensive. My committee are, therefore, opposed to their creation on both administrative and financial grounds.

We now come to the Government of India's proposal on the purchase of stores

The remaining point, viz, the purchase of stores in India, may be more briefly dealt with.

The present system under which the only specific organisation for the purchase of stores required for the use of Government is situated in London has long been the subject of serious criticism both by politicians and by business men in this country. It is alleged, and not without reason, that this system discourages the

purchase of Government stores manufactured in India and thus tends to perpetuate itself by withdrawing an important form of stimulus from nascent industries. We agree that this is not the spirit or intention of the rules, which give considerable scope for the purchase of Indian-made articles. But in actual practice the absence of an expert buying and inspecting agency in India makes indenting officers unwilling to take the responsibility for the purchase of locally made articles, and inevitably leads to their placing their orders with the only Government agency properly equipped for purchase and inspection, viz., the Stores Department of the India Office. A departure from this system is urgently and universally demanded, and its continuance would be looked on as an instance of the alleged economic selfishness of the British nation who, it will be said, are prepared to give away political concessions, but to part with nothing that touches their pockets.

The history of the past three years has shown some unexpected capabilities of India for local manufacture, even in face of the lack of expert workers and of essential plant arising out of war conditions, it has also shown the beneficial effect of Government purchase and inspection in encouraging Indian industries and inducing them to improve their methods and strike out fresh lines.

Mr Innes, Director of Madras industries, says as follows —

It is certain that the best way of encouraging Indian industries is to buy from the manufacturing firms. My experience is that European business concerns in this country are apathetic in this matter. They have always been in the habit of importing what they want from the United Kingdom and they are very ignorant of the manufacturing resources of India. It is not always their fault. It is no use, for instance, for them to offer for sale Punjab cutlery; their customers will have Sheffield cutlery, and it may be taken as certain that for many years to come they will go on importing their requirements from the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom moreover is a very different place from what it was five years ago. Its workshops have been modernised, old machinery has been ruthlessly scrapped, and the country is far better equipped for an aggressive foreign trade. It is going to be a difficult business, therefore, to keep Indian industries alive, and it is absolutely essential that Government should take up a strong line in the matter of the local purchase of Government stores.

The Bengal Government

The account of Government's industrial policy in recent years, which is given in Chapter VIII of the Commission's report, indicates that the industrial backwardness of India is due, not to lack of enterprise on the part of Provincial

Governments, despite the restrictions, financial and other, on their powers, but to the deliberate policy of the Imperial Government.

The following is from the memorandum of a discussion held at a conference of specialists for the consideration of the organisation of chemical research under the presidency of Sir Thomas Holland.

Consideration was then given to the training of students and apprentices at the Government Central Research Institute and to the question whether the work at this institute could be combined with a post-graduate training in research. It was agreed that, while it was necessary to train Indians for the future chemical industries of India, teaching should form no part of the functions of the institute, although graduates and others might be attached to officers of the institute to receive an indirect training by assisting them in their work.

The following is from the account of a similar conference of Agricultural chemists.

Among the causes which operate against the extended use of the manures is the fact that manures have to be carried over long distances from the centres of supply to make them available to cultivators. Further, the demand of the individual cultivator is mainly for small consignments of manure, and, in view of the caste prejudices prevalent in the country, many fertilizers, such as bone-meal, dried blood, and poudrette, are classed by the railway companies as offensive goods. Again, there is no uniformity in the rates charged at present by the various railways for the carriage of manures. After a due consideration of the various difficulties it was resolved that the Railway Board be asked to arrange that the present minimum rate of 1-10th pie per maund per mile should be charged in all cases on minimum wagon loads of such concentrated manures, and that the Provincial Agricultural Departments should encourage the formation of local distribution centres so as to build up a regulated traffic which is capable of taking full advantage of the concession of the minimum rate.

Mr Montagu agrees with the government of India on the organisation of an Indian stores department, and accepts the principle of an all-India industrial service, taking care to mention that men of the foreman type should not be selected, but that the department should be reserved "as a rule for men of good education, with technical qualifications or business training." He also remarks that "if the efficiency of labour be increased even to a moderate extent India could probably hold her own."

If, therefore, development is to proceed on sound lines, and if enduring results are to be obtained labour must be made more efficient. In India, where the workers are unorganised, a special obligation lies upon Government to study their welfare and to secure for them better education, better housing, and a higher standard of living. By her adherence to the International Labour Convention India will now become subject in respect of labour conditions to international criticism. This need not be resented, as it is in the best interests of the country that present conditions should be improved, provided that it is recognised that Indian conditions are radically different from those of western countries and that western standards cannot at once be applied.

We conclude with the following extract from Mr. Montagu's letter to the Government of India, which every patriotic Indian will be glad to endorse.

With the quickening of political life that will follow the grant of constitutional reforms the demand for progress in administration and social reform may be expected to become insistent, and if progress is not to be hampered by want of funds the taxable capacity of the people will have to be increased. To this end the natural resources of India must be effectively utilised, as new opportunities for the investment of capital present themselves, in order that the standard of comfort of the people may be raised, and the economic strength of the country may increase. Further, as the experience of the past few years has shown that in time of war India cannot rely on outside sources for her needs, the matter is one in which political expediency, economic advantage and military security are coincident and accord with the interests of the Empire as a whole.

Q

EXAMINATION OF SOME STATEMENTS OF THE SADLER COMMISSION

WE make the following excerpts from the Report of the Calcutta University Commission, Vol I —

"But the teachers in missionary Colleges are not all missionaries, in every case a majority of the staff (in all, 67 out of 98) consist of Indian teachers, most of whom are non-Christians. The rate of pay for these Indian teachers, is substantially lower than the rate of pay in the Government Colleges. But, in spite of the fact that the principal teachers are missionaries, the average salary paid to Indian members of the staff in the Scottish Churches College [Rs 144 per mensem] is higher than the average of the salaries paid to all members of the staff in five out of six private colleges in Calcutta. In St. Xavier's College, and in the two missionary colleges in the mufassal, the rate of pay of the Indian members of the staff is below the average rate of pay in the private colleges, but it should be remembered that in the mission colleges the salaries of the chief teachers are not computed in the average, and if the salaries of the chief teachers were omitted in computing the average salary in other colleges, this average would obviously be much lower. Again, the tenure of Indian teachers is insecure in the missionary colleges, as in the private colleges, the general rule being a month's notice on either side. In response to our inquiries on this head, the Scot-

tish Churches College reported that "a proposal to change this, giving longer notice, was opposed by the senior members of the Indian staff. Within the last three years the staff has lost one member by death after forty-three years' service, one by retirement after thirty-four years, and one who became inspector of colleges after twenty-one years." We have, in fact, heard no complaint of unfair dismissal of Indian teachers in missionary colleges. It may be added that the Scottish Churches College (which is much the largest and, with one exception, much the oldest of the missionary colleges) has a provident fund for the Indian members of the staff, to which the teachers subscribe 5 per cent of their income, the College adding an equal amount from its general funds" (Pp 373-4).

"It is in the private colleges, which mainly or wholly depend upon students' fees, that the conditions of salary, tenure and service are, in general, most unsatisfactory" (P 374).

"The [Scottish Churches] College provides residential accommodation for 318 of these students in well-organised hostels, and it is one of the features of this College that most of the European members of the staff live either in the Compound of the College (thus following the tradition of Duff), or in the actual hostel buildings. This makes some real social relationship between teachers and students possible,

and there is a stronger corporate spirit in this College than in most others" (P 418)

[But, the question is, do the professors and students dine together, play together, worship together, &c? So far as we know, they do not. Merely dwelling near one another does not constitute "real social relationship." In Calcutta, even Indian lodgers dwelling in different storeys or rooms of the same house very often have no social relationship, many are not even acquainted with one another.]

"These four Colleges—the Ripon, the Vidyasagar, the City and Bangabasi—very closely resemble one another in the main features of their work, in the huge numbers of students with which they have to deal, and in the wholesale and mechanical way in which they necessarily have to treat them, in the very inadequate proportion between their teachers and their pupils, in the small salaries and the insecure tenure which they offer to most of their teachers, and in the almost total absence of any effective social life among their students. They are, in fact, huge coaching establishments for examinations." (P 422)

"The Ripon and the City Colleges have recently acquired large new buildings, paid for partly by private subscriptions and partly Government grants. They are not ill-designed for their purpose, but the purpose which has governed their design is that of providing accommodation for innumerable lectures to immense classes of students, not that of providing a home for living societies of teachers and pupils." (P 424)

We shall examine some of the statements in these excerpts in the light of the latest Inspection Reports of the Calcutta University on the Scottish Churches College (inspected on the 17th February, 1919),

Salary

SCOTTISH CHURCHES COLLEGE

The staff consists of 37 gentlemen, 9 European and 28 Indian. The salary of the European members is not shown in the inspection report. Evidently the scale of pay is different from that of the Indian members. The average salary of the latter, according to the Report of the Calcutta University Commission, is Rs 144.

The highest salary of an Indian teacher is Rs 275, and there is only one receiving that pay, one receives Rs 250, and two Rs 225 a month, so that there are only

and City College (inspected on the 11th April, 1918)

In the first place, it should be noted that there is not a single Indian member of the staff on the governing body of the Scottish Churches College. The attention of the University was drawn to this fact by one of the inspectors in 1918. We take the following from the minutes of the Syndicate dated the 2nd August, 1918.

"Dr. Brajendranath Seal, who was one of the joint inspectors, appends a note to the following effect—

(i) According to the present rule of the Senatus (or Governing Body) of the College, the Indian Professors are denied a place on it, although clause (a), sec. 6, Chapter XVIII, of the New Regulations requires that every affiliated College should be "under the management of a regularly constituted Governing Body on which the teaching staff is represented." The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate should press on the College authorities the desirability of making the constitution of the Senatus somewhat more elastic so as to make room for the proper representation of the College staff as an integral body.

(ii) Besides the Governing Body there should be a regularly constituted council of the teaching staff."

* * *

"Resolved—

* * *

"It is desirable that there should be a regularly constituted council of the teaching staff, which should meet from time to time to deal with matters relating to the internal management of the College."

A year and a half after this the University Inspectors note in their report that "at present there is no regularly constituted Council of Members of the teaching staff."

CITY COLLEGE.

The staff consists of 39 gentlemen, all Indian. The average salary (including that of the Principal) is Rs 147 6 as

The highest pay of a teacher other than the Principal is Rs 420 a month, one receives Rs 300, one Rs 230, three Rs 225, two Rs 200, so that there are eight mem-

our Indian members of the staff whose salary is over Rs 200 The pay of the remaining 24 is below that figure

Tenure of Service

SCOTTISH CHURCHES COLLEGE

Of the Indian members of the staff three joined the college before 1902, 18, i.e., 64 p.c., joined after 1910, 10, i.e., 35.5 p.c., have put in less than 5 years' service

The average length of service of the Indian branch of the staff is a little over 7 years

There is a provident fund for the Indian members of the staff
(*Vide* above)

CITY COLLEGE.

5 joined the college before 1902, 23, i.e., 59 p.c., joined after 1910, 15, i.e., 38.4 p.c., have put in less than 5 years' service The average length of service is a little over 8 years

One member of the staff joined in 1882; one in 1889, and three in 1893, one retired after 26 years' service, one felt compelled to retire for political reasons after 28 years, and one died in harness after serving the College for about 25 years

These facts are not mentioned in the Report of the University Commission

"Only one of the private Colleges in Calcutta—the City College—has as yet instituted a provident fund"—Report of the Commission, Vol I, p 377

[Query Why is this good feature of the College mentioned 45 pages away from the damnatory description of the four first grade Colleges in Calcutta?]

"Huge Coaching Establishments for Examinations"

SCOTTISH CHURCHES COLLEGE

Numerical strength There were 1215 students on the rolls of the College on the 31st July, 1918 Excluding the 32 M A students, the remaining 1183 students were divided into 10 classes, giving an average of 118.9 per class [Or into 11 classes, with an average of 108?]

CITY COLLEGE

Numerical strength On the 30th November 1917, there were 1689 students on the rolls, divided into 16 classes, giving an average of 105.5 per class

Intermediate Classes

I A

First year class, 186, divided into 2 sections, the largest containing 150

Second year class, 171, divided into 2 sections, the largest having 150

First year class, 263, divided into 2 sections, the largest having 140

Second year class, 387, divided into 4 sections, the largest having 143

I Sc

First year class, 110 Second year, 118

First year class, 143 Second year, 152, divided into 2 sections of 74 and 78.

B A PASS AND HONOURS

Third year class, 222 (it is not stated how the class is divided)

Third year class, 276, divided into 2 sections of 133 and 143

Fourth year class 231 (it is not stated how the class is divided)

Fourth year class 408, divided into 3 sections of 136, 139 and 133

[English being a compulsory subject, the above figures show the number of students attending lectures in English in each class The figures for two of the most numerous attended subjects are given below]

PHILOSOPHY CLASSES

Third year class, Pass 112, Honours 29, total 141

Third year class, 201 (including 24 Honours students) divided into 2 sections of 84 and 117

Fourth year class, Pass 131, Honours 26, total 157 ("Special permission was granted by the University for the number"—Inspection Report, page 16)

Fourth year class 224, (including 49 Honours students) divided into 2 sections of 104 and 120

SANSKRIT CLASSES

Third year class, Pass 131, Honours 5, total 136

Third year class 200 (including 9 Honours students), divided into 2 sections of 119 and 81

Fourth year class, Pass 155, Honours 3, (it does not appear from the Inspection Report how the class is divided)

Fourth year class 261 (including two Honours students) divided into 2 sections of 144 and 120

Tutorials.

SCOTTISH CHURCHES COLLEGE

"Tutorial classes are held in English, Philosophy, Logic, Economics and History. They are commenced in the First and Third-year classes after the Second and Fourth-year classes are dissolved and are continued in the Second and Fourth-year classes. We were glad to see that the number of students in a Tutorial Section has been reduced and now consists of about 30 students in each. The results of tutorial exercises are recorded in books kept for the purpose. These results are taken into consideration at the time of promotion and of sending up of students to the University Examinations"—*Inspection Report, page 15*

CITY COLLEGE.

"For the purpose of tutorial work, each class in some of the subjects is divided into batches of about 20 students. Each of these batches gets one period of tutorial work per week. In Logic and Sanskrit tutorial work is done for part of the year after the Second and Fourth-year classes are dismissed in January. But in English and Mathematics, tutorial work is done throughout the year in all the four classes, special attention being paid to English. In the last-mentioned subject, one exercise is given every month to write at home and another at College. These are corrected by the staff, marked and the difficult points explained to the students in the tutorial classes for two successive weeks. During two weeks of the month, questions are asked and difficulties are explained. The results are all recorded in a book and taken into consideration at the time of promotion and the sending up of the students for University Examinations. We were told that the tutorials also counted as lectures towards attendance. Hence the attendance at these tutorials was very good. *We cannot commend too highly the system of tutorials arranged for English in this College.* We only wish that it were possible to extend the system to other subjects as well"—*Inspection Report, p. 17 [The italics are ours].*

Examinations and Exercises

SCOTTISH CHURCHES COLLEGE

"Two full examinations in all the subjects are held in the course of the year and in some

CITY COLLEGE.

"There are three full examinations for the First and Third year classes and two for the

subjects three examinations are held The results are very carefully recorded "

—*Inspection Report* p 15

Second and Fourth year classes, besides two or three exercises in a year The results of these examinations and exercises are recorded in a book"—*Inspection Report*, p 17

"Innumerable Lectures to Immense Classes of Students"

NUMBERS OF LECTURES PER WEEK IN PRINCIPAL SUBJECTS (JULY TO DECEMBER)

B A PASS ENGLISH

SCOTTISH CHURCHES COLLEGE

Fourth year class Section A, 3, B, 9
(The figures should perhaps be 6 and 6)
Third year class Section A, 3, B, 7.
(The figures are possibly 5 and 5)

CITY COLLEGE

Fourth year class Section A, 7, B, 7, C, 5
Third year class Section A, 6, B, 6

PHILOSOPHY

Fourth year class 5.
Third year class 7.

Fourth year class Section A, 6, B, 6
Third year class Section A, 5, B, 5

SANSKRIT

Fourth year class 5
Third year class 5

Fourth year class Section A, 6, B, 6
Third year class Section A, 6, B, 6

MATHEMATICS

Fourth year class 6
Third year class 6

Fourth year class 6
Third year class 7

(The figures for the Intermediate Classes are not given, as being superfluous)

"The almost total absence of any effective social life among their students"

SCOTTISH CHURCHES COLLEGE

Of the 1215 students on the rolls of the college on the 31st July, 1918, 248 resided in five College Hostels, 67 in three attached messes, 40 in non-Collegiate Hostels, 462 with parents and 398 with guardians [Over 70 p c live with parents and guardians]

"Though there is no formal agency to enquire into the residence of students living with guardians the Principal makes strict enquiry into the residence of students from the students themselves and, in doubtful cases, he himself goes to the residences of the students to make enquiries"

—*Inspection Report*, p 24.

CITY COLLEGE

Of the 1689 students on the rolls of the College on the 30th November, 1917, 59 lived in two College Hostels (not yet recognised), 194 in non-Collegiate Hostels, 198 in attached messes, 70 in unattached messes, 343 with parents and 825 with guardians [Over 69 p c live with parents and guardians]

Mr Durgacharan Mitra, B Sc, Demonstrator in Chemistry, inspects students' residences on an additional remuneration of Rs 40 per month, and enquires into and reports on the conditions of residence of students said to be living with their parents and guardians"

Inspection Report, p 30

Our readers will now be in a position to judge how far, if at all, the Commission have held the balance even between the Missionary and the private Colleges

PRAYER

1.

Light thy signal, Father, for us, who have strayed far away from thee
 Our dwelling is among ruins haunted by lowering shadows of fear
 Our heart is bent under the load of despair and we insult thee
 when we grovel to dust at every favour or threat that mocks our manhood
 For thus is desecrated the dignity of thee in us thy children,
 for thus we put out our light and in our abject fear make it seem
 that our orphaned world is blind and godless

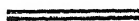
2

Yet I can never believe that you are lost to us, my King,
 though our poverty is great, and deep our shame
 Your will works behind the veil of despair,
 and in your own time opens the gate of the impossible
 You come, as unto your own house, into the unprepared hall, on the unexpected day
 Dark ruins at your touch become like a bud
 nourishing unseen in its bosom the fruition of fulfilment
 Therefore I still have hope—not that the wrecks will be mended,
 but that a new world will arise.

3

If it is thy will let us rush into the thick of conflicts and hurts
 Only give us thy own weapon, my Master, the power to suffer and to trust.
 Honour us with difficult duties, and pain that is hard to bear
 Summon us to efforts whose fruit is not in success
 and to errands which fail and yet find their prize
 And at the end of our task let us proudly bring before thee our scars
 and lay at thy feet the soul that is ever free and life that is deathless

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.



REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH

HISTORY OF AURANGZIB, *Jadunath Sarkar*,
Vol IV, pp 412, M C Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta,
Rs 3-8as

Every student of Indian history will welcome the present Volume of Prof Sarkar's Aurangzib "The Deccan ulcer mined Aurangzib" and it was not the weak Sultanates of the south but the Marathas who were responsible for it. The fourth volume of Aurangzib, therefore, deals mainly with the rise of the Marathas, and the final conquest and annexation of Bijapur and Golkonda by the Mughals. The melancholy theme of the last two events has given us three charming chapters that will

interest even those who turn to History for a diversion only. In the first 238 pages of the present volume, Prof Sarkar has given us an abridgment of his previously published "Shivaji and His Times". We have already reviewed that work in these columns, and we have not anything more to add except that it has lost nothing in interest by the merciless rejection of minor and unimportant details. In fact the abridged account may be more interesting to many lay readers.

Sambhaji's brief career however presents an unbroken array of dry details that may frighten many, but we cannot blame the author on that account. Sambhaji was a soldier, and nothing but a soldier. He spent his time either on horse-

back or with red wine and women in his pleasure-house. The son of great Shivaji was such a reprobate that his reign is of no interest to the student, except as a theme of that great epic—The Rise of the Marathas.

Our Historian has justly tried to vindicate the much maligned Kalusha or Kara Kuleshi (Mr. D. L. Ray's Kavlesh Khan,—the Bengali Dramatist was perhaps misled by Scott-Waring), but we are afraid, he has failed to do justice to the Maratha character, when he says that the great officers of Shivaji and Sambhaji were not inspired by anything but mercenary motives of self-aggrandizement. That may be true of individuals, but if that had been their national characteristic, we fail to understand why every Maratha Shiledar and Watandar did not swear allegiance and render homage to the victorious Mughal after the capture and death of Sambhaji and why the great mass rallied round Rajaram, the leader of a lost cause? What but loyalty and devotion to their master could induce Bajji Prabhu to calmly lay down his life to save Shivaji and Tanaji Malsure, the celebrated Mawli leader, to escalate the ramparts of impregnable Kondana? We are inclined to believe that two contrary forces were simultaneously in operation, —the feudal forces of disruption and the nobler feeling of patriotism.

A comparison of Prof. Sarkar's account of Sambhaji's reign with that of Chitnis will point out many inaccuracies of that chronicle and no student of Maratha History can be too grateful for this service.

Although Prof. Sarkar has embodied in his work every necessary topographical information, one cannot but feel the need of a good map as he goes on with the detailed account of the military operations of the Mughals and the Marathas. A critical bibliography at the end of the book would have been of immense service to the ambitious student who wants to go to the original sources.

The book is marked by that thorough scholarship, indefatigable industry, and unbiased regard for truth, that have deservedly earned for Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, a world-wide reputation.

S N S

SOURCES OF VIJAYANAGAR HISTORY (*The Madras University Historical Series, price Rs 4-8 as*) selected and edited by S. Krishna-Ayyangar, M.A.

We congratulate Prof. Ayyangar cordially on bringing to light these fresh materials for the history of the great Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar. Since the publication of Sewell's "A Forgotten Empire" in 1900 this is the most important contribution to that section of Indian History. But we are thankful to Prof. Ayyangar for something more. He boldly challenges that narrow conception of Indian history which refuses to go beyond epigraphic and numismatic evidence. Even after the

deciphering of all our epigraphs and cataloguing of all our coins we shall have the colossal task of churning the Ocean of Indian Literature. It is high time that some of our acutest scholars took to this rather precarious path of research which constantly lures us more to brilliant guessing than helps us to ascertain the truth. After much trial and experiment we shall have to formulate the canons of criticism applicable to our culture history. No doubt some brilliant workers have started their investigation but there should be more workers in the field thoroughly equipped in the science of Indology. In Prof. Ayyangar we have a worker of established reputation. We find in his careful selection and brilliant presentation of the sources, a marvellous picture of Vijayanagar Hindus—the connecting link between the ancient and the mediaeval history of Hindu India. Hemmed in between the Muhammadans on the one side and the Dravidians on the other, these Hindus maintained a polity and developed a culture which every Hindu would be proud of. The over-sea trade of Vijayanagar is now proved to have been extensive. One Setti "imported horses from Ormuz, elephants from Ceylon, camphor from the Punjab and silks from China." But above all, we are dazzled by the galaxy of great writers—men as well as women—testifying to a quickening of national life rarely paralleled by any other chapter of Indian history. "The imperial family and the subordinate chieftains alike" were famous for their "extraordinarily liberal patronage of letters." Thus we find a chieftain (Raghunath) composing a technical treatise on Hindu music and inventing new Ragas and Talas, ministers (Madhava and Sayana) writing critical and exegetical works on the Vedic literature in the interval of their onerous state duties, a queen (Ganga Devi) composing a sober metrical annals of her husband's regime and a common lady (Ramabhadra) composing poems in eight languages and ultimately "installed on the throne of Sahitya Samrajya" (i.e. empress among poets) closing her epic with this remarkable colophon:

"अष्ट-भाषा-कल्पितं चतुर्विध-कवितानुप्राणित-साहित्य-साम्राज्य-पदं पौठारुढ-रामभद्रास्वा-विरचिते रघुनाथाभूदये महाकाव्ये द्वादश सर्गे समाप्तम् ।"

So the sacrosanctity of the Zenana was not the only refuge of our Indian ladies of yore! They had a career and a brilliant career before them, nay, even the poet-laureateship of the realm! We thank Prof. Ayyangar for bringing these telling facts of our Living Past before our eyes again.

KALHAN

A STATISTICAL ATLAS OF THE BARODA STATE—Compiled under the orders of H. H. the Maharajah Gaekwad's Government, By Rao Bahadur Govinda Bhai H. Desai, B.A., LL.B.—Foolscap 40+46 maps. Bombay, 1918.

Statistics are not always palatable, and

people generally avoid figures in their studies and accept the conclusion of the writer. Our Government Blue Books and statistical abstracts are hardly ever read by the public, and even the educated people cannot use them with great profit. So graphs had recourse to and popular books are illustrated graphically. Even our Government have come to realise it and the Blue Book of "The Material and Moral Progress of India", prepared to be placed before Parliament and the public, has been this time planned on an entirely new basis—and things have been shown graphically instead of merely statistically. The book has been readable. But still better is the method of illustrating things by maps, where this is possible. We have no statistical Atlas of India for recent years—the only one I know of was published in 1895. It is of no use today. The Baroda Government have published the book under notice for the better understanding of the progress of the State in various branches by its people. Thus the whole State is as if visualised in maps, and there is no difficulty, even for one who is not an economist, to understand and know his country thoroughly.

The explanatory matter covers 40 pages which will give the reader a very lucid account of the State of to-day, with a brief historical background of each of the subject treated. Maps and Diagrams cover 46 pages which contain the following interesting things—I General Information (1 Map of the Baroda State 2 Population and area by Taluks 3 Area and density 4 Density of population 5 Diagram of density etc 6 Geology 7 Soils 8 Forests 9-12 Subsoil Water 13. Rainfall 14 Temperature 15 Railways 16 Irrigation Tanks) II Agriculture, (17-20 Settlement groups 21 Irrigation areas 22 Holdings 23 Staple crops 24 Value of land 25 Live stock, ploughs, etc 26 Miscellaneous Information) III Industries (27 Occupation 28 Industries) IV Co-operation (29 Co-operative Societies 30 Progress of the movement) V Prices and wages (30-34) VI Education (35 Institutions 36 Literacy VII Libraries) (37) VIII Self Government (38) IX The Peoples of Baroda (39 Variation in population 40 Distribution by Religion 41 Castes 42 Number of girls and women 43 Age-periods and Civil condition) X Vitality (44) XI Drink (Abkari Consumption 45) XII Revenue and Expenditure (46)

P K MUKHERJI

THE SECRET CITY, by *Hugh Walpole* (Macmillan & Co)

Mr Hugh Walpole needs no introduction to the fiction-loving public and he adds to his laurels with this striking tale of Russian life. That he can create a genuine Russian atmosphere, Mr Walpole has already shown in "The Dark Forest" and his creative genius is seen in a maturer stage of development in the present

novel. Petrograd is the scene of the story and the events are those of the year preceding the Revolution and the first few months of the upheaval. A group of Englishmen are brought into close touch with a Russian family and the latter is fully sketched before the reader. Some of the portraits are truly remarkable. Vera is a beautiful figure of tragedy and Markovitch will always attract the attention of the reader, Lawrence and Nina also are presented in a distinct fashion but the master-creation is Semyonov who must challenge comparison with that terrible figure of English fiction, Heathcliff of Emily Brontë's 'Wuthering Heights'. On the whole the book is one of the most remarkable productions of Mr Walpole.

THE PROMISE OF THE AIR by *Algernon Blackwood* (Macmillan & Co)

From the "Secret City" to "The Promise of the Air" is a leap from the vortex of human life to its uttermost fringes where the sound of turmoil is never felt. One does not know whether Mr Blackwood's work can be called a novel. Here is neither the interest of striking and sensational events nor of the psychological presentation of character,—none of the two elements which appeal to the fiction-reader of to-day. In this novel there is, properly speaking, no story and the writer is simply outlining the relation of the father of a family to his children and to his wife. Joseph Wimble had a tendency, from his student-days, to take life as the birds take the air and had married secretly the daughter of a corn-chandler while he was at the University. Disinherited by his father and forced to enter a publishing house as a canvasser, he seemed to forget the sweet idyllic sentiments of youthful days. But his daughter who had been growing up and who had inherited his bird-like nature once again brought him away from the interests of the earth and the main problem of the book is to contrast the bird-like pair, the father and daughter, with the very human Mrs Wimble and her son. The whole thing may be said to be a parable intended to show how the life of the Air may be lived on the material earth and it is an interesting study because of its novel type.

THE LAND THEY LOVED by *G D Cummins* (Macmillan & Co)

It is a tale of Irish life, containing pictures both of the town and the village. Kate the heroine, had been admired by two brothers, Michael and Steve Turpin before emigrating to America. On returning from the States she finds that both are dead,—one fighting for the British in France and the other for the Sinn Féin rebels. The only brother left is Eugene and he is an interesting study. In the opening pages he is a colourless figure attracted by Kate but cowed down through fear of a tyrannical father. When however freed from this tyranny he is altogether a new man,—a man with new

ideas of re-organising the agricultural and other activities of the land,—one who is successful in changing, to some extent, the life of the ordinary Irish farmer. Kate's adventures in Dublin are entertaining, and the sketches of the Misses Peacock, Mrs. Cooney, Molly and Tom Easey are drawn with such a light touch and betray so much of the writer's powers of humour that they may be said to be classic Irish pictures among novels of the present day. The author is not so successful with his heroine and the Kate at the Dublin kitchen is altogether a different being from the Kate of the country. Her relations with Eugene are interesting, but for the greater part of the book the theme is in the background and one feels that the author has not developed it so successfully as he might have done if he had not been distracted by the lighter interests of the story.

THE BOOK OF THE CAVE GAURISANKAR GUHA
by Sri Ananda Acharya (Macmillan & Co.)

It is described by the writer as the authentic account of a pilgrimage to the Gaurisankar cave narrated by the late Professor Truedream of the University of Sighbridge to his friends, Lord Reason of Fancysdale and the keeper of Soham Garden. This description is enough to tell the reader the nature of the work. It is a remarkable mystic allegory and the writer has justified the remarks made about him in connection with his other work "The Brahmadarsanam." At times no doubt the allegory is too thin and the speeches of the Occan-Wandere and the Lady of the Shadows are occasionally mere sermons, but the author is at his best in the expressions of the Voice of the Air and the rhythmical prose invites an interesting comparison with the translations of the master of our verse.

POST GRADUATE TEACHING IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA (Calcutta University Press)

It is a record of the work of the University during a remarkable session and the main facts are referred to in the speech of Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee prefixed to the record itself. Among the various developments of post-graduate work during the year under review, the most noteworthy ones are undoubtedly in the way of the study of the Indian vernaculars and Indian Antiquities. The work of this department of the University has recently come in for a good deal of criticism but the critics would do well to have a firsthand knowledge of the University work,—of what is being done by the workers of the department and this booklet will supply one with the fullest details.

N K SIDDHANTA

GUJARATI

KARTAVYA KANKAN (कर्तव्य क कण), by Muni Derchandraji. Printed at the Vidya Vijaya Printing Press. Paper Cover, Pp 157, unpriced (1919)

Short lessons on good conduct and cultivation

tion of virtues are the keynote of this small book.

USHAKANT (उषाकान्त) by the late Mr Bhogindrarao R. Divatia, B.A., Second Edition, Printed at the Tattva Vivechak Press, Bombay and published by Ramaniyaram G. Tripathi, pp 296 Price Rs 2 (1919)

We are glad the book has run into a second edition. We have already given our opinion on this novel, when it was first published. The enterprising young publisher has added to its value and attractiveness by illustrations.

GUJARAT NA LIKHAS NI VATO (ગુજરાત ના લિખાસ ની વાતો), by Chhaganlal Thakurdas Modi, B.A., Retired Educational Inspector, Baroda, and Jagjivandas Dayalji Modi, Assistant Master, Training College, Baroda. Printed at the Surat City Press. Paper cover, pp 88 (1913)

There are some pictures given in this little book to illustrate the subjects treated. As its name implies, the writers have successfully tried to narrate in it in the interesting form of a story the history of Gujarat. Apart from its value to teachers in schools, it is sure to prove of great use to those who care to know about the general outstanding features of our history without being bored by a larger but technical work.

K M J

Acknowledgments

1 INDIAN STATE SCHOLARSHIPS Pamphlet no 6, published by the Bureau of Education, India. Superintendent, Government Printing, India, Calcutta. Price 12 as, or 1 shilling.

This handbook has been compiled for the use of candidates for state scholarships, for selected candidates, and for those who are concerned with their selection. It consists of summaries of official documents. It comprises sections, dealing with—(1) List of scholarships, (2) General Rules which the candidates shall have to follow and conform with before and after their selection in this and foreign countries, (3) University scholarships, (4) Technical scholarships, (5) Scholarships for males of the domiciled community, (6) Oriental languages scholarships, (7) Scholarships for women both Indian and domiciled, (8) Rules for state scholars in the United Kingdom, (9) List of documents containing the orders of the Government of India.

2 NATIONAL CALENDAR for the year 1920. Published by Lajpat Rai Prithvi Raj Sahni, Booksellers and Publishers, Lahori Gate, Lahore. Price 12 annas per sheet.

It is a wall sheet almanac with portraits of many prominent nationalist leaders, both men and women, living and dead. The representation of Mother Hind ought to have been more artistic. We may suggest the publisher to substitute the present one with the beautiful

picture of Mother India by Mr Abanindranath Tagore, C I E This calendar ought to adorn the wall of every nationalist's house

3, 4 SRI KRISHNA AND ARJUN, AND SITA AND LAKSHMAN, pictures painted by Mr Sarada Charan Ukil and reproduced in colours by Calcutta Phototype Co, Publisher—Mitra and Ukil, can be had at Silpa-Mandir, 43-3 Amherst Street, Calcutta

Mr Ukil is an artist who is so well known that he requires no introduction at our hands We have reproduced many of his pictures in reduced facsimile which have been spoken of very

eulogistically by art-critics both here and in England Now the publishers have placed within reach of the public reproductions of his pictures of the same size as the originals The pictures of Sri Krishna and Arjun, and Sita and Lakshman represent the scenes of Sri Krishna admonishing Arjun to fight on the eve of the great battle of Kurukshetra, and Sita admonishing Lakshman to go and help Ram when he has gone to slay the golden deer Both the pictures are of great artistic merit and the reproductions are excellent and faithful, doing justice to the artist's originals

C. B.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Rabindranath Tagore on Aurobindo Ghosh

[A gentleman having written to Dr Rabindranath Tagore from Ahmedabad to draw his attention to the review of his *The Home and the World* in the last November issue of the *Modern Review*, the poet gave the following reply to his correspondent]

Santiniketan,
Nov 30, 1919

DEAR SIR,

I have not yet read Jadu Babu's review of my book, but I feel sure that he could never mean to say that Aurobindo Ghosh belongs to the same type of humanity as Sandip of my story My acquaintance with the literature of our contemporary politics being casual and desultory, I do not, even to this day, definitely know what is the political standpoint of Aurobindo Ghosh But this I positively know that he is a great man, one of the greatest we have, and therefore liable to be misunderstood even by his friends What I myself feel for him is not mere admiration but reverence for his depth of spirituality, his largeness of vision and his literary gifts, extraordinary in imaginative insight and expression He is a true Rishi and a Poet combined, and I still repeat my *namaskar* which I offered to him when he was first assailed by the trouble which ultimately made him an exile from the soil of Bengal

Yours Sincerely
RABINDRANATH TAGORE

"The Story of the Lion and the Elephant."

Re Mr Gangoly's note and Mr Das's rejoinder

With reference to Mr O C Gangoly's note published in the *Modern Review* regarding the origin of the Lion and Elephant *motif* I find

Mr P C Das has taken exception to the alleged inaccuracy in regard to the true sequence of Kesari and Gajapati Dynasties Mr Das's objection seems to be rather besides the mark, as Mr Gangoly never said in his note that the Gajapatis preceded the Kesaries Mr Gangoly has refuted the view that the *motif* is not of the nature of a political cartoon and Mr Das in his rejoinder has lent the weight of his support to this contention Popular traditions seldom square with historical facts and a writer who refers to a tradition of this account merely to prove its erroneous character from his own particular standpoint, deserves no reproach on that account Mr Gangoly though an artist and art-connoisseur is well posted in historical and archaeological literature and the fact that he could not have been oblivious of the correct sequence of the Kesaries and the later ruler of Orissa is I think well borne out by his reference to the date of Sabhakara Kesari and of the chronology of the Eastern Ganga Kings in his very interesting original article on "the Story of a Printed Cotton Fabric from Orissa" J B O R S, Sept 1919, Vol V, Pl III, pp 325,330 These few words are written not with a view to prolong an unnecessary controversy but to clear up the misconception of a fair, minded critic whose interest is so keen and alert in matters of Orissan antiquity

15-12-19

G D SARKAR

I have to disown the proposition which very curiously enough has been fathered upon me by Babu Purna Chandra Das in a note published in the last December number of this Review I could never possibly suggest to anybody, that the Ganga Rajas were succeeded by the Kesari Rulers in Orissa As to my views relating to the so called Kesari Dynasty of Orissa, the following among other writings of mine may be referred to, viz,—(1) J B O S 1916, and (2) Sonapur in the Sambalpur tract B C MAZUMDAR

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Vivekananda's Idea of a "Math" for Women.

In the year 1901, in the course of a conversation with a disciple, as reported in the *Prabuddha Bharata*, Swami Vivekananda raised the topic of the future *Math* (convent) for women which he contemplated establishing

He said :

With the Holy Mother as the centre of inspiration, a Math is to be established on the eastern bank of the Ganges. As Brahmacharins and Sadhus will be trained in this Math, so in the other Math, Brahmacharins and Sadhis will be trained.

Thereupon the disciple raised the objection that

in ancient times in India no account is found of Maths for women in history. Only during the Buddhistic period one hears of Maths for women but from it in course of time many corruptions arose. The whole country was overrun by great evil practices.

The Swami replied

It is very difficult to understand why in this country there is so much difference between men and women whereas the Vedanta declares that one conscious Self is present in all beings. You always criticise the women, but say what have you done for their uplift? Writing Smritis and binding them by hard rules, the men have turned the women into producing machines. If you do not raise the women who are the living embodiment of Divine Mother, don't think you have any other way to rise.

The disciple was ready with the trite rejoinder,

Women are a bondage and a snare to men. Women by their Maya cover the knowledge and dispassion of men. It is for this I suppose that scriptural writers hint that knowledge and devotion is difficult to be attained by them.

Vivekananda replied

In what Scripture are such words found that women are not competent for knowledge and divine love? In the period of degradation, when the priests made the other castes incompetent and disintitiled to the study of the Vedas, they deprived the women of all their rights. Otherwise you find in the Vedic and the Upanishadic ages, Matreya, Gargi and other women of revered memory, taking the places of Rishis in their knowledge and discussion about Brahman.

When such ideal women had command of spiritual knowledge, why then shall they not have the same privilege now? What has happened once can certainly happen again. History repeats itself. The race has risen by worshipping and esteeming women. That country and race where women are not respected and esteemed have never been able to be great, and will never be able to be great. The principal cause as to why your race has so much degenerated is want of respect and estimation for these living images of Shakti. Manu says "Where women are respected, there the Gods delight, and where they are not, there all works and efforts come to nought." There is no hope of rise for that family or country where there is no estimation of women, where they live in sadness. For this reason, they have first to be raised, and an ideal Math have to be started for them.

Women's Education in India.

We would ask all advocates and opponents of women's education in India to read the sound and practical article on "Women's Education in India" contributed to the *Indian Review* for November by Professor D K Karve. We shall refer to a few points in it and quote a few passages.

He says

In this connection I have very radical views. I am of opinion that unless education in arts up to the ordinary degree is given through the media of vernaculars with English as a compulsory subject, secondary and higher education will not strike a deep root in Indian soil. Let the present Universities continue to do their work according to their own methods but Government should start parallel Universities with vernacular media, and accord recognition to the certificates and degrees that may be awarded by Universities and Institutions conducted by private agencies on these lines. The ordinary degree should be brought within as easy a reach of common people without any waste of time and energy, as it is in Japan and many other countries where the natural system of educating youths in their own vernaculars prevails.

The educational institutions, mentioned by him, where the Vernaculars are used as media of instruction are the Gurukul Academy of Kangri, Hardwar, the Osmania University of Hyderabad, the Hindi Vidya-pitha, and the Indian Women's University. The professor observes

I think that the foreign medium has worked

as a greater detriment in the case of girls than that of boys. It necessarily takes up more time to attain to a certain standard of knowledge, let alone the mental strain that it imposes, and keeps Secondary Education out of the reach of many a girl to whom time and work are weighty considerations.

Referring to the survey of women's education made by the Calcutta University Commission and their recommendations thereupon, Mr. Karve observes —

What is true of Bengal is true of all India with, perhaps, slight modifications. Even educated people are cautious and suspicious about the results of girls' education. Many an educated Bengali has strangled, the report very pertinently observes, "upon the uncertainty of aim and the conflict of emotions into which he is drawn by the fact that the world of thought to which he has been introduced by Western education is a thing wholly apart from the tradition, thoughts and the modes of life still cultivated in his home." One has to admit that "women who make the home and shape the thoughts of the rising generation, have as a rule no share in the intellectual life of their men, and stand for ideals and modes of thoughts which are often sharply in conflict with those which their men have learned to entertain." However, it cannot be considered desirable "that women in India should continue to labour under the darkness of ignorance and superstition or cling unreasonably to fossilised remains of the past out of which every semblance of life has vanished, and disagreement with their educated husbands, brothers or sons." That people are quite indifferent to such a state of things is plain from the fact that, "in the sphere of girls' education there is no parallel at all to that extraordinary activity of private enterprise which has established hundreds of High Schools for boys."

One of the most important reasons why women should be educated is explained in the following passage:

Men in India have accepted "political theories and methods of the West." This will make a change in the social condition inevitable and a matter of course. The process of change will and must be very painful, but the change must take place. "It cannot be made in one sphere of life, the political, without ultimately affecting all the rest, and if it is to be carried out without giving rise to the most tragic of domestic misunderstandings, it can only be by giving the women that degree of education which will enable them, in partnership with their men, gradually and healthily to adjust the conditions of Indian life to the needs of a new age." It is no use "saying to the tide of advancing change, thus far and no further. The only solution must be a resolute attempt to achieve a real synthesis, not in women's education alone, between the

ideas and traditions of the West and the ancient and rooted ideas and traditions of India. This reconciliation of Eastern and Western ideas cannot be limited to a single sphere."

The Commission found hope in the fact that the question of Women's education was seriously engaging the thought and sympathy of the best minds of Bengal, and so they were not inclined towards pessimism.

"What is needed," the report says, "is a system which will enable those who deeply care about the provision of an appropriate system of training for Indian women, and who realise the profound importance of the subject, to have greater freedom in devising the means for realising their ends."

Coming to the recommendations of the Commission the professor writes —

The basic idea on which the whole structure of the recommendations in this connection seems to have been built is at the outset thus expressed — "Two distinct needs must always be kept in mind in the organisation of Women's Education, the need of the vast majority who will spend their lives in the Zenana, whose education will cease at an early age, and who ought to be trained on the one hand to perform their Zenana duties with interest and knowledge, and on the other to understand and sympathise with the interests and work of their husbands and brothers, and secondly the need of the small but very important minority who will go out into the world to serve their fellows in professional callings or will play their part in the intellectual activities of the progressive section of Indian Society, and want a high training to be enabled to do so."

The "almost prophetic note" with which the chapter in the Report on recommendations in the sphere of women's education concludes, is to be found in the following passage:

"If the leaders of opinion in Bengal are ready to recognise the supreme importance of a rapid development of women's education and of an adaptation of the system to Indian needs and conditions, and if they are willing to spend time and thought and money in bringing it about, the question will gradually solve itself. Otherwise there must lie before this country a tragic and painful period of social dislocation and misunderstanding, and a prolongation of the existing disregard of those manifold ills in a progressive society which only an educated womanhood can heal."

Professor Karve thinks that the Commission should have recommended the establishment of a separate university for

women, which they have not done. His reasons for advocating separate universities for women are, that if women's education is to depend on men's university which is controlled by Government, progress would be exceedingly slow. For Government machinery grinds very slowly, particularly in a country like India "where the interests of the people and of the Government are not always quite the same" and so "the simplest reforms are sometimes delayed for years together."

Reforms in men's education are fraught with a number of difficulties, political considerations being the foremost. Difference of opinion among our own people is also not a small obstacle. The Government's attitude towards Women's Education will be far more sympathetic than towards men's education. If, therefore, Women's Education is separated from men's education by a separate University for women, it will be possible to carry out reforms far more easily.

Mr Karve is not opposed to women taking advantage of the existing men's universities.

I wish it to be clearly understood that those women who want to take advantage of the men's courses just as they are now, or will be hereafter according to the recommendations of the Commission, are welcome to do so. But there are many more women, who without the facilities and opportunities these women command, would still like to get as much of education as limited time and circumstances will permit them to acquire. It is for such girls and women, and their number is large, that free and independently working bodies or Universities are desired. What I think is that there is still scope for separate Universities for Women, either Government or private, which can begin their work at once and carry out all the reforms that are thought desirable.

He gives other reasons for advocating separate universities for women.

Another reason for which I advocate a separate University for Women is that in men's universities questions of Women's Education are sure to occupy a place of secondary importance. These questions will be laid aside when important questions concerning men's education crop up. It will always handicap women to make their education hang on the education of men.

Government sanction is a *sine qua non* of men's education. The consideration of what that education pays is always to be a factor of very great importance, while in the case of Women's Education this factor is at least not so very important. The majority of women

have to be educated with a view to enable them to take an intelligent interest in their home life and discharge their duties and responsibilities creditably. Thus indigenous efforts made without waiting for Government sanction stand a fair chance of success. Besides, the number of Educated Women who enter a profession is now small and must continue small for some years to come, so that women educated in a private university will find no difficulty in getting employment if they are so inclined.

The Japanese are an independent people, and the Japanese social system offers less obstacles to the education of women. Yet they established a separate university for women as a private institution, and it still remains private. It is flourishing. The object of the promoters was (1) to educate woman as a human being, (2) to educate woman as woman, and (3) to educate woman as member of the Community. In Japan they had not the difficulty of a foreign medium and probably of early marriage and seclusion of women, and yet the promoters of the Japan Women's University thought it necessary to moderate the standards and thus bring education within easy reach of their women.

If we in India give to our women the vernacular medium and lighten the pressure of examinations in the manner suggested by the Commission and also by introducing the principle of examination by compartments throughout, without waiting until these reforms are introduced into men's education, we shall be able to achieve much. The standard of general knowledge and cultural value should be the same, because even for boys this standard has been low on account of the unnaturalness of our courses. This unnaturalness consists in giving undue importance to English by making it a medium of instruction and consequently neglecting the study of the vernacular.

Professor Karve's advice is that,

Without waiting for Government initiative Women's Universities in India should be planned and run privately to achieve the above-mentioned ends. Government is sure to accord its sanction to these Universities later, but let us not wait for their sanction. Women's Universities should provide for instruction in two professions — education and medicine, besides providing for general education in arts. Even if Government does not accord its recognition to the certificates of these Universities and does not admit ladies holding these certificates to

Government service, there will be ample field for service in private institutions

It is a pity that many of us do not realise the danger of the very wide gulf between men and women of the middle classes. To imagine that this gulf can be bridged over by the expansion of the present system of Women's Education through a foreign medium is to show utter lack of cognisance of our social conditions

Our differences are after all differences as regard means and methods. They ought not to hinder us. Let people with different inclinations and views form their different centres of activity and let them start their own institutions to work out their own separate schemes. I agree with the editor of the *Indian Social Reformer* when he says —

"The need for facilities for women's education is so vast and pressing, that it is foolish to pin our faith to any one plan and method. Numerous and repeated experiments are necessary to determine what the best and most suitable scheme is in the present conditions of the country."

Infantile Mortality Rates

In the *Indian Review* in an article on "Child Welfare in India", Dr Lakshana-swami, B A, L M K S, gives the following comparative statistics of infantile mortality rates

| Country | | Deaths of children under one year per 1,000 births |
|-------------------|-----------|--|
| New Zealand | (1912) | 51 |
| Norway | (1912) | 68 |
| Sweden | (1911) | 72 |
| Australia | (1913) | 72 |
| France | (1912) | 78 |
| The Netherlands | (1913) | 91 |
| Switzerland | (1912) | 94 |
| Denmark | (1913) | 94 |
| Ireland | (1913) | 97 |
| England and Wales | (1916) | 98 |
| Scotland | (1913) | 110 |
| Madras Presidency | (1902-11) | 199 |
| Bengal | | 270 |
| Bihar and Orissa | | 304 |
| Punjab | | 306 |
| Bombay | | 320 |
| Burma | | 332 |
| United Provinces | | 352 |

The difference is as marked when the towns themselves are compared. The infantile mortality rate of most of the important towns in England is under 100 per mille, in London itself it was only 87 per mille in 1916, whereas in India the rate varies between 200 and 300 per mille and in the capital cities like Madras, Bombay and Calcutta it has been even more. In Madras the rate was 277.3 per mille in 1917 and in Bombay and Calcutta it was 409.6 and 249 per mille respectively.

The writer also gives statistics to prove the appalling character of the mortality among mothers and women in India and briefly describes what has been done in several countries to save the lives of infants and mothers

Humane Legislation in Indian States.

The following paragraphs are taken from *The Indian Humanitarian*

Prohibition of Cow-Slaughter

The States of Baroda, Jammu and Kashmir, Gondal, Barwan, Dharampur, Bansda, Cooch Behar, Sirmur, Cambay, Khilchipur, Jamakhandi, Akalkote, Sarila, Vadia, Sayla, Khania-Dhana, Chuda, Amrethi Raj and others have stopped cow slaughter

Animal Sacrifices

The States of Gondal, Panna, Bansda, Bhadawar, Cambay, Gorakhpore, Khania-Dhana, Jamakhandi, Dharampur, Sayla, Rajgarh, Amrethi-Raj, Vadia, Bagasara, Lodhika, Sarila, Khilchipur (except goats), Akalkot (except goats) have prohibited Animal-Sacrifices

Prohibition of Export of Milch and Agricultural Cattle

The States of Bansda, Barwan, Chuda, Sarila, Sayla have prohibited the export of Milch and Agricultural Cattle

Prohibition of the Slaughter of Milch and Agricultural Cattle

The States of Gondal, Barwan, Akalkot, Bansda, Khilchipur, Chuda, Jamakhandi, Sarila, Sayla, Amrethi-Raj have prohibited the slaughter of Milch and Agricultural Cattle

Pasture Grounds

The States of Baroda, Gondal, Cambay, Khilchipur, Jamakhandi, Sarila, Dharampur, Bansda, Sayla have made adequate provisions for pasture grounds in their respective states

Shooting

The States of Gondal, Khilchipur and Jaora, have prohibited shooting for sports

Cruelty to Animals

Besides these many leading principle and petty Native States have passed laws against cruelty to animals, which are nearly similar to that in force in British India

Industrial Development of India

Prof Gilbert Slater's second article on Industrial Development of South India, published in the *Young Men of India*, is devoted to manufactures. Says he —

Manufacture is doubly dependent on agriculture and its kindred extractive industries—forestry, hunting, fishing, mining, and quarrying. From these it must receive the materials on which it works, and among the men who pursue these extractive industries it must find a large proportion of the consumers of its products, people who are willing in return to supply food as well as raw materials to the manufacturing population. A manufacturing country without agriculture and cut off from agricultural countries would be like the mythical group of families which lived by taking in one another's washing.

This is the cardinal fact that has to be kept in mind in considering the problem of the development of manufacturing industries in India. It is possible for a country to so develop its manufacturing skill and efficiency as to be able to depend, for food, for raw materials, and for markets, upon other countries. Thus Lancashire obtains raw cotton from America and Egypt, and sells the manufactured product in India, China, South America, Africa, Europe, the United States and the British Colonies, and out of the payment for its labour buys grain and meat from all over the world to feed her operatives. But this is an exceptional feat, not easily imitated. So far as India is concerned, since it is on the one hand rich in natural resources, and on the other sustains a vast population, almost entirely by agriculture, it is wise to concentrate attention at first on forging links in industrial chains, at least one end of which is already here in India, and by preference in those of which both ends are here. In other words Indian enterprise should first apply itself to those manufacturing industries for which India itself supplies *both* the raw material and the market, and then to those for which India supplies *either* raw material *or* the market.

He gives a concrete example

Some time ago I took a number of students over the Madras harbour. There we saw in the godowns waiting for export at one spot a great collection of raw skins and hides, and at another a great mass of tanning materials. My students felt disgusted and ashamed at this evidence of the lack of enterprise and efficiency of Indian industry. As the skins and hides are here, and the tanning materials also, why not tan the skins and hides before exporting them? And as under peace conditions India imports millions of pairs of boots and shoes annually, to say nothing of a great variety of other leather manufactures, why not retain out of these tanned skins and hides enough to supply India with all the boots and shoes required in the country?

What would be necessary if a group of Madras men resolved on entering upon the tanning and boot and shoe-making industries in combination?

They have two out of the necessary factors of production, (1) access to the necessary raw materials, (2) access to a sufficiently large market. What else do they require? Four more factors, three of which are immaterial, or I may say, spiritual. They must have in the first place the enterprise to risk their capital resources, and the determination to go through with the undertaking to the end, they must have in the second place the intelligence to plan wisely, to choose the right site for their factory, to have it well designed, to enlist the right manager, sense enough to discard the delusion that it is profitable to underpay employees, they must have in the third place sufficient honour and business morality to abstain from attempting to cheat one another, or the people with whom they enter into business relations. And they must also have sufficient cash and credit to be able to buy land, erect buildings, equip them with plant and machinery, and employ labourers.

After the business has been started, there must be good management, which has two aspects, external and internal. The necessity of efficiency in the purchase of raw material and in the sale of the product is easily understood. But there must be efficient internal management too.

The essence of it is enthusiasm for good and efficient work. Just as a painter should rejoice in beauty of form and colour, and a musician in beauty of tone and rhythm, so a works manager should rejoice in smoothness and effectiveness of organization. Just as the painter hates falsity and crudity of colour, the works manager should hate waste,—waste of time, waste of material, waste of by-products, waste of space, and most of all, waste of human energy and working power. He must study the processes, so that the journey of the material from tool-point to tool-point, as it is subjected to different processes, shall be short, quick and easy, so that each tool works with the highest attainable efficiency, and so that power be used without waste. He must study the problems of lighting, ventilation, minimising of noise, prevention of dust and of noxious gases, he must, above all, study the men whom he employs, selecting them, grading them, and, if need be, shifting them from one task to another till each has the work suited to his character and capacity.

By quoting the following figures for the pre-war year 1913-14, Prof Slater shows what a big field for manufacturing industry there is in India.

In the first place we find imports of manufactured cotton goods to the value of Rs 66,57,66,000, and side by side exports of raw cotton to the value of Rs 41,04,25,000. India is extraordinarily rich in coal and iron, but the

imports of iron and steel goods came to Rs 16,00,79,000. Silk manufactures totalled Rs 3,10,13,000, matches Rs 89,65,000, paper Rs 1,58,77,000, biscuits, cakes, patent goods and preserved milk Rs. 1,34,07,000, soap Rs 75,06,000, earthenware and porcelain Rs 63,49,000, and boots and shoes Rs 79,26,000. The least important of these indicates an Indian market of over 60 lakhs per annum, affording quite sufficient scope for well organized business.

But intending manufacturers must not be too imitative. Because some people are making money in a certain industry or business, it must not be supposed that the field for enterprise is unlimited. By way of illustrating his remarks Prof Slater mentions the cases of too many rice-mills, too many tile-works, too many Insurance companies in some regions.

It is *not* good business to pay the lowest possible wages.

You will admit that the Americans know something about the art of making profits. There the manager is considered an able man, not because he pays the lowest, but because he pays the highest wage in his particular industry. You have heard no doubt of the Ford motor-cars, and that they are famous for four things, their great sale, their cheap price, the vast profits made by the manufacture, and the very high wages paid to the men who make them. Indian labour is extremely low paid.

There is seldom any valid excuse for the very low wages that are customary. In my opinion the wise employer, instead of trying to pay as small a wage as possible, will always pay a wage high enough to make the man who gets it value his job, and be anxious to keep it. And he will encourage as many as possible of the men whom he employs to try to do continually better work by giving just and fair increases of pay.

To the opinion expressed by some people that Indian labour is not cheap, because low as the wages are, the efficiency is lower still, the writer replies that "in particular sorts of work this may be so, but it is certainly not universally the case. In a great variety of employments Indian labour is very efficient in proportion to its cost, or what means the same thing, very cheap in proportion to its efficiency."

It is not the inefficiency of the ordinary workman which is, in my opinion, the chief obstacle to Indian industrial progress, but the inefficiency of the employing class. And if this is the chief obstacle it can be removed. India is

not a country doomed to poverty by lack of natural resources. It is rather a country doomed to poverty because it has not taken the trouble to acquire the mental and moral equipment necessary to escape from poverty.

Adulteration should be stopped. Government has a duty in the matter, and this duty should be performed by legislation and inspection. Government should impart technical education and start industries by way of demonstration.

The Labour Party and the British Universities.

Sir Michael Sadler writes in *Indian Education*

The increasing cost of providing higher education, and especially in pure and applied science, has compelled the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge to apply for financial aid from Government. The Labour Party, dissatisfied by the virtual exclusion of the industrial classes from the older Universities by the high cost of studying there, has pressed the Government to set up Royal Commissions of inquiry into the organisation and financial position of Oxford and Cambridge. The Government have consented to give financial aid to educational work at the older Universities, but have taken the opportunity of announcing that they propose to appoint a Commission or Commissions to inquire into their government and resources.

What the Labour Party wants will be clear from the following passage —

The deputation from the Labour Party, which was received by the President of the Board of Education, laid stress on five points of policy. The deputation urged that every man and woman capable of pursuing an education at Oxford or Cambridge to good account should be able to obtain it. The second point urged by the Labour deputation was that, before granting public subsidies to Oxford and Cambridge, the State should satisfy itself that the existing resources are used with the utmost possible economy. The third aim of the Labour deputation was to overhaul the internal administration of the colleges, with a view to diminishing the cost of living. The speakers did not accuse college authorities of any deliberate policy of exclusiveness, but they insisted that strong and resolute pressure alone would reduce the cost of living in the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, and that such pressure ought to be exerted by the Government, in order that students of narrow means should not be excluded from collegiate life. The award of college scholarships and exhibitions was the fourth point upon

which the Labour deputation expressed an emphatic opinion. They protested against the award of scholarships by competitive examination without inquiry into the financial needs of the recipients. The fifth demand of the Labour deputation was for increased stringency in the educational control of Oxford and Cambridge in the national interest. They suggested that there should be created a central body, both at Oxford and Cambridge, which would have effective control over the whole of the revenues of the University and colleges alike and which would compel the colleges to accept whatever changes it thought well to impose in regard to the appointment of Lecturers and Fellows, and in the reduction of the cost of living.

The object aimed at by the Labour Party, namely, that the highest university education should be accessible to all capable students irrespective of their pecuniary circumstances, is very laudable and its attainment indispensably necessary for national welfare, though opinions must differ as to the means to be adopted. It is to be noted that whereas in the British Isles efforts are being continually made to improve the quality of education and at the same time to make it less costly to the pupils, the tendency in India is to make education more and more expensive to the student.

"As Universities, Oxford and Cambridge should offer facilities for advanced study and research in all branches of investigation. Their laboratories and research institutes should be planned on a magnificent scale. Their libraries, already splendid, should be increased. For these developments, nothing but very large national subsidies will suffice."

In India, advanced study and research in the universities suffer because Government is very niggardly in giving money for these purposes.

The Women's Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge should receive subsidies from public funds, in order that they may increase their accommodation and be made available for a larger number of students, especially for those who need assistance in their University career.

Maintenance Allowances to Pupils from Public Funds

In India a few scholarships are supposed to be sufficient to enable poor and able scholars to pursue their studies, though the scholarships are open to rich and poor

alike. In many Western countries, in addition to education being free, poor pupils receive food also. In England, the most recent means adopted for helping poor children can be gathered from the following extract from Sir M. E. Sadler's monthly article in *Indian Education*.

From the beginning of next April, the Board of Education will be prepared to pay to local education authorities an annual grant in aid of expenditure which they may incur, under arrangements approved by the Board, in providing maintenance allowances for pupils in secondary schools and in other institutions of higher education, who are in need of assistance to enter upon courses of education or to complete them. The purpose of the grant is twofold. It will make secondary schools and other institutions of higher training generally accessible to children and young persons who show special promise of profiting by prolonged education. It will also enable the pupils in these institutions to study long enough to obtain full benefit from the course which they undertake. The local authorities are asked to submit proposals to the Board before December 31, 1919. The Government will pay a grant not greater than half the net expenditure of the local education authority on this purpose. The allowances will be granted for maintenance alone, as distinct from the payment of tuition fees or of other charges made by the schools or institutions in respect of the pupils' education.

Our Paper Supply.

In his article on "Our Paper Industry" in *Commerce and Industries* Rao Sahib G. N. Sahasrabudhe says that the world at present consumes as much as 8 million tons of paper annually, Europe being the largest consumer. Formerly when the demand for paper was small, paper was made from rags, waste paper, &c. Then came the use of esparto, wood, and other fibrous materials. The continually growing demand for paper resulted in the remarkable expansion of the wood-pulp industry in Europe, and wood has now been adopted as a substitute for rags, though for cheap grades of paper only. Sweden is a large producer of mechanical and chemical wood-pulp.

Europe, and America have advanced the paper industry to its present state as will be quite clear from the fact that these countries together supply nearly 80 per cent of the world's paper demand.

Sweden and Norway, which have enormous forests of pulp wood, are the centres of the trade, while Germany, Austria, Russia in Europe and Southern and Western States in America, and the Dominion of Canada—all these have developed the pulp-industry as far as their forests would permit

Yet it must be borne in mind that the "success" signalizes danger ahead, because a fear is rightly entertained that the present drain on forests would, after some years, result in the exhaustion of the resources

With the spread of education, the demand for paper would be on the increase, and scarcity of paper would mean a check on spread of education. Hence a new source of supply must be found. In India, bamboo is one of these new sources. The Titaghar paper mills now manufacture paper from bamboo and have erected new plant and machinery for the purpose. "Messrs Turner, Morison & Co have taken 7 years' lease of Kanara forests and will make paper from bamboos growing in the forests. The Hon Mr Lalubhai Samaldas of Bombay has established paper mills in Burma and another place." Messrs Andrew Yule & Co have applied to the Bengal Government for 21 years' lease of the bamboo forests in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. In 1914-15 India imported 51,390 tons of paper, and the 8 mills in India produce only about 30,000 tons. So even as matters stand, there is room for several more paper mills in India. Being an extensively illiterate country, there is bound to be a great expansion of education here, with a parallel increase of the demand for paper. So we must take time by the forelock and be the owners of all materials for paper-making and use these materials for making paper.

The Small Industries of India

To the December number of the *Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* Mr H W Wolff contributes a helpful article on the small industries of India. Says he —

It is the dweller in the country, in his more or less isolated village, with a field or two to cultivate, who needs small industry, though not probably, as a rule, as a main employment, but as a make-penny supplementary occupation, to fill up time which he would otherwise waste, and

earn him some additional rupees. How usefully cottage industries, as they have been called, may act in this way we see in many parts of Europe. However, the classic country for small industry—which in this case includes fishing—appears to be Japan. There small industry and fishing fill up a large space in the country's production and draw much money into the humble homes of poor but industrious people.

He adds —

India is not far distant from Japan. It has a population very similarly circumstanced. Why should not the rayat, with his minute parcel of land, do as does the Japanese peasant, who ekes out a living, by the side of what his all too small holding will render, by fishing, basket-work or some similar by-occupation? India, no less than Japan, is the land especially of small industries. There are numbers of them. Mr Ewbank some time ago gave us the number of those who practise them in the Bombay Presidency. Professor Mukherjee counts up a considerable variety of such industries in his book, "The Co-operative Movement in India." Mr Chatterjee has a long catalogue of them to give in his report on the United Provinces. The evidence given before the Indian Industrial Commission—only just made public in England—is full of references to them.

One is relieved to read Mr Wolff's opinion that in the competition with power industry,

There is no fear whatever that small industry would not be able to hold its own—*provided that its devotees select the right class of articles to manufacture*. Power industry is indeed increasing rapidly and making a great show of its growth. However, small industry is advancing no less steadily, although with less of *reclame* and blowing of trumpets.

Mr Wolff then enumerates some rather formidable adverse conditions, which are not insurmountable. One is a want of technical skill. There is also lack of money wherewith to purchase raw materials or tools, or else to store goods or hold them over in times of slumps. Here Co-operation may provide a remedy. The most serious difficulty is that of finding a market for the products turned out. The writer rightly suggests that the producers should study the purchasers' tastes and needs and adapt their production to them, instead of considering their own tastes and facilities for production. Co-operation may overcome the difficulty of finding a market. Emporia for the exhibition and sale of goods may do some good. As

regards the European market, the friends of Indian small industries should note that the goods sent must be such as a European public would be likely to buy

The things which the Japanese send to Europe are articles of general utility, whereas hitherto Indians have sent mainly knickknackery. It should not be so

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

"Islam after the War."

The New Europe has an article on "Islam after the War" which begins by asking "What is going to be our policy toward Islam under the new conditions after the War?" The answer is to be found in the writer's own summing up of "the argument of this article" "in two closely related propositions", of which the first is

1 The settlement between Turkey and her European neighbors (Armenia, Bulgaria, Greece) ought to be made, as far as it lies with us, on the same principle as to the other national and territorial settlements in Europe, without being prejudiced by general Islamic considerations. This is not the place for detailed recommendations, but it may be suggested that Thrace, as a district from which a previous Greco-Bulgarian majority has been forcibly expelled by the Turks since the Balkan War, and Constantinople with the zone of the straits, as an area of very mixed population and extreme international importance, ought both to be detached from the Turkish State, while Smyrna, which as a port and a railway centre is probably as important to Anatolia as Danzig is to Poland, ought to remain attached as closely to Turkey as Danzig has been attached to Poland by the Peace Conference. If the considerable Greek population which this line of settlement would leave in Turkey could not be protected sufficiently without placing the Turkish Government under some kind of international control, we ought not to be deterred from this any more than from depriving Turkey of Constantinople, by the motive of placating Moslem sentiment elsewhere.

If "a district from which a previous majority has been forcibly expelled" or, worse still, almost exterminated, should be restored to the survivors or kindred of that majority then the United States and Canada ought to be given back to the surviving Red Indians, and Australia to the surviving Maoris. Thrace passed into

the hands of the Turks in the 14th and 15th Centuries. America was discovered, not occupied, by Europeans towards the close of the 15th century, and Australia was discovered, not occupied, in the seventeenth century. So, if it can be suggested that Thrace be restored, it can with equal justice be suggested that America and Australia be restored to the original inhabitants.

The writer's second proposition is —

2 We must be prepared for a vigorous movement on the part of all Moslems in the British Empire—a movement for political self-expression through combined action. It would be a grave mistake to imagine that we can avert or tone down this movement by dealing generously with Turkey. Whatever is done with Turkey, this movement will take place because Turkey is anyway now incapable of performing the real services to Islam expected of her by Moslem opinion, and Moslems under European rule will feel that the preservation of Islamic society now depends on themselves. It is surely possible for them to satisfy this newly realized need without a collision (which in these circumstances might be disastrous) between them and us. But that chiefly depends upon our courage and wisdom and good will, our power to understand their need and sympathize with it and do our part in securing its satisfaction. Here again any detailed exposition of policy would be too ambitious for this article, but it may be suggested that the idea of European rule in the East as a 'mandate', which has been struck out at the Peace Conference as a corollary to the League of Nations, is singularly fruitful for the solution of the particular problem under discussion. For if this ideal could be made the guiding spirit of European administration in Eastern countries, Moslem opinion might be relieved of the fear that European penetration is incompatible with the preservation of Islamic society, and might accept that outside assistance without which it is hardly possible for Islam to accomplish its tremendous task of reform, but which cannot

be rendered effectively unless it is willingly received

What proof is there to show that "European rule in the East as a 'mandate' will be better than what European rule in the East hitherto has been? Domineering over and exploiting others in the name of political philanthropy cannot for ever deceive and satisfy even Asiatics

"Queer Trades."

Among the followers of "queer trades" mentioned by Richard Whiteing in the *Manchester Guardian* are 'So-and-so, Maker of Batons to the Marshals of France', 'So-and-so, Baby-pacifier Maker', makers of Chin straps, makers of 'Invicta', makers of 'Egg-Guillotines', house-breakers (not the criminals of that name, but those worthy persons who are seen, pick in hand, perched on the top of a naked wall, for the demolition of a house), &c. Of all these Mr Whiteing writes with enjoyable kindly humour. The largest space, however, is devoted to the matrimonial agent, whom he introduces by saying, "some trades are both odd and sinister." We do not know what he would have said if he had known how in India match-makers help to bring about marriages between female children and boys, young men and sometimes old men, too, on the basis of what are really bride-prices or bride-groom-prices. Of the British matrimonial agent the writer says —

The matrimonial agent might seem a needless intrusion on private enterprise, yet he flourishes for all that—perhaps as a useful contrivance for sparing the blushes of fools. He is the go-between of the man or woman in search of a partner for life in exchange for a fortune or a title. The impetuous count or baron stands for one side of the bargain, and the widow or what-not with plenty of hard cash for the other. The agent brings them together in strict confidence, and with a covenanted arrangement for commission in the event of success. He has to work hard for it sometimes, it is by no means first come first served. The nobleman may still hold out for good looks or the remains of them, the lady for something beyond a knighthood. The books of the firm, as they have occasionally to be produced in court, might baffle a chartered accountant. The toil-worn clerks who keep them

system of love over the counter, and troop to the office as demurely as if they were engaged in a bank. The 'parties' arrive in due course for the ordeal of the first glance. If they take their leave jointly, all is well, if severally, private detectives, male and female, are at hand for the chance of a job.

Match making between parties both of whom are elderly or, at any rate, adults, seems more unnatural than between parties both of whom are minors or young.

Preaching International Morality without Practising It

The Living Age of Boston, U S A, quotes the following from the *Yamato* of Japan —

We venture to advise America to adopt the principle of self determination in Hawaii.

America ought to give complete independence to the Philippines, if it is impossible to return that territory to Spain, which formerly owned it. The American Government has already expressed its willingness to make the Philippines independent, and independence is most earnestly wanted by the majority of the Filipinos. The American Government should, therefore, carry out the plan for independence without any further loss of time. This would fit in with President Wilson's principle and with the opinions expressed in the United States Senate.

If America clamors for the independence of the places owned by other countries, without taking any steps regarding the territory she has formerly taken from other countries, it means that she is doing wrongs herself while rebuking other countries. Is it not easier to make one's own territory independent than the territory owned by others?

If Americans really mean to claim independence for Korea and Ireland they should return to Mexico not only California, Texas, Kansas, Utah, and Nevada, which were captured from Mexico, but also a part of Wyoming, Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico.

If it is true that America has asked the Omsk Government for the lease of Kamchatka, she should agree to the Japanese Government leasing some areas or islands in Mexico or other countries.

Otherwise, the action of Americans in clamoring for independence for the territories of other countries and in bandying the principle of justice and humanity will be regarded as hypocritical, it will be taken for granted that Americans delight in the disturbance of peace in other countries.

While addressing the above-mentioned advice to America, we urge that at the first conference of the League of Nations Japan should bring forward a proposal for the execution of the

the Philippines This proposal will prove an acid taste of America's so-called principle of justice and humanity

This is quite delightful All Imperial nations must of necessity be masters of self-righteous hypocrisy The British, the Japanese, the Italians, etc., want independence for the dependencies of other countries than their own As for the Americans, this at least can and should be said in their favour that they have promised independence to the Filipinos and advanced them more than half-way towards that goal It will be time for the Japanese to preach to the Americans when they have promised complete independence to Formosa and Korea and granted them internal autonomy like that which the Filipinos now enjoy.

The Hindu View of Life.

In an article on "The Hindu View of Life" contributed to *The Open Court* of Chicago Prof Benoy Kumar Sarkar shows that the Hindu view of life, regarding things material and immaterial, is not so very different from the Christian, Occidental and other views of life, as is generally supposed He asks "What is the characteristic oriental way of looking at things? Is it mysticism or the cult of the Eternal and Hereafter?" and answers "There have been in Europe also mystics or 'seers' of the Infinite, as many and as great as in Asia, from the earliest times till today" He names Pythagoras, who believed in the transmigration of the soul, preached the esoteric doctrine of numbers, was a vegetarian, and believed in general abstinence and ascetic mortification of the flesh Plato's 'idealism' also was mystical as much as the monism of the contemporary Upanishads of India and Taoists of China

Other-worldliness and *Sanyasism* (renunciation of the world) do not form part of Hinduism alone Christ taught "My kingdom is not this world," "He that loveth father or mother more than we is not worthy of me," "If any man cometh unto me and hateth not his father and mother and wife and children,

he cannot be my disciple" He said that if any one was smitten on one cheek, he should turn the other cheek to the aggressor Such extreme non-resistance and passivism was probably never preached in India As his political teaching was, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's," he may be considered the greatest of passivists and submissivists

Plotinus (third century A D), the greatest neo-Platonist, was a mystical pantheist He actually practised Yogic exercises by which he hoped to attain union with the "ultimate principle", the highest God of all The monasticism, celibacy, nunneries, and notions about "the world, the flesh, and the devil", the "seven deadly sins", etc., of Christianity have been practically universal in the Western world They have had too long a sway to be explained away as accidental, or adventitious, or imposed, or unassimilated overgrowths Spiritualistic "self-realization" was the creed of many a transcendentalist denomination in Europe during the Middle Ages To the English Puritans, even music and sports were taboo The painters of the romantic movement in Germany, e g, Cornelius, Overbeck, etc., fought shy of women and preached that all artists should be monks

Plato in his *Phaedo* speaks of this universe as a living creature in very truth possessing soul and reason Virgil (*Æneid*), Bk vi, 96 ff had a similar belief Goethe's Earth-Spirit is a personification of the active, vital forces of nature

This doctrine makes Plato, Virgil, and Goethe virtually Hindu Vedantists How, then, does European mentality differ from Hindu? According to the Vedantists, the world originates out of Brahma (Self), the absolute Reality, the absolute Intelligence, the absolute Bliss To the same group belongs also Browning with his message of immortality of soul or continuity of life-energy

"Fool! all that is, at all,
Lasts ever, past recall,
Earth changes, but thy soul and God stand
sure
What entered into thee
That was, is, and shall be,
Time's wheel runs back or stops Potter and
clay endure"

The whole stanza can be bodily transferred into a section of the Hindu *Geeta* The Emersons of America also disprove the notion that "transcendentalism" is an Oriental monopoly

Mr Sarkar then takes the other side of the shield

What is alleged to be the characteristic stand-

point or philosophy of Eur-America? Is it secularism, optimism, or, to be more definite, militarism? But, this has not been the monopoly of the Western world. Hindu culture has always been an expression of humanism, positivism and other isms following from it as much as Hellenic, European and American culture.

Taking militarism first the writer shows that Hindustan started the cult of Kshatriyism and proves by giving details of the armies of Chandragupta Maurya, Krishna of Vijayanagara, etc. that the Hindus were masters of military organisation. Hindu Kshatriyism (equivalent to Japanese Bushido) had a "spiritual" sanction, too, as the following passage from *Shookra-neeti* shows —

"The death of Kshatriyas (warriors) in the bed is a sin. Cowardice is a miserable sin. People should not regret the death of the brave man who is killed at the front. The man is purged and delivered of all sins and attains heaven. The fairies of the other world vie with each other in reaching the warrior who is killed in battle in the hope that he be their husband."

The Hindus had as great a desire for the good things of this earth,—life, strength, general well-being, and material possessions—as any other people. For the gratification of this desire they engaged in various kinds of industry and commerce, traded with Egypt, Mesopotamia, Syria, Persia, the Roman Empire, China, &c., colonized the islands of the Indian Ocean, and established a sphere of influence comprising Japan on the east and Madagascar on the African coast. They were masters of the art of ship-building and naval architecture. Some of the ancient Hindu ships could accommodate from 300 to even 1500 passengers.

In the fifteenth century, according to Nicolo Conti, the Hindus could build ships larger than the Europeans, capable of containing 2000 butts and with five sails and as many masts. One of the Hindu ships on its way to the Red Sea, in 1612, was 153 ft long, 42 ft beam, 31 ft deep and was of 1500 tons burden. The English ships of that date were 300 or 500 tons at most.

The industrial genius of the Hindus was not exhausted in ancient and medieval times. Even in 1811 the Frenchman Solvyns wrote in his *Les Hindous* about their efficiency as naval engineers and architects. "In ancient times the Indians excelled in the art of constructing vessels, and the present Hindus can in this respect still

offer models to Europe—so much so that the English, attentive to everything which refers to naval architecture, have borrowed from the Hindus many improvements which they have adapted with success to their own shipping. The Indian vessels unite elegance and utility, and are models of patience and fine workmanship."

The Hindus distinguished themselves not only in warfare, naval organization, industrial and commercial enterprise and colonizing adventure, but in empire-building, civic organization and municipal administration also. This the writer proves by giving details from authoritative sources. Nor were the Hindus backward in providing charitable institutions, colleges, monasteries, free hospitals, &c.

The same genius for organization and administration has been displayed by the Hindus in the management of their great universities to which scholars flocked from all parts of Asia. The university of Nalanda in Bihar (Eastern India) was run for at least seven hundred years, from the fifth to the twelfth century A. D. The number of halls in it was 300 and that of scholars 5000. It was a residential-teaching university and gave instruction, room, board and medicine free of any cost whatsoever.

The Hindus had their *parishats* or academies, and institutions and gatherings similar to the Amphictyonic Leagues and Olympic institutions, the Council of Trent, &c. The very large religious congresses known as Kumbha Mela originated in remote antiquity and are still held. Despotism, servility, internecine warfare, feudalistic disintegration, absence of national unity, arbitrary taxation and legislation, territorial aggrandisement, republics, corporations, guilds, folk-motes, checks on the king's arbitrary exercise of power,—these are to be found in European and Indian history alike.

American Religious Cults

The *Landmark* has an article on "American Religious Cults" in which are noticed three religious movements, conspicuous in the United States, whose common aim is an improved practice rather than a clarified thought, namely, Christian Science, Higher Thought, and Spiritualism. American religious endeavour is charac-

terised by the writer in the passage quoted below

Broadly speaking, the pessimism and fatigue of the Old World is being balanced by that religion of healthy-mindedness which flourishes in the New World. American are proverbially practical, and we are inclined to be speculative. We want a consistent theory, and they want things done. We have been trained to other-worldliness, and they want this world improved, and the Kingdom of God set up on earth. Hence they insist that religion must deliver the goods here and now. It must show us how to cure the diseases of the mind, or, if they are found incurable how to bear them with courage and humor. It may be right to say with Browning that God is in His heaven, but it is called on imperiously to bring Him down to earth, so that all there may be well.

Village Industries

In the *Economist* there is an encouraging article on village industries which should be read in connection with Mr H W Wolff's article on Indian small industries summarised elsewhere. What is said in the *Economist* may prove very useful to us provided we adapt its advice to Indian conditions. It is rightly said

Rural life hitherto has been not only weak socially, but also economically. Its rejuvenation and revival must be sought first and foremost by economic methods, that is, by the restoration and development of country arts, handicrafts, and industries. Although what are called social or recreational amenities must doubtless also play a part, they are in the nature of an ornamental fringe rather than basic and fundamental. If a larger proportion of our people are to live in the country, they must first of all find work there rather than pianos. It is likely enough that reorganized and improved agriculture—more intensive, more scientific, more enterprising—will, after all, constitute the most powerful lever in rural revival, but since in any such improved and better organized agriculture village industries must take a prominent position, it still remains true that the restoration and growth of such industry is a vital element in rural reconstruction.

Village industries may be roughly classified as (a) those directly connected with agriculture, and (b) those more or less independent of agriculture. The former would include such pursuits as cheese and butter making, manufacture of jams and preserves, while the latter would include the manufacture of toys, metal wares, textiles, furniture and wood carvings, lace, and carpets. Another division is, on the one hand, industries which are carried on as a spare

time occupation by agricultural workers, and, on the other hand, as a full time occupation by an entirely separate class of workers. There would, of course, be several intermediate grades between the two divisions, in other words, a certain industry could be carried on in a village as a full time occupation for some and as a part time occupation for others. In any case, the social and economic life of the village would be greatly stimulated, resulting in increased prosperity all round. In those countries, like Denmark, Switzerland, and Norway, for example, where these industries are well established, they furnish an appreciable addition to the income of the agricultural worker and his family. It is obvious that the agricultural worker has a great deal of spare time, especially in winter. This fact has been well realized in certain parts of Canada, where village industries have been organized to give employment in the long dark winter evenings. Developments in this direction could be closely associated with the renaissance of industrial art and handicraft.

Village industries are not necessarily small-scale industries.

Village industries of to-day can be organized on as large a scale as may be desired. This needs to be strongly emphasized, for it is the kernel of the whole business. The whole of the village industries in the country could be controlled, if need be, by one central authority, but probably it would be better to organize them by county, or district, or class, like the Buckinghamshire lace industry, or the Bedfordshire straw-plaiting. The toy-making industry or the small metal-ware industry could be grouped in their respective classes and controlled by one central body which would buy the raw material and sell the product. Indeed, large-scale industry of the towns, as we know it to-day, is not without examples of great conglomerations of individual units or branches.

Village industry and town industry can be carried on in co-operation with each other.

Apart from all this, the predominance of large-scale industry has been grossly exaggerated. Factory statistics show that the number of workers employed in small factories employing fifty or less workers, exceeds the number employed in the much-vaunted large factories. Many of these small businesses are strong and vigorous, and have no intention of being swallowed up in 'economic progress'.

The advantages and feasibility of the supply of electric power to villages is next dwelt upon.

In addition to suitable organization, there is another powerful agent which should greatly facilitate the development of rural industries,

and tend to nullify any possible objections, and that agent is electricity

Another possible field for the application of electricity in the rural revival is the electro-culture of plants and electrification of seeds, for if all the great possibilities indicated by the experiments so far carried out are ultimately realized, electro-culture should prove of the greatest benefit in that intensive farming which must be a prominent feature in rural organization, and constitute the basis of other important auxiliary industries

The revival of village industries will, of course, depend largely on other cognate branches of reconstruction and social activity, such as education, housing, transport, and electrical plants. Scientific research will also be needed in many of the industries

Rabindranath Tagore and Bernard Houghton (I C S, Retired) on Ireland, Egypt and India

The following letter, which we read months ago in the weekly edition of the *Hindu* of the 15th May, 1919, has been reproduced in the August-September number of the *Philippine Review* with some prefatory editorial remarks which also are quoted below

Recent uprisings in Ireland, Egypt and India—all countries under Great Britain—have graced the war's aftermath, so that students of colonial governments have become rather suspicious that there is something rotten in the governmental machineries that operate therein. However, Sir Rabindranath Tagore in his letter to a friend remarks that the defects may be found, not in the make-up of the government but in the men that run the government. His letter follows in full

Shantiniketan, April 25, 1919

DEAR FRIEND,

Most of the Anglo-Indian papers are crying for more blood. They are sure that there are some mischief-makers behind the present disturbances. Certainly there are. But who are they? Serious disturbances have taken place in all three countries where the British have their way—Ireland, Egypt and India respectively, containing three different peoples widely different in their civilization, temperament and tradition. Is it unthinkable that the mischief-maker may be lurking somewhere in the common element which they all have, namely, the one people which governs

them? It is not in the system of government or the law but in the men entrusted with the carrying on of the government, the men who have not the imagination or sympathy truly to know the people whom they rule, the men who imagine that it is their material power which carries its own permanence in itself, and that therefore the eternal truths of human nature and moral providence can be ignored in its favour. It is evident that these people in their blind pride will ever go on seeking for the source of mischief outside themselves, and easily succeed in catching some stray dog to give it a bad name and hang it. This will only prolong their period of harboring the mischief in their own person and driving it deeper into their constitution. It is the same kind of ignorance of the eternal laws which primitive peoples show when they hunt for some so-called witch to which they ascribe the cause of their illness while carrying the disease germs in their own blood. It is quite easy for them to torture and burn the witch and dance the devil-dance with proper ceremony, but the disease will continue and they will have to make costly provisions for more burning of witches and more orgies of frightfulness

Yours,

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

In an article on "Ireland, Egypt, and India", published in *India* (London), dated May 2, 1919, Mr Bernard Houghton (I C S, Retired) says in part —

In logic there is a canon of induction called the canon of agreement and difference, which leads to no uncertain conclusion. It is

"If two or more instances in which a phenomenon occurs have only one other circumstance in common, while two or more instances in which it does not occur have nothing in common but the absence of that circumstance—the circumstance in which alone the two sets of instances differ throughout is the effect or the cause or an indispensable part of the cause of the phenomenon"

To particularise. Amongst the civilised peoples of the Empire, since Canada, South Africa, and Australia with a healthy political life have only self-government in common, whilst Ireland, Egypt, and India, where the reverse condition obtains, have nothing in common but the absence of self-government, self-government is for them the cause or an indispensable part of the cause of a healthy political life. Here is the remedy, here the grand elixir for their ills, which only blindness can refuse or folly deny

Have you come to me as my sorrow?
All the more I must cling to you

—RABINDRANATH TAGORE, *Crossing*

NOTES

Bill of Rights

In our last number we drew attention to the absence of all constitutional guarantees of the primary rights of citizens from the Government of India Bill such as those embodied in the "Jones Law" granting self-government to the Philippines. We further said that such a guarantee of the elementary rights of citizenship is not unusual in Acts granting self-government. In chapter xxxvii, Part II, Vol I, of Lord Bryce's *American Commonwealth* we have an account of the constitutions of the various states of the American union. There it is said that a constitution is divided into five parts, of which the Bill of Rights is one. It contains an enumeration of the citizen's primordial rights to liberty of person and security of property. Several of these declarations are quoted, and 'considering that all danger from the exercise of despotic power upon the people of the States by the executive has long since vanished,' surprise is expressed that 'these assertions of the rights and immunities of the individual citizen as against the state should continue to be repeated in the instruments of to-day.' But the Americans still consider them to be "safeguards against tyranny, and they serve the purpose of solemnly reminding a state legislature and its officers of those fundamental principles which they ought never to overstep." If the freest people in the world still consider such guarantees to be necessary, how much more must they be so in the case of India, assumed to be just emerging from the shackles of absolute autocracy, though the Government of India Bill has not broken any of our chains. Lord Bryce says

"The Bill of Rights is historically the most interesting part of these constitutions, for it is the legitimate child and representative of Magna Carta, and of those other declarations and enactments, down to the Bill of Rights of the Act

liberties of Englishmen have been secured. Most of the thirteen colonies when they asserted their independence and framed their constitutions inserted a declaration of the fundamental rights of the people, and the example then set has been followed by the newer states, and, indeed, by the states generally in their most recent constitutions."

Extracts from Lord Bryce's book relating to this topic are printed below

"Louisiana (constitution of 1898) declares that 'all government, of right, originates with the people, is founded on their will alone, and is instituted solely for the good of the people. Its only legitimate end is to secure justice to all, preserve peace, and to promote the interest and happiness of the people.'

"A large majority of the states declare that 'all men have a natural, inherent, and inalienable right to enjoy and defend life and liberty,' and all of these, except the melancholy Missouri, add the 'natural right to pursue happiness.'

"All in one form or another secure the freedom of writing and speaking opinions, and some add that the truth of a libel may be given in evidence.

"Nearly all secure the freedom of public meeting and petition.

"Many forbid the creation of any title of nobility.

"Many declare that the right of citizens to bear arms shall never be denied.

"Several forbid armed men to be brought into the State 'for the suppression of domestic violence.'

"Most provide that conviction for treason shall not work corruption of blood nor forfeiture of estate.

"Many declare the right of trial by jury to be inviolate.

"Some forbid imprisonment for debt, except in case of fraud, and secure the acceptance of reasonable bail, except for the gravest charges.

"North Carolina declares that 'as political rights and privileges are not dependent upon or modified by property, no property qualification ought to affect the right to vote or hold office.'

"Maryland (constitution of 1867) declared that 'a long continuance in the executive departments of power or trust is dangerous to liberty, a rotation, therefore, in those departments is one of the best securities of permanent freedom.'

the constitution of Oklahoma (1907), which is given *in extenso* in the Appendix to Vol I by way of sample —

PREAMBLE

Section 10 —All political power is inherent in the people, and Government is instituted for their protection, security and benefit, and to promote their general welfare, and they have the right to alter or reform the same whenever the public good may require it. Provided, such change be not repugnant to the constitution of the United States

Section 11 —All persons have the inherent right to life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, and the enjoyment of the gains of their own industry

Section 12 —The people have the right peaceably to assemble for their own good, and to apply to those invested with the powers of government for redress of grievances by petition, address, or remonstrance

Section 13 —No power, civil or military, shall ever interfere to prevent the free exercise of the right of suffrage by those entitled to such right

Section 15 —[Courts of justice open, speedy remedy]

Section 16 —No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law

Section 17 —All persons shall be bailable by sufficient sureties, except for capital offenses when the proof of guilt is evident, or the presumption thereof is great

Section 18 —Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel or unusual punishments inflicted

Section 19 —The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall never be suspended by the authorities of this State

Section 23 —The military shall be held in strict subordination to the civil authorities

Section 28 —The right of trial by jury shall be and remain inviolate

Section 29 —In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall have the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury. He shall be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation against him and have a copy thereof, and be confronted with the witnesses against him, and have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his behalf. He shall have the right to be heard by himself and counsel

Section 30 —No person shall be compelled to give evidence which will tend to incriminate him nor shall any person, after having been once acquitted by jury, be again put in jeopardy of life or liberty for that of which he has been acquitted. Nor shall any person be twice put in jeopardy of life or liberty for the same offense

Section 31 —Every person may freely speak, write or publish his sentiments on all subjects being responsible for the abuse of that right, and no law shall be passed to restrain or

abridge the liberty of speech or of the press. In all criminal prosecutions for libel, the truth of the matter alleged to be libelous may be given in evidence to the jury

Section 35 —The right of a citizen to keep and bear arms in defense of his home, person or property, or in aid of the civil power, when thereunto legally summoned, shall never be prohibited, but nothing herein contained shall prevent the legislature from regulating the carrying of weapons

Section 38 —No person shall be transported out of the State for any offense committed within the State, nor shall any person be transported out of the State for any purpose, without his consent, except by due process of law

Section 39 —The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches or seizures shall not be violated, and no warrant shall issue but upon probable cause supported by oath or affirmation, describing as particularly as may be the place to be searched and the person or thing to be seized

Section 41 —Perpetuities and monopolies are contrary to the genius of a free government, and shall never be allowed, nor shall the law of primogeniture or entailments ever be in force in this State

Section 42 —The enumeration in this constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny, impair or disparage others retained by the people

Statutory safeguarding of the primary rights of citizens is not confined to Western countries or to islands under Western guardianship. According to the *Calcutta Weekly Notes*, as quoted by the *Bengalee*, the draft constitution of China contains the provision that the citizens shall not be "arrested, tried or punished, or fined, except in accordance with the law," and if detained, may apply for a writ of habeas corpus. "The inviolability of residence and correspondence, freedom of speech and writing and the right of assembly for a lawful purpose are provided for. In the performance of their duties, members of Parliament are entitled to full freedom of speech in Parliament and to exemption from arrest."

The Acoustical Knowledge of the Ancient Hindus

At the annual science convention presided over by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee many papers of scientific interest were read. On the first day Prof C V Raman delivered a lecture on "the Acoustical knowledge

of the Ancient Hindus" illustrated by experiments and lantern slides. It proved quite interesting. He succeeded in showing by experimental demonstration that the "*Mridanga*" differed entirely from any of the instruments of percussion known to physicists in Europe and a scientific examination of it showed that the ancient Hindus, to whom presumably its design is to be ascribed, must have possessed acoustical knowledge of a very advanced type."

Excise and Provincial Responsibility

As, except in Assam and in the matter of opium, the Indian ministers in the provinces are, according to the Government of India Act, to have charge of excise as a transferred subject, the people are going to become directly responsible for excise policy and administration. The temperance associations all over the country should be up and doing to see that intemperance gradually diminishes and ultimately disappears. The loss of revenue must also be made good by the development of the resources of the country and thereby increasing its tax-bearing capacity.

Two Pamphlets on Panjab Affairs.

The evidence given before the Disorders Enquiries Committee helps one to form some idea of recent events in the Panjab and of the psychology and mentality of Panjab officials, civil and military. Most of this evidence is official or given under official influence and inspiration. As there is now little probability of much truly non-official evidence being placed before the Hunter Committee, the importance of two recently published pamphlets on the situation in the Panjab, written by two non-official gentlemen, has become all the greater for a right understanding of the state of affairs in that afflicted province. We refer to (1) *The Present Situation with special reference to the Panjab Disturbances*, by Mr. Alfred Nundy, Barrister-at-Law, Dehradun, and (2) "*Open Rebellion in the Panjab*" (with special reference to Amritsar) by Mr. Kapil Deva Malaviya, M.A.,

Abhyudaya Press, Allahabad. All who wish to understand the situation ought to read these two pamphlets.

The Hunter Committee and the Congress Sub-Committee.

[This Note was written for our last issue.]

The Panjab Enquiry Sub-Committee of the Congress has rightly decided not to appear or lead evidence before the Hunter Committee.

It weighed every consequence, but it felt that if it was to discharge the trust laid upon it, if it was to vindicate national honour and the honour of the great Punjab leaders, if it was to see truth and innocence established, it could not possibly engage in an inquiry in which the people's party was so heavily handicapped. It must be remembered that officials are as much upon their trial as the leaders. But not only are Government officials free to appear before Lord Hunter's Committee but also to instruct Government counsel. In the words of the Congress Committee's letter to Lord Hunter, it cannot be expected to be a party to a position under which Government officials whose acts are under review, can freely appear before the Committee, when the people's representatives whose acts are equally under review are not allowed to appear even as prisoners under custody.

For similar reasons, as stated in a letter from Messrs M. M. Malaviya and C. R. Das to Mr. Chief Secretary Thompson, from which we quote below, Dr. Satyapal decided not to appear before the Hunter Committee.

(1) That he was not allowed to be present in the Committee room during the period that official witnesses gave evidence against him.

(2) That he had not been given an opportunity to instruct Counsel to cross-examine those witnesses.

(3) That reasonable opportunity was not given for a satisfactory presentation of the people's case before the Committee.

As the Hunter Committee has been foredoomed to futility, by the passing of the Indemnity, Immunity or Impunity Act, in what ought to be the main object of such committees, viz., bringing about the punishment of official wrong-doers, nothing practically has been lost by non-official evidence not being placed before it.

The Governor of Bengal on Oriental Art

Lord Ronaldshay's address at the salon at Government House where paintings

produced under the auspices of the Indian School of Oriental Art were put on view contains some remarkable admissions. Western education was decided upon by Lord William Bentinck's Government because "they wanted Indians who were as nearly as possible the equivalent of the English clerk", and the present remarkable development of education "was not the result of deliberate purpose". The "root cause of the Indian unrest" is a "clash of ideals," [We may have to say something on this diagnosis of unrest in India], "the struggle of the Indian ideal against extinction." The Indian School of Painting "is a national movement, the fair flower of an indigenous growth which excites the interest and sympathy of Government, but which would most assuredly wither into decay, were we to endeavour to bring it under Government control." In this passage we have the recognition of the fact that genuine national movements do not thrive under State control.

Regarding Indian art in particular the following extract will be read with interest —

"We have the practical cessation of Indian artistic activity at the time of low national vitality when the impact of Western civilisation carried everything before it. Then we have the gradual awakening of the sleeping Indian spirit — the feeling of unrest which first pondered upon, and then challenged the teaching given in the schools of Art established by Western agency on Western lines. How strong were the fetters of the Western tradition is shown by the paintings of the late Raja Ravi Varma who sought to give expression to Indian ideals, but could not free himself of the European style which he had imbibed. Then came the heralds of a real renaissance when Messrs Abanindra and Gaganendra Nath Tagore, inspired by an instinct which insisted upon asserting itself, broke away from the Western tradition and gave birth to the modern school of Indian painting."

Lord Ronaldshay proceeds to explain why he takes this deep personal interest in the school of Bengali painting. "Apart from the particular merits of the painting itself, I see in it a perfectly legitimate field where the unrest of spirit from which India has been and still is suffering may leaven soil with wholly commendable results." Then his Lordship goes on to express his

profound sympathy with the unrest, due to the struggle of the Indian ideal against extinction, and says that though he has been obliged sternly to condemn many of its more regrettable manifestations, not all forms of Indian self-assertion are repugnant to him. "Throughout the whole wide sphere of art I am in profound sympathy with the spirit of Indian unrest. As a result of it I look forward to seeing the peculiar genius of the Indian people finding renewed expression in an artistic language of its own."

It is thus quite clear that art is a form of Indian self-assertion which is not repugnant to the Governor of the province. But has His Excellency stopped to consider what is the kind of soil necessary for true art to flourish? If he had, perhaps he would not be so ready to express his profound sympathy, for it would have brought him directly into touch with other forms of Indian self-assertion which, we believe, he would be disposed to regard, from the point of view of an alien government, as more questionable. Rabindranath Tagore says in his essay, "What is Art?" (*Personality*, page 11) "Man has a fund of emotional energy which is not all occupied with his self-preservation. This surplus seeks its outlet in the creation of Art, for man's civilisation is built upon his surplus." There is a Sanskrit saying to the effect that poverty is not a congenial soil for the gift of poetry to thrive in. For, in a poor country, life for most men is a never-ending struggle to keep body and soul together, which leaves little surplus energy for artistic creation. The Tagores have genius, which is of course the essential thing, and genius knows no distinction of soil or clime, and may burst forth anywhere. Nevertheless it is true that the appalling poverty all around us is apt to freeze the genial current of the soul, and Lord Ronaldshay is not ignorant of "the economic pressure which drove large numbers" of Indians to seek a purely literary education. India has very little of surplus, both moral and material, in her civilisation. The joy of living has gone out of her, her fund of emotional energy, owing to the strain and stress of the struggle for bare physical subsistence, is but poor. A fuller,

nobler, and richer life, from which the carking care of securing the bare material needs for self-preservation has been eliminated, must be developed in large numbers of her sons and daughters before an efflorescence of art can manifest itself. The development of art is therefore intimately connected with economic development. And economic development depends entirely on economic freedom, and the latter is impossible without political freedom. But the Indian aspiration towards self-assertion in this direction is generally repugnant to the English bureaucrat. The Englishman's sympathy for Indian art can extend only so far as it does not clash with the Indian's natural desire for self-rule.

When we wrote of India, that "the joy of living has gone out of her", we did not anticipate that our words would be unconsciously echoed by a great English scholar from the far off British Isles. But, after giving expression to our opinion, we found it reported in the newspapers that Sir Michael Sadler has said in a recent speech in England, "If I was to have one wish and only one wish with regard to Bengal, I might wish it should have more laughter. Somehow or other, it has a look of being sad and depressed." "I don't suppose that all through the ordinary Indian life there is anything like as much laughter as you get in an English football match on a Saturday afternoon and nothing at all like the merry laughter you hear in the North Italian towns." The impression of sadness and depression which Bengal gives to the foreign observer is true of the rest of India also. And this is not an impression produced by the added destitution, squalor and misery caused by the very high prices of recent years and the ravages of influenza and other diseases. Previous observers, too, were struck by the sadness of India. By way of example we shall give the impression of only one of them. Sir Frederick Treves, Bart., G.C.V.O., C.B., LL.D., Sergeant-surgeon to His late Majesty King Edward VII and to His present Majesty King George V, visited India nearly two decades ago. He has given his impressions of India in one of his many books of travel—for he has seen many countries—called

"*The Other Side of the Lantern*" Here is what he says—

"India leaves on the mind an impression of poorness and melancholy, even if in certain districts cultivation is luxuriant, and if, after the rains, the country is brilliant with blossoms which no meadow in England can produce."

"Sadder than the country are the common people of it. They are lean and weary-looking, their clothing is scanty, they all seem poor, and 'toiling for leave to live.' They talk little and laugh less. Indeed, a smile, except on the face of a child, is uncommon. They tramp along in the dust with little apparent object other than to tramp. Whither they go, Heaven knows, for they look like men who have been wandering for a century. Their meagre figures are found against the light of the dawn, and move against the great red sun as it sets in the west, and one wonders if they still tramp on through the night."

"They appear feeble and depressed,"

Government Grant to "Centre of Indian Culture"

We learn from Lord Ronaldshay's address, on some portions of which we have commented above, that His Excellency's Government have made a capital grant for the establishment of a "centre of Indian culture" under the auspices of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, and that his Government "are prepared to render assistance in the matter of current expenditure during the coming financial year." His Excellency took care to "lay stress upon the fact that, with the provision of these grants, the part played by Government comes to an end. The acceptance of the grants by the Society involves neither official inspection, interference, nor control." In spite of all this, however, we feel that it would have been better if the society had not been the recipient of any help from the State. Inspection, interference and control there will not be, but, as the Society must always feel under an obligation, there may be conscious or unconscious deference to the official or European view of what Indian culture is or means or ought to be or mean. To that extent the society will be susceptible of or sensitive to official or European influence. We are subjected to European official and non-official dominance, pressure and influence

in almost all spheres of life from so many directions that we could wish that the centre of *Indian* culture were located even in a hut, entirely free from any kind of non-Indian obligation and influence. The smallest achievement of such a centre would have increased our self-confidence and made us respect ourselves to a greater extent than any possibly grander achievements of the State-aided centre.

Incidentally, we may be permitted to draw Mr Gaganendranath Tagore's attention to the fact that the votaries, admirers and patrons of Indian Art and culture, both Indian and European, were asked to attend the salon at Government House in "Mess Dress." We presume, as we do not know, that "Mess Dress" must be some kind of European dress. Mr Gaganendranath Tagore's brush may find a very delightful subject for a humorous cartoon in a gathering in European "Mess Dress" of the Indian votaries, admirers and patrons of *Indian* Art and culture. We hope His Excellency and humble folk like ourselves will be afforded, by the courtesy of Mr Tagore, an opportunity for a hearty laugh over such a cartoon.

The Ceded Districts of Berar

It is difficult to get at the true historical facts relating to the passing of the Berars from the possession of the Nizam to that of the British Government. What we said in our last issue was based to some extent on Mr Wilfrid Scawen Blunt's account of Hyderabad affairs in his "India Under Ripon." The account given in the Indian Year Book for 1919, edited by Sir Stanley Reed, conveys a different impression. That book tells us that these districts of Berar had been administered by the British Government on behalf of the Nizam since 1853, under the treaties of 1853 and 1860, they were assigned without limit of time to the British Government to provide for the maintenance of the Hyderabad contingent, a body of troops kept by the British Government for the Nizam's use, the surplus revenues, if any, being payable to the Nizam. In course of time it had become apparent that the maintenance of

the Hyderabad contingent on its old footing, as a separate force, was inexpedient and unnecessary, and that similarly the administration of Berar as a separate unit was very costly, while from the point of view of the Nizam, the precarious and fluctuating nature of the surplus was financially inconvenient. The agreement of 1902 reaffirmed the Nizam's sovereignty over Berar, which instead of being indefinitely "assigned" to the Government of India, was leased in perpetuity for an annual rental of 25 lakhs, the rental is for the present charged with an annual debit towards the repayment of loans made by the Government of India. The Government of India were at the same time authorised to administer Berar in such manner as they might think desirable, and to redistribute, reduce, re-organise, and control the Hyderabad contingent, due provision being made, as stipulated in the treaty of 1853, for the protection of His Exalted Highness' dominions. In accordance with this agreement the Contingent ceased in March 1903 to be a separate force and was reorganised and redistributed as an integral part of the Indian Army, and in October 1903 Berar was transferred to the administration of the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. That is what the Indian Year Book says.

Torrens (*Empire in Asia*, Trubner and Co., London, 1872) gives quite a different history. The account which follows is culled from his book. The quotations are within inverted commas, the rest is in narrative form. The policy of persuading the Indian States to maintain within their confines bodies of British troops (then known as the subsidiary forces, but since Lord Dalhousie's time as the Imperial Service Troops) and of obtaining concessions of territory in lieu of money for their payment, was first consistently adopted by Lord Wellesley. "The permanent appropriation of revenue for the maintenance of the subsidiary force was calculated mainly with reference to the *inability* of the state to bear it." The cost of maintenance invariably fell into arrear, "as was anticipated", and the balance had to be cleared off from time to time by new concessions

of territory "It was the glove of mail courteously but undisguisedly laid on the shoulder of native rule, with an irresistible but patronising air, felt to be a little heavy and a little hard at first, but soon destined to become habitual." "The undermining of native authority had indeed been pitilessly continued under all circumstances by the never-failing means of an exorbitant subsidiary force." Berar was one among the various provinces annexed by Lord Dalhousie. "The year 1854 saw two more valuable provinces absorbed through other means. The subsidiary force kept up at the expense of the Nizam had long been excessive, measured by its nominal use or his ability of paying for it. Lord Dalhousie admitted that it was too large, and suggested that the staff, at all events, ought to be reduced. But £750,000 were due as arrears. The Viceroy, therefore, caused it to be intimated that he would accept the fertile cotton districts of Berar, the Raichur doab lying between the rivers Krishna and Tumbudra, together with other lands, in payment of the debt and as security for future charges for the contingent. When the draft treaty was presented the Nizam expostulated, asking whether an alliance which had lasted unbroken for sixty years ought to have an ending like this. He did not want the subsidiary force, the Viceroy might withdraw it if he pleased, or he might cut down its supernumerary strength and extravagant allowances, which were merely maintained as ways of patronage by the Governor-General, and not for any benefit to him. But to ask him to part with a third of his dominions was to humble him in the eyes of his people, and to abase him in his own esteem. He had not deserved treatment so heartless, and he could not be expected to submit to it. But he was expected, and he did submit and soon afterwards he died." [Chap XXVI]

"Lord Dalhousie put forth the cotton-growing qualities of the Berar country as one of the many arguments which he adduced in favour of the annexation of the territory."—Kaye and Mallsen's *Sepoy Mutiny*, Vol 1

How Lord Curzon obtained his perpetual

lease was told in our last issue in the words of W S Blunt

The Encyclopaedia Britannica (11th edition) does not carry the history of Berar further than the year 1860, and, as to the results, says "Under British control Berar rapidly recovered its prosperity." In the absence of other evidence from different sources before us, we will neither accept nor reject this statement. But in justice to the Nizam's government we must quote some sentences from W S Blunt's *India Under Ripon*. "I was certainly struck in passing from the British Deccan below Raichore into the Nizam's Deccan with certain signs of better condition in the latter. Most of the Nizam's villages contain something in the shape of a stone house belonging to the headman. The flock of goats alone found in the Madras Presidency, are replaced by flocks of sheep, and one sees here and there a farmer superintending his laborers on horseback, a sight the British Deccan never shows. In the few villages of the Nizam which I entered I found at least this advantage over the others that there was no debt, while I was assured that the mortality during the great Deccan famine was far less severe in the Nizam's than in Her Majesty's territory." "On the whole the agricultural condition of the Hyderabad territory seemed to me little, a very little, better than that of its neighbour, the Madras Deccan, and I believe it is a fact that it is attracting immigrants from across the border." "It is worth repeating that the only villages I found free from debt in India were in the Nizam's territory." "With regard to the town population, I found the few independent native capitals which I visited exhibiting signs of well-being in the inhabitants, absent in places of the same calibre under British rule." "The faces of the inhabitants everywhere in Northern India are those of men conscious of a presence hostile to them, as in a conquered city. In the capitals of the Native States, on the contrary, there is nothing of all this, and the change in the aspect of the natives, as one passes from British to native rule, is most noticeable. The Hyderabadis especially have a well-fed look not commonly found in the inland

towns, and are quite the best dressed townsmen of India. There is a bustle and cheerfulness about this city, and a fearless attitude in the crowd, which is a relief to the traveller after the submissive silence of the British populations."

When the Bejars were permanently transferred to British rule, "self-determination," either as an ideal or as a mere cant, had not been heard of. The people of a country are not slaves attached to an estate, to be transferred to a purchaser along with the estate. But in the world's history they have been hitherto treated as such. So when the Bejars were released out, the people were not asked whether they liked the transfer or not. If they had civic freedom under the Nizam, probably they would have made some noise. But a plebiscite would not have succeeded then in ascertaining the real views of the majority, nor can it be successful now, as both Indian rule and British rule in India as they are have ample means at their command of vitiating the results.

As at the time of the transfer to British rule Berar public opinion was not consulted, it would not be just to the Nizam now, in deciding the question of re-transfer, to demand that Berar public opinion should be the determining factor,—particularly as a correct plebiscite is out of the question. All that can be and should be insisted upon is that in the event of a re-transfer of Berar to the Nizam, the present civic and political rights, economic advantages, and educational facilities of the people must be fully safeguarded by treaty. In the meantime righteousness, statesmanship and policy alike require that the Government of His Exalted Highness should, as expeditiously as possible, make the condition of his people, politically, economically and educationally, decidedly better than that of Indians under British rule. And that can be easily done by His Exalted Highness deciding at once to be and act as a strictly constitutional ruler, giving to his people a liberal constitution.

The Dawn of a New Era

In an essay on the French Revolution of 1789 in the *Meaning of History* (Mac-

millan, 1911) Frederic Harrison summarises some of its principal features. "If in its outer manifestation it was a chaotic *revolution*, in its inner spirit it was an organic *evolution*." This, perhaps, may be said of all social and political upheavals which we call revolutions, for if we could only see deep enough into the causes of things, we should find that not even the most violent social or political explosion is an isolated event, the work of a day or a year, or the result of sudden and immediate causes, but that every such cataclysmic outburst can be traced to causes which have been silently gathering force and volume through years and in some cases, go back, in their origin, to remoter times. The Russian revolution which, like a tremendous earthquake, is throwing the social and political order of Russia upside down and consolidating, recreating and reshaping the Eastern half of Europe, found in the late war the occasion for a general break-up, but nobody could say that it was not already in progress, though not so obviously, before the final stage had been reached during the last few years. The French Revolution, according to the Great Positivist writer, was constructive even more than destructive and was far less the final crash of an effete system than the new birth of the irresistible germs of a new system. It was an intellectual and religious, a moral, social, and economic movement—a movement of the human race towards a completer humanity, the full fruition of which is not yet. The basic conception of the Revolution is "Government by capacity, not by hereditary title, with the welfare of the whole people as its end, and the consent of the Governed as its sole legitimate title." It was a conception not of local, but of world-wide application, and it is still doing its work in Russia, China, India and elsewhere. The ideas on which the great Revolution turned concerned "the transformation of a feudal, hereditary, privileged, authoritative society, based on *antique right*, into a republican, industrial, equalised, humanised, society based on a scientific view of the *Common Weal*." The paragraph quoted at the end of this Note,

sums up the totality of ideas which the Revolution stood for, and the influences set in motion by it which mark it as the dawn of a new era in human civilisation. To thoughtful men, the new age ushered in by the late war with its theory of self-determination may furnish a study in comparison and contrast, and to some, too hopeful Moderates among us, the Government of India Act may, *longo intervallo*, appear to be, in the political sphere, the dawn of such a new era as that which broke forth in France in 1789. In the social sphere, where the influence of the Act does not penetrate except indirectly in the partial democratization of the franchise, the remarks of Frederic Harrison in that paragraph should give us serious food for reflection. It will not do for us merely to play to the gallery by sneering at either the 'Moderates' or the 'Extremists.' Among the ranks of both, in varying proportions in different places, we find men who are wise enough to appreciate the great need for social reform if political reform is to make much progress. And we should remember that with us social reform must not concern itself only with such comparatively easy matters (from the point of view of moral courage and facing unpopularity) as the housing of the poor, the shortening of the hours of labour, the throwing open of places of innocent amusement on Sundays, and the like. In India, it has to concern itself with much more vital and fundamental problems which have been long solved in the advanced countries of the West. Our hoary traditions, our hidebound customs, our rooted superstitions, our slavish and blind submission to religious authority, our immemorial social usages, make the task a tremendously up-hill one. The whole outlook, the entire spirit, must be transformed in order to bring social life in conformity with our political aspirations. These are the thoughts which flash across our mind as we read the following passage:

"The year 1789, more definitely than any other date marks any other transition, marks the close of a society which had existed for some thousands of years as a consistent whole, a society more or less based upon political force,

intensely imbued with the spirit of hereditary right, bound up with ideas of theological sanction, sustained by a scheme of supramundane authority, a society based upon caste, on class, on local distinctions and personal privilege, rooted in inequality, political, social, material and moral, a society of which the hope of salvation was the maintenance of the *status quo*, and of which the Ten Commandments were Privilege. And the same year, 1789, saw the official installation of a society which was essentially based on peace, the creed of which was industry, equality, progress, a society where change was the evidence of life, the end of which was social welfare, and the means social co-operation and human equity. Union, communion, equality, equity, merit, labour, justice, consolidation, fraternity,—such were the devices and symbols of the new era. It is therefore with justice that modern Europe regards the date 1789 as a date that marks a greater evolution in human history than, perhaps, any other single date that could be named between the reign of the first Pharaoh and the reign of Victoria."

Labour and Educated Young Men.

"A Japanese Friend of India" writes —

"It is certainly a matter of great satisfaction to the other Asiatic nations that the Indians have at length awakened. They have thrown away the lethargy of centuries and are now actively engaged in promoting their welfare and development. Of course, matters political should engage their first attention, but at the same time to give a motive force to the political matters certain other things are also essentially necessary. Military strength being one of them is, no doubt, of first importance. But, as recent events in England, America and some other countries, have amply demonstrated, the organisation of labour is of very great importance also. In the case of India, not only industrial labour organisations but agricultural labour organisations also should be established in every city, town, village and hamlet. Now, there are many educated young Indians who are spending the best part of their life for a mere pittance in a Government office or commercial firm. Let them take to labour. Let them work as common labourers in Mills and Factories. Let them take to the jobs of railway porters, carriage and cart drivers, tramway conductors and

drivers, farm labourers, etc. They can thus, while earning their own livelihood, organise the uneducated and half-educated people there. Unless they be one of the labourers—one of their own pals, the latter won't place implicit trust in them. Consequently an educated Indian riding in automobile with eyeglasses on, being outside the circle of the pals of the labourers, can never succeed in establishing a real labour organisation. Every reader of newspapers knows how strong are the Labour Organisations of England and America, who can at their pleasure influence the Government in any way they like. Besides, the educated young labourers can be a source of real education to the illiterate labourers, for the former being regular readers of newspapers can keep the latter informed of all the important events of the world."

There is much truth in what the Japanese gentleman has written

Queer Comparative Boasting

Sir Michael O'Dwyer more than once belauded the Panjabis and belittled other Indians,—and perhaps he exacted the price of his praises in the form of what the Panjab had to undergo before and after the proclamation of martial law in that province. Some Panjabis, too, have been in the habit of boasting of their achievements and looking down upon other Indians. For instance, in course of the debate on Mr K K Chanda's resolution *re* removal of the Panjab Government from Simla, Major Malik Sir Umar Hayat Khan said

"Our Province has given the chance to many speakers from other parts of India to be able to say that 'we have made sacrifices and we have shed our blood for the Empire' though they have not got much connection with the soldiers of martial classes which have borne the brunt of the struggle, and they should not be so unthankful as to ask us to leave our home in return

With reference to this sentence, Rao Bahadur B N Sarma observed —

"Sir, may I say one word with regard to the constant introduction into this Council of the quality of the Punjab citizens and the quality of the rest of the citizens of India? We are all proud of the bravery of the martial races

inhabiting the Punjab. We feel that we are one with them, and we hope that that feeling is reciprocated by the Panjabis, although it does not seem to find any acceptance at the hands of my Hon'ble colleague, the Hon'ble Sir Umar Hayat Khan. I make bold to say that we from other Provinces of India have conquered the Punjab and have established British sovereignty in India, and there are as brave men, as bold men, as courageous men, as strong men physically in the rest of India as can be boasted of by the Punjab. And, Sir, I hope, therefore, that these pretensions will not be very often made, because they are hardly in good taste, let alone being provocative

This proved too much for Sir Zulfikar Ali Khan of the Panjab, who said —

"My friend the Hon'ble Mr Sarma said that when the Punjab was conquered it was conquered by people from other provinces. I think he ought to study history a little more and know the facts more clearly. The facts are these, that the Punjab was conquered by its own people."

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent — "May I rise to a point of order? I submit we are straying very far from the subject-matter of this Resolution."

The Vice-President — "I hope the Hon'ble Member will come back from history to practical Politics."

The Hon'ble Sir Zulfikar Ali Khan — "Well, Sir, I am only replying to the arguments alluded to by the previous speakers, and if I am allowed to reply to them I will proceed further."

The Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B N Sarma — "I agree that the Punjab was conquered by the Panjabis helping the others."

The Vice President — "We will leave the question at that."

Free citizens of independent countries cannot perhaps imagine that there may be a country of which some prominent inhabitants can indulge in comparative boasting as to who among themselves had done most to deprive their Motherland of her independence, but "there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in" the political psychology of free-born men in independent countries.

The extracts in this Note are taken from the *Gazette of India*, dated September 27, 1919

Evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee.

In a previous issue we dwelt on the undignified bickerings in our party papers regarding the part played by the Indian

witnesses before the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Government of India Bill which has since become law. In course of the mutual bickerings, which have been the order of the day, it was said that Mr V J Patel had spoilt India's case, &c. We have no desire to take part in these unbecoming and useless squabbles, Mr St Nihal Singh's four articles in our present issue will tell the reader at a glance what the different deputations and witnesses stood up for, and also give the public some idea of the reasons why we have not got a better Reform Act than we have. Only, in justice to Mr Patel we wish to add, that, Mr St Nihal Singh, who is neither "extremist" nor "moderate", does not say that Mr Patel spoilt India's case, that Mr Ben Spoor, M P, who was a member of the Joint Committee, writes in his foreword to the reprint of the demands of the Indian National Congress

Mr Patel, general secretary to the Congress, an elected member for Bombay on the Viceregal Legislative Council, and for many years a member of the Bombay Legislative Council, was selected by the Congress Deputation as their chief spokesman. The choice was fully justified. His tone was neither apologetic nor subservient. Independence and straightforwardness marked his attitude throughout.

A severe cross-examination on all the above-named points did not in the least shake Mr Patel's evidence. On the contrary it offered him opportunities for further emphasising his argument, and of these he took full advantage

and that, what is more, Mr Prithwis Chandra Ray, a prominent member of the "moderate" deputation and joint editor of the *Bengalee*, interviewed by a representative of the Associated Press, had the fairness and generosity to say,

Speaking of evidence tendered before the Joint Committee Mr Roy paid a tribute to the value of the evidence of Mr S N Banerjea and added that Mr V J Patel of the Congress Deputation also made some impression on the committee because he rubbed the thing the other way about, and when Mr Patel insisted that Mr Montagu's Bill was a small little thing Lord Selbourne realised that the Montagu Scheme was a 'via-media' between the extremes of the Congress and the Civil Service. Therefore Mr Roy thought that Mr Patel, instead of spoiling India's case in any way, as he was represented to have done, had generally helped in getting the scheme through. He certainly spoke courageously and to his conviction.

We think we ought all to ignore party distinctions and recognise the good work done by all those deputations which tried to obtain political freedom for India. And now that the Bill has become law, it is only by trying to take the fullest advantage of it that it can be convincingly proved that Indians require to have far greater political power in order that the greatest possible good to India may be done.

Life's "Stagnation and Flow"

Hide-bound by old age and use and wont, the old man in the frontispiece to our present issue represents life's stagnation. He cannot change and advance with the times, he is a mere inert looker-on. On the other hand, the girl in the picture stands for life's flow. She can move forward with the current.

Sir Sankaran Nair's Appointment to the India Council

Sir Sankaran Nair's appointment to the India Council is in every way to be welcomed. He is a well-informed, patriotic and fearless Indian. He has very recent official experience. He possesses statesmanship of a high order.

The Indian National Congress at Amritsar

Swami Shraddhananda, Mr Gudharilal (General Secretary) and the other active members of the Reception Committee have had to contend with great difficulties in making adequate preparations for the 34th session of the Indian National Congress held at Amritsar. The first difficulty was the absence of most of the Panjab leaders, who were in jail, and the seeming impossibility of rousing the drooping spirits of the people. When the preparations were nearing completion, rain fell in heavy showers for several days, making it imperative to postpone the opening of the session for a day. But the enthusiasm, self-sacrifice and working capacity of those who had undertaken the self-imposed task, overcame all difficulties, and the people of Amritsar and of the Panjab generally have had the satisfaction to know that the Amritsar session of the Congress has had by far the largest number of delegates of the 34 sessions so



Mr Girdharilal

General Secretary to the Reception Committee,
34th Indian National Congress, Amritsar

far held In the present issue, we are unable to notice the proceedings of the Congress, as it was only on the 28th of December last that we first saw the greater portion of the presidential address in the *Bengalee* and there was little time left for getting the last pages printed

Intended Deportation of Some Indians from America

Information reached India some weeks ago that legal proceedings were in progress in the U S A for the deportation of some Indian workers for India's independence who had been imprisoned during the war on certain political charges Hundreds of public bodies in that country are said to have protested against the intended deportations on the ground that they would violate the right of asylum, which revolutionaries and political refugees of various European nationalities have all along enjoyed in the U S A, the British Isles, &c Samuel Gompers, president

of the American Federation of Labor, was to have interviewed President Woodrow Wilson, as soon as possible, and present Mr Wilson with a brief, prepared by the Friends of Freedom for India, protesting against the deportations This action was the result of a thorough investigation of the merits of the fight against the deportations, made by the Executive Council of the A F of L at the request of the recent Atlantic City Convention News has since been received that Attorney General Palmer has ordered to withdraw the charges against Miss Agnes Smedley, Sailendranath Ghose, Taraknath Das, and Bhagwan Singh, who were arrested and indicted in March, 1918, for an alleged violation of the Espionage Act

British Opinion on Panjab Atrocities

So far as the opinions of the British press have been cabled out to India, they are with the exception of that of the *Morning Post*, more or less condemnatory of what British military officers and other government servants did during last year's disturbances in the Panjab It is reported that the British people have been shocked and are indignant That is natural and satisfactory so far as it goes and the fact does them credit, as its opposite would have been unnatural and disgraceful But the real question is, will they be able to bring about the punishment of even one mad man or fool or brute who perpetrated unheard of atrocities in the Panjab or of those under whose orders or authority they acted ? Will they be able to bring to book those who are responsible for keeping them in ignorance for such a long period ? Will they be able to prevent the possibility of such wanton cruelties in the future ? If they be, well and good, if not, the reported indignation of the British people cannot afford the least satisfaction or consolation to the people of India The responsibility of the British Parliament for the welfare of India has never been a reality and the British people have all along been culpably negligent of their duty to India Nothing but power in the hands of the Indians,—power over the police, over legis-

lation and over the administration of laws, and power over the military—can be an adequate safeguard against oppression

Mr. Montagu on the Panjab Tragedies

How little of a reality the stay-at-home Britisher's responsibility for the good of India is, has been amply demonstrated by the fact that not only the British public, not only the members of Parliament, but even the person who is the chief agent of Parliament in respect of the affairs of India, namely, the Secretary of State for India, could remain or could be kept ignorant of such grave happenings as those of the Panjab for *eight months*. And now that the facts admitted by the authors of those cruelties have reached England, how does Mr. Montagu speak about them? At the Savoy Hotel in London, where he was entertained by Indians,

Referring to the Punjab situation Mr. Montagu pointed out that the riot had loosed the retaliatory machinery which ought to be a warning to those who whatsoever the provocation transgress the law and endanger order. He invited the young Indians present to imagine themselves as a General whose duty it was to restore and preserve order, with no time for consultation or discussion and upon whom the safety of Indians and Europeans depended. Mr. Montagu pleaded that they should await facts after which it would be the Government's duty to do two things: firstly, to fulfil the proud task of giving His Majesty's officers all support to which they were entitled and, secondly, to vindicate in the world's eyes the justice and honour of British rule.

It would not have been proper for Mr. Montagu to condemn the British officers, for the verdict of the Hunter Committee has still to come, but, for the same reason, he ought not also to have taken it for granted that all those who have suffered, including children of 5, 6 or 7, had transgressed the law and endangered order. As to how his imaginary Indian general would have acted in the circumstances of the Punjab, does Mr. Montagu think that that person, to use the summary given by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, would have fired on a peaceful meeting without warning and would have even continued to fire on those who were running away and in fact were prostrate on

the ground and would have done this till his ammunition ran short? Would an Indian General again have publicly flogged his countrymen after stripping them naked, in the presence of prostitutes and similar other estimable persons? Would he have bombed and machine-gunned crowds, big or small, from aeroplanes without caring to enquire what they were doing? Would he also have thrown bombs on hostels of colleges "where a large number of boys live"? Would he have made a public street sacred and have Indians crawl on all fours on it? Would he have compelled his countrymen to show respect to him by rubbing their nose on the ground? Would the young Indian general have caused boys of 5, 6 and 7 years of age and above to go on parade, morning and evening, to salute the British flag, not thinking that it was a hardship, and not relenting even if he saw some of them faint away? Would he also have made students of colleges walk 16 or 17 miles a day in the hottest part of the year and fined the Principals of colleges to make them feel "the might of martial law"? Would he have freely resorted to whipping in public, considering it "the kindest of punishments"? Would he have had people whipped and punished otherwise for failing to salute military officers, on the ground that "India is a land of salaams and Indians know or should know that it was their duty to salaam"? Would he have killed hundreds of his countrymen for the mere foolish notion that if he did not do so, they would come back and laugh at him?

Mr. Montagu pleaded that Indians in England should await facts. Are not the admissions of British officers facts? But, if further facts were needed, should he not himself also have awaited fuller information before he spoke lightheartedly of his "proud task"?

British Military Officers Before the Hunter Committee

Most of the British military officers who have appeared before the Hunter Committee to give evidence have distinguished themselves by their callousness to human

suffering (probably they do not think Indians are human beings), and their studied discourtesy, to use a mild word, to the two Indian members of the Committee, without such an attitude being deprecated by Lord Hunter. On the contrary, he sometimes pleaded with his Indian colleagues not to proceed with their cross-examination. It was not expected that his conduct of the proceedings of the Committee would be of this character. Perhaps he is weak-minded, perhaps he has caught the Anglo-Indian bureaucratic taint,—it does not much matter what the cause is, but the result is regrettable. The military witnesses need not have appeared, or Government need not have deputed them to appear before the Committee to give evidence if they did not care to answer questions put to them by the Indian members. The behaviour of these witnesses reflects discredit not only on themselves but on Government, too. In spite of the insulting behaviour of these men, Pandit Jagat Narain and Sir Chimanlal Setalvad have done their duty with great zeal, ability and industry.

The Royal Proclamation

The Proclamation issued by His Imperial Majesty George V, apart from its historical significance, is a document of great importance, not because of any direct fruit that it may bear but because of the promise that it holds out, the hope that it may inspire and the leverage and opportunity and occasion that it would continue to afford for years to come for the constitutional struggle of the Indian people to reach their political goal. A Royal Proclamation, in a constitutional or limited monarchy like that which exists in the British Empire, is not and cannot be expected to be as directly and speedily useful and effective in advancing the people of India along the road of attainment of popular rights and liberties as an Act of Parliament or an Act of the Indian Legislature. We have had the "Queen's Proclamation" for more than sixty years. It has, no doubt, been of the same use to us as the recent proclamation may be expected to be of, as indicated above. But that it has not been directly fruitful,

effective, or useful, is known to all Indians. Attempts have even been made in high quarters to explain it away by pettifogging arguments. It promised equality in the eye of the law and equal treatment to all Her Majesty's subjects irrespective of race or creed. But the servants of the Crown and some of the laws made by them have not hitherto given full effect to that promise. In proving a statement like the above, we need not depend on any facts or inferences about which opinions may differ. Whoever reads paragraphs 16, 314 and 315 of the *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms* signed by Mr. E. S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, and Lord Chelmsford, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, will at once find that it is an admitted fact that the Queen's Proclamation has not by itself been able to do away with racial discrimination, but that official and non-official endeavours have been necessary for even the partial achievement of that object. Let us quote only one sentence from paragraph 315: "First, we would remove from the regulations the few remaining distinctions that are based on race, and would make appointments to all branches of the public service without racial discrimination." We have here now tried to show that the remaining distinctions based on race are *not* few, and that the proposals in the Montagu-Chelmsford *Report* would *not* lead to appointments to all branches of the public service without racial discrimination. But for our present purpose, the admission made in the *Report* is quite sufficient, as it shows that the Queen's Proclamation has not by itself proved quite effective. So, while welcoming the present proclamation as an expression of His Majesty's intentions and an exhortation to his officers and the people of India, we need not dream that it will of itself bring on the millenium any more than the Queen's Proclamation has done.

The new Government of India Act which received the royal assent a few days ago, nowhere says, definitely or indefinitely, that there shall ever be full representative government in India. The King, however, understands that "The Act which has now

become law points the way to full representative government hereafter" That is a gain, *if we are determined to have it* so, and only if we are so determined For the Proclamation does not absolutely and definitely promise that there *shall* be full representative government hereafter What it says is,

If, as I confidently hope, the policy which this Act inaugurates should achieve its purpose, the results will be momentous in the story of human progress and it is timely and fitting that I should invite you to-day to consider the past and to join me in my hopes of the future

England is now in reality a republic, though a crowned republic, and there are now large numbers of Englishmen who would be glad to see their country a republic both in name and in reality And British monarchists are such because of what they consider to be the practical advantages and utility of the Kingship as an institution Of the old world loyalty in the personal sense there is not much to be found at present in the British Isles In India it is otherwise There is enough and to spare of such loyalty of a genuine character left here, and it is to the advantage of British Kings and Queens to foster and utilise it Hence one need not question the genuineness of the declaration in the Proclamation that "Ever since the welfare of India was confided to us, it has been held as a sacred trust by our Royal House and Line" It is not a valid objection to say that in spite of the Royal House and Line cherishing such sentiments of devotion, India is deplorably poor, sorely diseaseridden and enveloped in the darkness of ignorance, for in a constitutional monarchy like that of the British Empire, just as "the King can do no wrong" so can he not directly do any good to his subjects as head of the State, though he can do good in a personal capacity like any other human being

But when, after giving expression to the "sentiments of affection and devotion by which I and my predecessors have been animated," which ought to be considered genuine, His Majesty proceeds to declare that "the Parliament and the people of this Realm and my officers in India have

been equally zealous for the moral and material advancement of India," we must say that His Majesty has not been rightly advised by his ministers and correctly informed by his informants The Indian Budget Debate in the House of Commons has ever been the signal for a stampede for the vast majority of its members, the people of the British Isles are wofully ignorant of and indifferent to Indian affairs, British newspapers experience a fall in their circulation if they write frequently on Indian affairs, and the vital, educational and economic statistics of India, and the official belief in the existence of widespread sedition and unrest in India bear witness to the want of zeal of the servants of the King in India for the moral and material advancement of the country Nevertheless we are glad to read the following passage —

We have endeavoured to give to her people the many blessings which Providence has bestowed upon ourselves But there is one gift which yet remains and without which the progress of a country cannot be consummated the right of her people to direct her affairs and safeguard her interests

The right of India's people to direct her affairs and safeguard her interests, which is spoken of as a "gift" is in reality a restoration, but perhaps we must not criticise the royal way of speaking

It is not to be disputed that "The defence of India against foreign aggression is a duty of Common Imperial interest and pride" But, as hitherto Indians have served in the army of the Empire almost entirely in a subordinate capacity and mainly with their bodies, the people of India would have had no occasion for dissatisfaction if His Majesty's ministers had apprised him of the fact and advised him to throw open careers in the army, at least to an appreciable extent, to Indians who had both "manly spirit" and "scope of mind" It is satisfactory to find that the King recognises that "The control of her domestic concerns is a burden which India may legitimately aspire to taking upon her own shoulders" In the last sentence of the third paragraph of the royal message

quoted below we, however, at once recognise the familiar voice of the minister who announced the policy of the British Government in relation to India on August 20, 1917

The burden is too heavy to be borne in full until time and experience have brought the necessary strength, but opportunity will now be given for experience to grow and for responsibility to increase with the capacity for its fulfilment

This sentence reminds us of the words "progressive realisation of responsible government in India," "progress in this policy can be achieved only by successive stages," "the extent to which it is found that confidence could be reposed in their sense of responsibility," &c, which are to be found in Mr Montagu's announcement. As that document has been repeatedly criticised, its abridged paraphrase need not be commented upon. We can only regret that the King considers Indian subjects so ill prepared for self-government as not to be thought worthy of exercising greater powers than are given in the Act

In truth the desire after political responsibility has its source at the roots of the British connection with India. It has sprung inevitably from the deeper and wider studies of human thought and history, which that connection has opened to the Indian people

It can not be said that the origin of the Indian people's desire after political responsibility has been quite incorrectly traced above, but while giving due credit to the British connection with India it may be said with truth that that desire is inherent in the human soul. The desire after political responsibility has manifested itself in Persia and China, for example, without there being any such British connection with those countries as has existed in India

We wholeheartedly support the noble exhortation and appeal contained in the following eloquent passage —

The path will not be easy and in marching towards the goal there will be need of perseverance and of mutual forbearance between all sections and races of my people in India. I am confident that those high qualities will be forthcoming. I rely on the new popular assem-

blies to interpret wisely the wishes of those whom they represent and not to forget the interests of the masses who cannot yet be admitted to the franchise. I rely on the leaders of the people, the Ministers of the future, to face responsibility and endure to sacrifice much for the common interest of the State, remembering that true patriotism transcends party and communal boundaries, and while retaining the confidence of the legislatures, to co-operate with my officers for the common good in sinking unessential differences and in maintaining the essential standards of a just and generous Government. Equally do I rely on my officers to respect their new colleagues and to work with them in harmony and kindness, to assist the people and their representatives in an orderly advance towards free institutions, and to find in these new tasks a fresh opportunity to fulfil as in the past their highest purpose of faithful service to my people

In the sixth paragraph, printed below, His Majesty has authorised the Viceroy to set free those political offenders whose release may be compatible with public safety

VI It is my earnest desire at this time that so far as possible any trace of bitterness between my people and those who are responsible for my Government should be obliterated. Let those who in their eagerness for political progress have broken the law in the past respect it in future. Let it become possible for those who are charged with the maintenance of peaceful and orderly Government to forget extravagances they have had to curb. A new era is opening. Let it begin with a common determination among my people and my officers to work together for a common purpose. I therefore direct my Viceroy to exercise in my name and on my behalf my Royal clemency to political offenders in the fullest measure which in his judgment is compatible with public safety. I desire him to extend it on this condition to persons who for offences against the State or under any special or emergency legislation are suffering from imprisonment or restrictions upon their liberty. I trust that this leniency will be justified by the future conduct of those whom it benefits and that all my subjects will so demean themselves as to render it unnecessary to enforce the laws for such offences hereafter

We earnestly hope that His Majesty's humane and statesmanlike desire will, at least in some measure, be fulfilled. Those who were really guilty (not in a merely technical sense) and who have been convinced of their guilt, ought to find it easy to wipe out all traces of bitterness from their heart. But it is the firm belief

of the public that many have been imprisoned or otherwise deprived of freedom who were not in the least guilty. To them imprisonment or restrictions on liberty must have been very galling, but far more galling must have been the insult of being treated as felons.

Bitterness can be obliterated from their hearts only by the vindication of their innocence and the censure or punishment of those who have done them wrong. Some may be so noble-minded as to be satisfied if only their own character were vindicated. It may or may not have been possible for the King's ministers to imagine that those who have been deprived of liberty were not all guilty, and that some are possibly innocent, but the warning, "I trust that this leniency will be justified by the future conduct of those whom it benefits," will not have a soothing effect on those who are innocent. Most painful is the condition of those whose relatives may have been unjustly executed. Nothing can assuage their sorrow and obliterate their bitterness. Similar is the case of the innocent among those who were flogged, or maimed or disabled by bullets or bombs, made to crawl or otherwise humiliated and insulted. Their countrymen, too, will never be able to forget these indignities and sufferings. And clemency cannot soothe where justice alone was the remedy. As the Hunter Committee have not yet submitted their report, His Majesty could not possibly pronounce any opinion on the conduct of his officers in the Panjab during the disturbances. But as the enquiry is an enquiry into the conduct of both officers and the people, just as it cannot be taken for granted that the officers were to blame, so it ought not to have been assumed that all the people who have been punished or humiliated or insulted in the Panjab were offenders. For this reason we could wish His Majesty's ministers had drafted this amnesty paragraph in such a way as not to assume the guilt of every one punished for political reasons.

The establishment of a Chamber of Princes ought to have beneficial results.

In conclusion we join with His Majesty in the prayer "to Almighty God that by

His wisdom and under His guidance India may be led to greater prosperity and contentment and may glow to the fulness of political freedom."

Injustice to Burma

So long as Burma was bureaucratically governed along with the provinces of India under the same Viceroy, her dissimilarity to India was not discovered. But it seems that that dissimilarity stands in the way not only of her having a share in the reforms to be introduced in the Indian provinces, but also of her having any reforms at all which her people want. This is a great injustice, a great wrong. All provinces of India are not alike, nor are their inhabitants all of the same race, speaking the same language, and in the same stage of political growth. Outside India the Filipinos, the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Persians, among Asians, do not belong to the same race, do not speak the same language, and are not equally politically advanced. Yet they have all got more or less democratic constitutions. Why should not the Burmans then have the same sort of constitution as the Indians? The main details of the constitution they want show that their demands are similar to what the Indian provinces have got. Here is their scheme in outline.

Governor. Burma wants a Governor sent direct from England and members of Indian services should not be eligible for this post.

Executive Council. The Executive Council should consist of one official (European) and two Burman Ministers selected by the Governor from among the elected members of the Legislative Council. The Ministers shall hold office so long as they retain the confidence of the Legislative Council.

Legislative Council. There should be 100 members of whom four-fifths should be elected and one-fifth nominated.

Elected members should represent (1) pure urban areas, (2) rural areas and (3) special electorates, as follows —

The President and Vice-President of the Council should be elected by the Legislative Council from among its elected members.

Franchise in Burma. We have a ready-made register in the form of Capitation and That-hameda assessment rolls and municipal franchise.

Women already enjoy municipal franchise, and

we want to give them political franchise also. They are fit to enjoy it.

Functions Excepting (1) Foreign and Political, including Administration of the Shan States, Frontier Districts and Hill Tracts (2) Army and Marine (3) Police (4) Appointments and Discipline (5) Law and Justice (6) Ports (7) Land revenue (except Capitation and That-hameda), all subjects including the Budget should be transferred to popular control.

In literacy Burma is far ahead of the most literate Indian provinces, and can therefore form a good electorate. Burma pays more as taxes per head than any Indian province except Bombay, which pays only 8 annas per head more. But in the payment of land revenue per head Burma stands at the top of all provinces of the Indian Empire, the amount per head paid by her being more than double that of Bombay, which occupies the next place. Among the indigenous population of Burma there is no caste, women are free and more literate than in India, there is no sectarian rancour, there is more religious tolerance than in India, the indigenous population in the main body of the province speak the same language, the social structure is more democratic than in India, and the people have a strong national feeling. In "A Plea for Burma" issued by the Burma Deputation in England, we find the following —

The Burmese, it is alleged, are in a different stage of 'political development.' How do they differ? The same general laws apply as in India. The Contract Act, Evidence Act, Penal Code, Criminal and Civil Procedure Codes, and practically all Indian laws hold in Burma exactly as elsewhere. The revenue system is the same. In all the essentials of government, the Indian Government has dealt with Burma on precisely the same lines as the other great Provinces. Would it have done this had there been any marked difference in culture or development? In culture and in enlightenment the Burmese are fully equal to the Indians, in material wealth they are certainly superior, women too, occupy a higher and freer position than elsewhere in Asia. Divergence, where divergence exists, is all in their favour, not against them.

Sir Reginald Craddock, Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, has remarked

"It can be confidently affirmed that Burma is endowed with many advantages, notably in respect to those conditions which favour development on democratic lines. Thus, she is free

from those religious dissensions which militate against the co-operation of men of different creeds. Toleration of the scruples of others is a ruling tenet of her religion. There is an entire absence of caste, and no marked cleavage of social distinction or occupation exists. The man of humble birth in Burma has always been able to rise as high as his ability or his education might carry him. Burma undoubtedly offers a more promising field for self-government than does India at the present juncture."

Why not then give her self-government?

Sir Rash Behari Ghose's Fresh Donation

Sir Rash Behari Ghose, who some years ago made a munificent donation of ten lakhs of rupees to the Calcutta University for its science college, has recently made a fresh endowment of Rs 11,43,000 for the foundation and maintenance of a Technological Institution in connection with the same college. The people of Bengal, and, in fact, of all India,—for the doors of these educational institutions are open to all—cannot be too grateful to this eminent public benefactor for his great public spirit and generosity. It is to be hoped that the endowment will make it possible for Indian technological experts to teach and guide Indian students in study and research.

Pandit Motilal Nehru's Presidential Address.

We have read Pandit Motilal Nehru's address as President of the Amritsar session of the Indian National Congress with admiration and respect. It is masterly, comprehensive, unflinchingly and fearlessly truthful, statesmanlike, and clear survey of the situation and its needs, and of the events, circumstances and forces which have led up to it. Every part of the address is self-explaining and self-contained. The Pandit has marshalled his facts and arguments in orderly array and due sequence. Occasionally he has enunciated principles and stated truths with the terseness of epigrams. The address possesses literary merit, without any labored effort on the part of the author to give it that distinction. It

has the eloquence of lucidity, orderly arrangement, truth and conviction

Swami Sraddhananda's Address.

We have before us only a summary in English of Swami Sraddhananda's Hindi speech as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Indian National Congress at Amritsar. But even that summary in a foreign garb enables us to realise that his address was inspiring and that, speaking from an elevated standpoint, he was able to raise politics to a lofty plane of spirituality. He dealt with the all-engrossing topics of the day with grasp and power. He exhorted the people not to harbour anger against the O'Dwyers, Dyers, Johnsons and O'Briens,—that would be harbouring an enemy. "They must cast off, root and branch, anger and ill will towards the authors of the incidents of April last and learn to conquer anger with peace, evil with good and untruth with truth. Summing up the effects of the trouble through which the Punjab had passed, the Swami said they had the Hindu-Moslem unity and it was the foremost duty of the nation to sustain it. The second result was the power of endurance and lastly they had learned the value of agitation." In conclusion he dwelt on the vital need to the nation of formation of character and of spiritualising politics. "His second proposal was that they should resolve to reclaim the untouchables and recognise them as their brethren and resolve then and there that they would allow them to enter their homes and hearths. The dream of his life, the Hindu-Moslem unity had already been achieved."

Technical Education in Calcutta.

At the conference on "Technical Education in Calcutta" recently held under the chairmanship of the Governor it was resolved in the first place,

"That, postponing for the time being a consideration of more ambitious projects, immediate steps should be taken to establish in Calcutta a technical school with the object of training foremen mechanics in conjunction with the local engineering workshops, and in conjunction with the civil engineering college at Sibpur, a limited number of engineers, such school to deal with apprentices in mechanical and electrical engineering (including motor manufacture and repair) and to include a general instruction class."

This kind of school is clearly needed, and is welcome. But may it be asked what harm there would have been if the words "postponing for the time being a consideration of more ambitious projects," had not been used? If a man wishes to open a primary school in his village, is it essentially necessary for him to say, "postponing for the present a consideration of the more ambitious project of founding a University, I open this school"? And why this fling at *ambitious* projects, pray? The use of the word 'ambitious' was quite undignified and uncalled for. Things in India have a habit of getting postponed *sine die*, without that fact being prominently advertised. As it was known in Calcutta before the date of the conference that a certain eminent Indian citizen would donate some 10 or 11 lakhs to the Calcutta University for teaching of technology, may it be enquired whether the fling at an ambitious project had any reference to that fact?

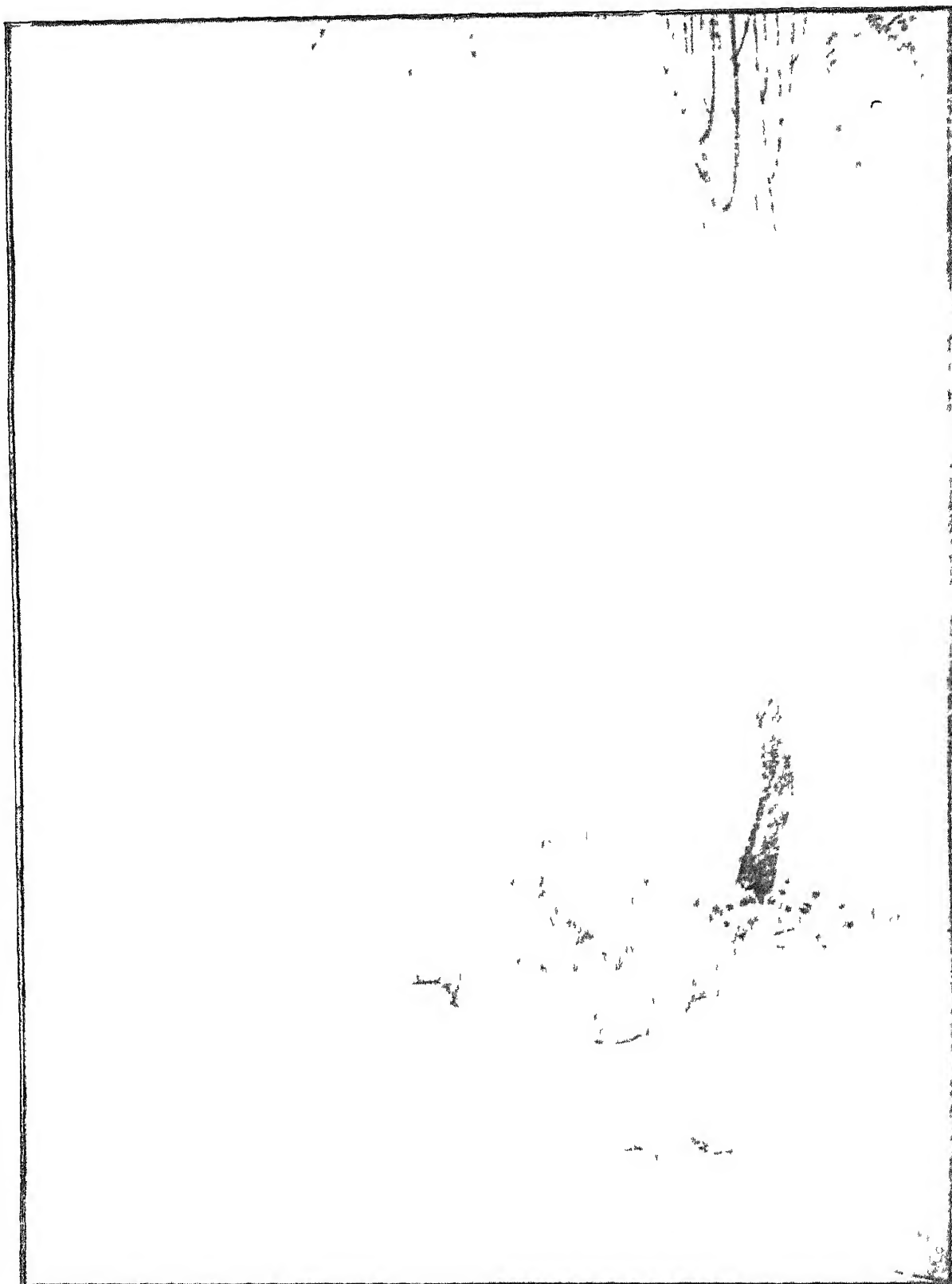
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Manager, The Modern Review



IN TUNE WITH THE INFINITE

By Mr Bireswai Sen

By the courtesy of Major A D Pickford the owner of the painting

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THE HINDU PARLIAMENT UNDER HINDU MONARCHY*

By K P JAYASWAL

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THE JĀNAPADA OR THE REALM ASSEMBLY
AND THE PAURA OR THE ASSEMBLY
OF THE CAPITAL CITY PERIOD
600 B C TO 600 A C

THE SAMITI AND TERRITORIAL MONARCHIES

§247 Just about the time of the rise of large monarchies we find developed a popular institution of great constitutional importance. The period succeeding the Vedic—from the Mahā-Bhārata War down to the end of the Brihadrathas (700 B C)¹—is characterised by States which were co-extensive with their respective nations and lands inhabited by them. We may call that period, the epoch of National States and National Monarchies. The Bharatas,² and Panchālas,³ for instance, had their own national kings, and so had the Videhas. The nation called Aikshvākas⁴ (eg, by Patanjali) had their own king. Earlier than 600 B C we find a tendency in Indian states to develop what we may call non-national Territorial Monarchies. The national basis begins to give way to a propensity for encroachment by one national unit upon others, and of amalgamation. Large state units arise which are no more national but merely territorial units. We find, for instance, the old Aikshvāka-janapada transforming itself into Kāśi-Kosala⁵ and the Magadha state comprised of the territories of Magadha and Anga⁶. The process develops very rapidly between 550 B C and 300 B C. The ground for this had already

been prepared philosophically. The Buddha, though a born-republican, was ambitious to found an one-state empire of his religion.⁷ The Āitareya Brāhmaṇa had preached for an empire extending up to the sea.⁸ The Jātakas are full of the ideal of an All-India Empire ("Sakala Jambudīpe ekarajjam").

§248 In the period of large monarchies or empires, country (*janapada*) became more important than the nation (*vis* or *jana*). In fact, the term 'janapada', which literally and originally meant the seat of the nation and which had been secondarily employed as denoting the nation itself, lost its old significance, and came to mean what we call to day country⁹ without reference to the racial elements inhabiting it. In the period of large monarchies we never hear of the Samiti.¹⁰ This, of course, is natural. The basis of the Samiti was the national unit, and the national unit ceased to be a factor in matters constitutional.

THE RISE OF THE JĀNAPADA ASSEMBLY

We, however, hear of another institution which probably was an incarnation of the old Samiti under changed circumstances.

§249 The division of a kingdom in the period between 600 B C and 600 A C. is made into 'the capital' and 'the country'.¹¹ The former is designated Pura¹² or Nagara (the City)¹³ and occasionally Durga (the Fort),¹⁴ and the latter is called Janapada, with synonyms in Rāshtra and Desa. The expression Jānapada, a derivative from 'Jana-pada', we find occurring in the Pāli canon, the Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata and other books, and in inscriptions. In our day it has been taken to mean 'an (inhabitant) of Janapada'. Its use as a technical term has been missed. This is due to the fact that the term is

* This is a chapter of Mr K P Jayaswal's forthcoming book on "Hindu Polity" (Calcutta University Press) from which Sir C Sankaran Nair has given quotations and references in his Minute of Dissent dated March 5, 1919, appended to the Government of India's First Despatch on Indian Constitutional Reforms bearing the same date.

generally found in plural form, *e.g.*, jānapadāh, which has been translated as 'the people of the janapada'. Modern writers have further made the mistake of regarding janapada as a province, which is against all ancient authority. It really means the whole area of a kingdom constitutionally *minus* the capital.¹⁵ The technical significance of the Jānapada as a collective institution has now been established by Khāravela's inscription of 165 B.C.¹⁶ Medieval commentators, not knowing that there was a collective institution called jānapada, 'corrected' the singular form into the plural jānapadāh. A very good example of this is verse 54 (Ch XIV) of the Ayodhyā kānda of the Rāmāyana.¹⁷ King Dasaratha is sought to be intimated "The Paura, the Jānapada, and the Naigama are present, respectfully waiting for Rāma's consecration (as Crown Prince)". The verb upatishthati (is waiting) is in the singular and this requires the subjects in each case joined on by 'cha' ('and', 'as well as') to be in the singular. But in the text, only the 'naigama' (corporate association of guild-merchants of the capital) is kept in the singular and the word Jānapada has been altered into a plural nominative and plural instrumental.¹⁸ The instrumental form is resorted to for a forced grammatical justification (the Jānapadas with the naigama). The correct reading, in the nominative singular, Jānapadascha, is still found in some MSS. But it is rejected by modern editors as incorrect.¹⁹

§250 The plural 'jānapadāh' may equally denote 'the members of the jānapada institution' as well as 'the people of janapada'. The plural form does not exclude the institutional significance. That there was such a body can be established if we find the term used in the singular, not in the sense of one man, but in the collective sense, or if we find the plural 'jānapadāh' in a collective sense. We have instances of both these uses. Moreover, we have evidence of the fact that jānapadas as bodies corporate had their own laws and those laws were recognised by the Dharma Sāstras. There is the unquestionable evidence afforded by the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, which says that the king granted privileges to the Jānapada (in the singular, 'jānapadam'). The evidence of the Rāmāyana referred to above is equally important. The Jānapada was waiting for the consecration of the King Assistant. They, the Jānapadas, according

to the Rāmāyana, had already come to a unanimous decision in a joint conference with the Pauras and others on the question of this proposed consecration. The resolution was, "we desire this consecration."²⁰

In the Mānava-dharma sāstra²⁰, the laws of caste (Jāti), of 'Jānapada', and of guild (Śreni),²¹ are recognized. It is undoubted that the other two institutions of this group were corporate institutions. The code of Yājñavalkya mentions jānapadas, ganas, srenis and jātis (castes) as units who 'also must be compelled to follow their own laws'.²² Māndalik, with the true insight of the lawyer, leaves the word jānapadāh untranslated and treats it as a technical term like the gana and the sreni. These two *śruti* passages similarly mention another institution 'kula'. We have already seen that there was a kula form of government. To find out the identity of 'kula' let us take parallel passages on the point from the Arthasāstra. In the chapter dealing with Samaya²³ or resolutions of corporate institutions (p. 173), Kautilya mentions the Samaya of desa sangha, jāti-sangha and kula-sangha, *i.e.*, of the country-corporate-association, of caste-corporate-association and the corporate association of a kula. The kula-sangha, as we have seen,²⁴ is a technical term of Hindu politics. It means a constitution where a kula or family rules, *i.e.*, an aristocratic or oligarchical state. Again in page 407, Desa sangha, Grāma-sangha and Jāti-sangha are mentioned. The Mānava-dharma-sāstra²⁵ deals with the breakers of samayas (resolutions or laws of corporate assemblies) and mentions the Grāma sangha and the Desa sangha, which are paraphrased again as grāma-samūha, jāti-samūha, etc. The desa or jānapada association is also found in Vrihaspati,²⁶ where the laws of the guild-merchant and the laws of Desa are referred to together. In another verse²⁷ the resolutions of the 'town' and of the 'country' (Desa), 'not being opposed to the laws of the king' are provided for. Manu (VIII 41), instead of jāti-sangha, mentions jāti only, and instead of desa-sangha, mentions jānapada. In VIII 46, in the place of jānapada, desa is substituted. By desa in such passages the association, Desa sangha or the Jānapada, is obviously meant. The above data prove that the jānapada of Manu and Yājñavalkya and the desa-sangha of Manu and Kautilya are identical. The corporate association jānapada

or *desa-sangha*, as the name signifies, was a body for the whole country (except, as we shall presently see, the capital)

§251 The *Jānapada* yet has another synonym in *Rāshtra*, which is found in later works. In the *Dasakumāra charita* (Ch 3) the president of the *Jānapada* is called *jānapada-mahattara*²⁸ (Lord High President). Further on, the same person is called the *Rāshtra-mukhya* or 'the Leader of the Realm (Assembly)'

In a manuscript²⁹ of Mitra-Misra's unpublished commentary on *Yājñavalkya* I have found in connection with the subject of relief which could not be granted or suits which could not be entertained (*anādeya vyavahāra*), that a suitor who was hostile to the *Paura*, i.e., the City Assembly of the capital (see below), or to the *Rāshtra*, was not to be granted relief. The authority quoted is that of *Vrihaspati*. A similar verse is given in the *Vīramitrodaya Vyavahāra* at page 44, where instead of *Paura*, the reading is *pura* (capital). The expression *Pura* and *Rāshtra* are explained by Mitra-Misra as *Paura jānapada*. *Rāshtra* here thus stands for the *Jānapada*-body as it does in the *Dasakumāracharita*.

THE PAURA

§252 Before dealing with the functions of the *Jānapada* it would be convenient to notice the corporate association of the capital. The Capital Assembly is a twin sister of the *Jānapada* in constitutional matters. The two are almost always mentioned together, and sometimes one stands for both.

Paura does not relate to all the towns in the kingdom as it has been translated by both modern Indians and Europeans. Earlier Hindu writers understood by the technical *Pura* and *Nagara* the Capital³⁰. *Paura* as a corporate body is mentioned in the singular like *Jānapada* in the inscription of *Khāravēla* (165 B.C.),³⁰ who granted privileges to the *Paura*. In the corporate sense it is clearly mentioned again in the *Divyāvadāna* where *Kunāla* is supposed to have entered the *Paura* (used in the singular), that is, the *Paura* assembly³⁰. *Tishyarakshitā* addressed her forged letter, according to the *Divyāvadāna*, to the *Pauras*, i.e., an organised body³¹. The author of the *Vīramitrodaya* definitely states that the *Paura* which occurs along with corporate bodies in the law-books was 'the body or assembly of the citizens of the capital'³².

MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE PAURA

§253 The *Paura* was a communal association in which vested the municipal administration of the Capital³³. Apart from its municipal work it exercised great constitutional powers. Let us first take the Municipal administration of the *Paura*.

It was presided over by a leading citizen, generally a merchant or a banker. The Hindu Mayor was called *Sreshthin* or the President. According to the *Rāmāyana*, the *Paura* as well as the *Jānapada* consisted of two sections, the Inner and the Outer bodies³⁴. The Inner must have been the executive council which sat permanently. We hear often of the *Paura* and the *Nagara-Vridhdhas* or the Elders of the *Paura*. On the analogy of other popular institutions of the country we can say that the *Paura Vridhdhas* constituted a Council of Elders which was probably identical with the Inner body of the *Rāmāyana*. An exception is made in the *Dharma-Sutras* to the general rule of etiquette in the case of a *Paura* ex-member of the *Sudra* caste who is entitled to special respect even from a *Brahmin*³⁵. This shows that the *Paura* had a real popular basis representing even the lowest interests.

§254 The *Paura* had a Registrar, and a document given by him was regarded as a superior kind of evidence³⁶. The Registrar's document was the chief of the '*laukika lekhyas*' or popular documents as opposed to '*rājakiya*' or government documents. This shows that *Paura* was not a body appointed by the king. The non-political functions of the *Paura*, which are mentioned in the law-books, are these —

(a) Administration of Estates. They were authorised by the king to administer along with government officers property left by a deceased person and to take charge of minors³⁷ (*Vasishtha* XVI 20).

(b) Works which contributed to the material strength of the citizens (called the *Paushtika*³⁸ works) were done by them, and likewise,

(c) Works which ensured the peace of the city (*sāntika*),³⁸ i.e., policing the town. These two classes of work are qualified as being either 'ordinary', 'extra ordinary' or 'discretionary'.

(d) Judicial work³⁹ which must have been limited only to matters of municipal administration. Criminal authority proper,

ie, in cases of the *sāhasa*⁴⁰ (violence) class, are expressly excepted from the jurisdiction of the Paura Court. According to an authority quoted by Mitra-Misra, probably Bhrigu, as well as many others, the Paura Court was an institution recognised by the king.

(e) Charge of sacred and public places

§255 The Paura, like any township, looked after temples and other sacred places of the Capital. They did repairs to those buildings. The buildings named are *sabhā*, *prapā* (place for distribution of water), temples, *tatāka* (public baths), *ārāma* (rest-houses), and *devagriha* (temples)⁴²

PAURA ADMINISTRATION OF PĀTALIPUTRA

§256 I propose to identify the description of the municipal government noticed by Megasthenes at Pataliputra, with the Paura organisation of Hindu India. Strabo⁴² after giving the description of Pataliputra describes its administration. The most important point to mark in that is the phrase "the City magistrates", which in the mouth of a Greek will signify popular officers and not officers appointed by the king. The royal officer, Governor of the City, the 'Nāgaraka' as described in the Arthasāstra was distinct. These 'City magistrates' had six boards of five members each who looked after

(a) industrial matters of the city,

(b) foreigners in the city on whose death they administered their properties (forwarded them to their relatives),⁴³

(c) the registration of births and deaths in the city,

(d) trade and commerce and manufactures of the city and collection of municipal duty on the sale of articles. "Such are the functions which these bodies separately discharged. In their collective capacity they have charge both of their special departments and also of matters affecting the general interests, as the keeping of public buildings in repairs, regulation of prices, the care of markets, harbours and temples.

§257 The 'City magistrates' of Strabo are the Paura mukhyas or the Paura-vriddhas. The boards of five and the full board of the thirty disclose the same arrangements as the quorums of three, five, ten, twenty and upwards in the Parishads of Law, the Buddhist Sangha, and the panchaka, dasaka and vim

saka sanghas of Patanjali⁴⁴. Vrihaspati also enjoins committees of five in corporate associations⁴⁵. In the Buddhist Sangha certain matters could be discussed by small quorums, but matters of greater importance could be discussed and decided by quorums of twenty and upwards only⁴⁶. In the description of the Paura of Pataliputra we see that the council decided matters of general interest by the bigger quorum. This collective council of the city magistrates corresponds to what the Rāmāyana calls the Inner body of the Paura. The Outer, the general body, must have been composed of a fairly large number, when the Inner alone had thirty members.

§258. "Varga" the constitutional significance of this word is seen from the above passage. It means an assembly or quorum. In that sense Pāṇini also uses it (V. 1. 60) [See Kāśikā on it *pañchako vargaḥ dasako vargaḥ*]. Corporate associations are called 'vargin's (those who worked by the 'varga' or assembly system) in a law text (Bhrigu) quoted by Mitra-Misra ('Vīramitrodaya', p. 11) where 'Paura' and 'Grāma' as well as 'Gana' are called 'Vargin's. [Comp. Kātyāyana quoted by Nilakantha—

लिङ्गिनश्चैषिपूतश्चवणिग्जातास्तथापरैः ।

समूहस्याश्च ये चान्ये वर्गास्त्रानववीद्मः ॥

The 'Varga's of Vāsudeva and Akrūra are mentioned in the Mahābhāshya, IV 2. 2

'Varga' in the corporate sense is employed by Gautama in his Dharma Sāstra, Chapter XI, Sutras 20-21.

देशजःतिकुलधर्माश्चात्रैरविरुद्धा प्रमाणम् ।

कर्षकं वणिक् पशुपाल कुक्षीदि कारव स्त्रे स्त्रे वर्गे ।

'The laws of the cultivators, merchants, cattle-rearers, bankers and artisans should be authority in their own corporations.' It should be noted that cultivators had their own union in the days of Gautama.

NAIGAMA AND ITS CONNEXION WITH PAURA

§ 259 The Paura, according to the Arthasāstra (p. 89), had gold coins minted at the royal mint. This might have been a constitutional function as exercising a check on the royal minting of proper coins or it might have been a purely economic function. Very likely it was the latter. The Pura or capital had the Association of the City Merchants which was called the Naigama⁴⁷. This name was exclusively employed to mean the guild

of the City Merchants. It is wrong to take it, as it has been done up to this time, as a general term for Guild of Merchants. The general term is *Sreni* and also *Pūga*. The difference between the two is not very clear.⁴⁸ Now it appears that originally the *Naigama* of the capital was the mother of the *Paura* association. The *Paura* grew out of or round the *Naigama*. In the *Jātakas* and *Pāli* canon *Naigama* (*Negama*) stands for *Paura*.⁴⁹ Modern translators have translated it by 'town'. It really refers to 'the town' or capital. Hindu commentators on law books also equate *Naigama* with *Paura*.⁵⁰ In *Pāli* books *Naigama* comes with *Jānapada*, as in *Sanskrit* books *Paura* comes with *Jānapada*. The connection between the City-guild of merchants and the City corporation was so intimate that both came to be regarded as identical. This is the reason why the mercantile interest is predominant in the *Paura*.⁵¹ The *Rāmāyana* mentions the *Naigama* always with the *Paura* and treats them as connected, though distinct.

"NEGAMA COINS"

§260. The *Paura* being so pronouncedly mercantile, their getting coins minted at the royal mint we can take as an economic measure. The "Negama coins" which have been discovered and interpreted as coins struck by guilds are, I think, to be interpreted as coins struck at the capital by the State for the association of the city merchants or the *Paura*.⁵²

The coins bearing the name of chief-towns, *eg*, *Ujeniya*, etc.,⁵³ can be thus explained as being *Paura* coins.⁵⁴

§261. The literal significance of *Naigama*, from which *Naigama* is derived, is in accordance with *Panini* III, 3,119, 'the place or house whereinto people resort'. It must have been the meeting place or the bourse in the capital where merchants and tradesmen in the capital met. The people associated with the *Naigama*, the bourse or guild-hall, were called *Naigama*.

POLITICAL FUNCTIONS OF THE JĀNAPADA AND THE PAURA

COINAGE AND JĀNAPADA

§262. The *Jānapada* appears to have been concerned with matters mainly constitutional and political. All the references to their work are to such business, with one exception,

viz, that they got gold coins minted by the royal mint-master.⁵⁵ This seems to have been a business of an economic nature. Apparently they had to judge as to the number of the coins necessary in the country for the purpose of exchange, and probably they exercised some sort of supervision as to weight and purity of the coins, as debasement of coinage by government is found once or twice as a matter of public complaint.

CONSTITUTIONAL BUSINESS WHICH THE PAURA-JĀNAPADA WERE SUPPOSED TO DO

§263. In all constitutional matters we find the *Paura* always appearing with the *Jānapada*. The *Paura* had thus a double character, as a local self-administration of the capital and a constitutional assembly. The latter function they sometimes discharged, as we shall see, by themselves, especially in provincial capitals. Matters of importance were discussed and decided in a joint parliament of the two bodies, the *Jānapada* and *Paura*. Their unity then is so complete that the two bodies are regarded as one and referred to as one in the singular. The unity was effected owing to the fact that the *Jānapada* had its meeting-place and office at the capital itself.⁵⁶

§264. Let us take examples of the business they used to transact. The *Pauras* and the *Jānapadas* meet together along with *Brahmins* and other leaders of the nation to resolve upon the appointment of a *Yuvarāja* or king-assistant.⁵⁷ After their deliberations they ask the king to consecrate the prince whom they say "we want".⁵⁸

RESOLVE ON NOMINATION OF CROWN-PRINCE

The king feigns surprise and asks "As you desire the *Rāghava* prince to become protector, a doubt has arisen in my mind which please explain, O you rulers (*Rājānah*—'Kings'). Although I am ruling this country in accordance with law, yet how is it, you gentlemen want to see my son appointed as king-assistant, with high powers?" The spokesmen with the members of the *Paura-Jānapada* give their reasons. They say that *Rāma* was the best of the *Ikshvākus* in merits; that he was born before *Bharata*, that he was brave, that he always enquired after the well-being of the *Pauras*, that he

took a leading part in the festivities, that he knew the principles of government, etc., etc., that the country desired him as its lord, and, in fine, that not only the people of the kingdom and capital but also the Paura-Jānapada, both their Inner and Outer bodies, admire the Prince. The king is gratified at the proposal that they desired to have his eldest son in the office of the Yuvarāja. When the king promises that the desire would be carried out, his reply is acclaimed.⁵⁹ And then he makes a speech by which he gives directions to carry out the resolution. This being done, the "Pauras who had advised the king departed greatly satisfied."⁶⁰ Here it is evident that the expression Pauras stands both for Pauras and Jānapadas.

TAKE PART IN ABHISHEKA AS PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVES

§265 The Paura-Jānapada as one body again wait to take part in the Abhisheka (consecration) ceremony.⁶¹ Although the whole body is taken to be present, only the chiefs or 'presidents' of the sections were in fact present in person.⁶²

DEPOSITIONS

§266 The revolution enacted in the Mrichchhakatika throws light on another aspect of the constitutional powers of the Paura Jānapada. The reigning king is deposed because of bad administration of law of which the president of the Commercial Union had been a victim.⁶³ The brother⁶⁴ of the deposed king, who had 'established confidence' among the Pauras⁶⁵ obtained sovereignty. The messenger comes to the "Janapada Samavāya", 'corporate association of the Janapada' with the news of the revolution,⁶⁶ who are shortly after addressed as Pauras and called upon to punish Samsthānaka. According to the Mahā-Vamsa, the Cylonese chronicle, the Paura in India could depose and banish the king for illegal acts, and they, 'mindful of the good of all', could choose another one in his place, outside the dynasty, by deciding upon it in their meeting.⁶⁷ Here again the Pauras apparently stand for both the Pauras and Jānapadas. In the Dasa-kumāra-charita⁶⁸ the Pauras and the Jānapadas are said to be friendly to the brothers of the king, it is therefore feared by the speaker that they are bound to succeed the king if the latter dies.

POLITICAL DISCUSSION IN PAURA-JĀNAPADA

§267 There is a sample of discussions in the assemblies of the Paura and the Jānapada given in the Arthasāstra. Spies of the king, charged to gauge the political views of the Pauras and the Jānapadas about the king, would approach (1) the Tirtha-Sabhā-Sālā-Samavāya or the Sectional sub-assembly of the Paura in charge of sacred places and public buildings, (2) the Pūga-Samavāya or the sub-assembly in charge of trades and manufactures and (3) the Jana-Samavāya or the Popular Assembly, that is, what the Mrichchhakatika calls the Janapada-Samavāya. By approaching these assemblies, sectional or permanent councils, the spies ascertained the prevailing feeling of the Paura and Jānapada. The spies would broach the subject, for example, in these words:

"We hear that the king is possessed of all the necessary merits. But we do not see those merits, for the man is troubling the Pauras and the Jānapadas (by) demands of army and taxes."⁶⁹

In the discussion if the members defend and praise the king, they were reminded of the Hindu theory of the original contract between king and people, the origin and basis of kingship.

"Well, (is it not so?) that the subjects went to Manu, son of Vivasvat, when the state of nature arose and troubled them. They settled his share in taxes as one-sixth of the crops, and one-tenth of merchandise in cash. That much is the wage of the kings for ensuring prosperity."⁷⁰

APPOINTMENT OF THE CHIEF MANTRIN AND PAURA-JĀNAPADA

§268 The king, according to the Mahābhārata had to invest only that minister with the jurisdiction of 'mantra' or state policy and government ('danda'), that is, the powers of the premier ('mantrin') who has legally earned the confidence of the Paura-Jānapada.⁷¹

RESOLUTION ON STATE POLICY

Resolutions on state policy having been discussed by the cabinet of ministers with the king, had to be submitted to the Rāshtra, that is, the Jānapada, for the opinion of

that body (lit. to consult, *darsayet*), through the Rāshtriya or the president of the Rāshtra or Jānapada⁷² This was necessary especially because grant of extraordinary taxes, as we shall presently see, was in their hands

§269 The tenure of ministers depended to some extent, at any rate, on the good-will and confidence of the Paura-Jānapada The minister Chakrapālita who was the provincial governor of Skandagupta in the Western Presidency, records in his public inscription that he gained confidence in his rule in a short time, and that he 'flattered and pleased' the Paura-vargas or the association of the Pauras⁷³ Finally he prays 'May the capital prosper and be loyal to the Paura'⁷⁴

PAURA AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

§270. In empires there were presidency capitals There seems to have been an independent Paura body in such capitals The Paura alone in such cases are mentioned There was no separate Jānapada body there and it seems that the latter still sat at the capital representing the whole country The Pauras were prone to take offence at the ministry's behaviour The Pauras alone of Takshasilā, the capital of the North (uttarā-patha) in the time of Asoka, are related to have become 'hostile' Prince Kunāla was sent by his father king Asoka to pacify them. The Pauras coming forward told the prince in their address of welcome "We are not hostile to your Highness (the viceroy), nor are we hostile to king Asoka, (we are against) the rascally ministers who have come and who are rude to us (insult us)"⁷⁵ We find from Asoka's inscriptions that he had made an order that the ministers at Takshasilā were to go out of office every three years, and new ministers were sent instead⁷⁶

AGITATION OF THE PAURA OF TAXILA

In other provincial capitals the ministers were changed every five years, but an exception was made in the case of the government at Takshasilā, and that at Ujjayini the same records, which mention this, namely, the Kalinga Inscriptions, called 'Separate Edicts' by Epigraphists, say that the king insisted on the law of transfers, so that the "city-body" ('nagara-jana' = Paura) should not be suddenly excited and suddenly put to trouble ("Nagala janasa akasmā palibodhe va akasmā palikilese va no siyā ti").

This evidently refers to a sudden excitement of the Pauras, as in the case of the Takshasilā agitation described in the Divyāvadāna. Unfortunately we are not in possession of the details of these constitutional 'insults' which entitled the Pauras to become hostile and justify their disloyalty In any case the Pauras were such keen politicians that they would distinguish disloyalty to the ministers from loyalty to the crown.

TAXATION.

§ 270 The Paura-Jānapada are repeatedly mentioned in connexion with taxation. Taxes were fixed by common law But the king often had the necessity and occasion to apply for an extra-ordinary taxation Such taxes assumed the form of 'pranaya' ('out of affection') 'gifts' or a forced benevolence-tax, and the like⁷⁷ It is evident that proposals of such taxation were first submitted to the Paura-Jānapada According to the Artha-Sāstra the king had "to beg of the Paura-Jānapadas" these taxes⁷⁸ We have already noticed the discussion of grievances in the Paura sub-assemblies and the Jānapada sub-assemblies about the oppression of the king's taxes A ruler of a subjugated country, according to Kautilya, ran the risk of causing wrath of the Paura Jānapada, and his consequent fall, by raising money and levying army to be supplied to the suzerain⁷⁹ Disaffection might follow a Regent's threat to realize a war tax Kautilya's agents, says the Arthasāstra, who would have taken service under the Regent while the enemy king was out with his army in the field, would secretly tell the Paura-Jānapadas as friends, that the Regent had ordered the department to demand taxes the moment the king returned And when the Pauras held a general meeting to give their votes⁸⁰ on the subject, the leaders were to be done away with at night secretly, and the rumour circulated by the agents, "this is done because they were opposing the Regent's proposal"⁸⁰ This was expected to cause dissension and weakness in the enemy country.

Rudradāman, as he says in his inscription, proposed to his ministers the restoration of the great water-works of the Mauryas, the Sudarsana lake, which proposal was rejected by his council of ministers. Whereupon Rudradāman did the repairs from his own private purse In doing so, he says that he did not trouble the "Paura-Jānapada" jana

or body with a demand of benevolences for the purpose.⁸¹ Just before he has already said that he realised taxes only so much as was rightfully allowed (by Hindu Law)

The Sudarsana lake was a huge irrigation work. The capital being situated on a hill, the people who were most benefitted by it were the Janapada people. It would be probably inexplicable why the king should have troubled the Pauras unless we accept the presumption that the Paura Jānapada together had to sanction the demand

ROYAL SPEECH to the PAURA-JĀNAPADA

§271 A sample of an address from the throne begging extra taxes from the Paura-Jānapada is given in the Mahābhārata. I quoted the speech in 1912, but its constitutional character could not be realised before Khāravela's inscription disclosed the corporate Paura and Jānapada. The passage just before the speech is most important, for it shows the methods to which the Crown resorted to secure the grants from the Paura-Jānapada. The method of securing a majority in the assembly of the Jānapada is given and royal dishonesty in defeating the Jānapada divulged. The very method, at the same time, proves the legal power and authority of the Paura-Jānapada.⁸²

"To provide for a future distress, kings" [according to our Mahābhārata authority] raise and keep by funds. All the Paura-Jānapadas (i.e., all the members), those in session ('samsrita'), as well as those taking ease ('upāsrita'), every one of them should be shown (royal) sympathy, even those who are not rich. Dissension should be created in the Outer (Bāhya) body of theirs and then the Middle body to be well (or comfortably) won over (bribed, 'entertained'). The king thus acting, the people will not be excited and disaffected whether they feel (the burden) easy or heavy. Then before money demand is made, the king going to them and addressing a speech should point out to the Rāshtra (Jānapada) the danger to his country (e.g., as follows)⁸³

'Here a danger has arisen. A large enemy army! They forebode our end just as the prospect of coming fruit on to the bamboo.⁸⁴ My enemies with the help of dasyus (foreign barbarians)⁸⁵ want to harm the kingdom,—an attempt which, of course,

will prove to be their self-destruction. In this serious difficulty and in the nearness of this grim danger, I beg of you money, gentlemen, for your safety. When the crisis is over I will repay, gentlemen, in full. The enemies will not retain what they, if they do so, carry away by force from here. From family down to everything you possess might be destroyed by them. Money is desired only for the sake of person, children and wife. I delight in your prosperity as in the prosperity of my sons. I shall receive what you can spare, without causing pain to the realm and to you. In crises, the honourable assembly (*Bhavadbhikṣh Sangataih*) should bear the burden. You should not value money very much in a crisis.'

"With such sweet, bland speeches," making salutations and doing courtesy ('sopachāra'), kings presented their "money demands" (dhanādāna). Every Paura and every Jānapada (that is, every member) was to be humoured by the personal attention of the king before the time for the speech and demand arrived.⁸⁶

We are already familiar with the Outer body of the Paura-Jānapadas. In the Rāmāyana, as we have seen, the same term occurs. But what is meant by the Middle body? The sense is not clear to me. Probably they were men of neutral views. They were to be "used", "given wages", for their dishonourable conduct. They were won over to favour the king's proposal.

It should be noted that the language addressed to the Paura-Jānapada is very polite, the pronoun is 'bhavat', 'your honourable self', *bhavadbhikṣh sangataih*, 'your honourable Assembly'.⁸⁷

PAURA-JĀNAPADA AND 'ANUGRAHA' PRIVILEGES

§272. The Paura-Jānapada demanded and obtained 'anugraha's or 'privileges'. Khāravela in his inscription says that he granted numerous 'anugraha's in a particular year to the Paura and to the Jānapada. According to Kautilya, the Paura-Jānapada (leaders) in an enemy country should be advised by secret agents 'to demand anugrahas from the king' when there be famine, thefts and raids by the 'Atavi's (buffers of wild tribes). This is to be read along with Yājñavalkya II., 36,⁸⁸ which enjoins that

the king must pay "to the Jānapada" (in the singular) compensation for loss caused by thieves. (See also §281) The Paura-Jānapada should couple their demand, according to Kautilya, with the threat of migration to the enemy's country in case the demand was not allowed.⁸⁸

§275. That demands of anugrahas were mostly of economic character is shown by the direction of Kautilya⁸⁹ that only those anugrahas and 'parihāra's (fiscal concessions) should be granted which would lead to the strength of the Exchequer and those which weaken it were to be avoided, for 'with a small treasury the king oppresses the Paura-Jānapadas.' He recommends 'parihāra' in famines and counts mining operations, facilities for commerce, establishment of land and water routes for trade, and opening seaports and irrigation-works as cases where anugraha ought to be granted.⁹¹ Asoka in his Pillar Proclamations says that the Rājukas or ruling ministers made independent by him were to make anugraha to the Jānapada body Rudradāman calls his restoration of the irrigation lake Sudarsana an anugraha in favour of the Paura-Jānapadas.⁹²

KING ASKS PERMISSION OF NAIGAMA-JĀNAPADA TO UNDERTAKE LONG SACRIFICE

§274 The Buddhist books similarly testify to the constitutional practice of the King approaching the Jānapada and the Naigama or Paura for a 'fresh tax'⁹³ when he intended to undertake a big sacrifice. The royal speech on that occasion is characteristically polite. The form of demand was this :

"I intend to offer a great sacrifice. Let the gentlemen ('venerable ones', Rhys Davids) give their sanction to what will be to me for weal and welfare."⁹⁴

If the Paura-Jānapada bodies gave their 'anumati' (sanction) the king was to perform the sacrifice and the country had to pay a tax for that.

§275 Thus the Paura-Jānapada were approached and begged by the king to grant extra-ordinary taxation and the Paura-Jānapada demanded and obtained anugrahas or economic privileges from the king. It is not certain, but it is very likely that in raising his large armies the king utilised the machinery of the Paura Jānapada. Two

references in the Artha-Sāstra, noticed above, where taxes are coupled with the 'danda' (army) or raising of army suggest the possibility

DAILY BUSINESS OF PAURA-JANAPADA WITH THE KING

§276 That the Paura Jānapada had not business of a mere occasional adventitious nature is proved by the fact that the Arthasāstra marks out one period in the king's daily time-table to be devoted to the business of the Paura-Jānapadas.⁹⁵ Daily therefore matters went up from them to the king. These must have been of an economic and financial nature, and if they had to raise levies for the imperial army, as it seems very probable, the business must have included matters relating to the army also. The daily business before the king suggests a busy time for at least the Inner body or the permanent 'samavāya' of the Paura-Jānapada.

ASOKA'S NEW DHARMA AND JĀNAPADA

§277. The above matters were not the only concern of the Paura-Jānapadas. We find Asoka, after his pilgrimage to Bodh Gaya, discussing his new Dharma with the Jānapada body.⁹⁶ Asoka proposed to impose a new system on the community and to do away with the old orthodox system. He had to feel his way in proceeding with his intended revolution.

He sought countenance of the Paura-Jānapada and proclaimed to the public that he had been having the honour of meeting the Jānapada ('darsana') and discussing the Dharma with them. They were thus a machinery not only for the restricted purposes of taxation and economic advancement but for all vital interests of the country.

IMPORTANCE OF THE PAURA—THE PAURA AND EXECUTIVE WORK

§278 We find the Paura receiving communication from the sovereign to execute measures of moment which properly belonged to the jurisdiction of the executive government or 'Danda'. Tishyarakshitā, queen of Asoka, sent the letter which she forged under the name of the Emperor and sealed with his ivory seal, to the Paura of Takshasilā. The story as related in the Divyāvadāna may or may not be correct. But the story would not have been detailed in this way if the pro-

cedure of sending a royal communication of the nature the missive is said to have embodied, had been unknown at the time the Divyāvadāna was compiled. The Paura were asked to inflict punishment on the vice-regal prince who had been denounced in the letter as a traitor to the dynasty.⁹⁷

The Pauras in the *Mṛichchhakatikā* are asked by the populace to execute the real culprit (*Samsthānaka*) who had been treated as innocent by the law-court. The 'Pauras' here probably stands for Paura-Jānapada, as they are mentioned after the Jānapada-samavāya.

KING AND GOVERNOR ATTEND PAURA-JĀNAPADA

§279 The prince-vice-roy was supposed to go to their assembly.⁹⁸ The passage in the *Mahābhārata* seems to imply that the king himself attended the Paura-Jānapada assembly. Asoka received them with great respect.

PAURA-JĀNAPADA COULD MAKE OR MAR GOVERNMENT

§280 The political philosopher Vāmadeva quoted in the *Mahābhārata* sums up the importance of the Paura and Jānapada by saying that the Paura-Jānapada could make or mar the government. If they were satisfied, "the business of the realm" would be done by them, if they were not satisfied, they would make government impossible, for they became opposers. The King had therefore to keep them attached by his conduct and by not causing annoyance.⁹⁹

As the Paura administered relief to the poor and helpless in the capital,¹⁰⁰ the Jānapada did the same in their jurisdiction. It appears from the view of Vāmadeva that when the Jānapada and the Paura withdrew from the duty of poor-relief the government of the king was in trouble. They could make the government impossible in the many ways to be inferred from their various functions which we have noticed. To these the trouble caused by the non-performance of poor-relief is evidently to be added as a factor of importance. If the Paura-Jānapada, says Vāmadeva, remain kind to beings, having money and grain (for the purpose), the throne will remain firmly rooted.¹⁰¹

COMPENSATION BILLS OF JĀNAPADA TO THE CROWN.

§281. Another method by which the Paura

Jānapada made the government of a misbehaving king difficult was that the offended Paura and Jānapada would make out a bill and present it to the king to make good all the losses sustained in the kingdom by thefts, dacoities, and like lawlessness. Babu Govinda Das writes "Even up to very recent times, I understand that in the Rajput states thefts had to be made good by the king's treasury." This strange procedure is sanctioned even by codes of Hindu law. We can understand it only if we bear in mind the Hindu theory of taxation. Taxes were paid to the king as his wages and the wages were wages for protection. (See below.) The corollary was that if protection, which meant both internal and external, was not rendered fully, deductions from the wages of the employee would be made by the employer. The refund bills were presented according to Yājñavalkya by the Jānapada, as it is to them that he enjoins on the king to pay the compensation.¹⁰² The passage in the *Artha-Sāstra*¹⁰³ which says that the spies were to prompt the Pauras and Jānapadas to ask for concessions if the frontier barbarians committed raids, also indicates the practice of demanding compensations.

Kuṣhna Dvaipāyana lays down that "when the king has failed to recover the property taken away by thieves, it should be made good from his own 'Kosa' ('Svakosāt') or purse by the impotent holder-of-the-country."¹⁰⁴ 'Svakosa', as in the inscription of Rudradāman was the private purse as opposed to the public treasury. If this was the sense of Dvaipāyana the compensation realised (according to the corresponding law of Yājñavalkya) by the Jānapada amounted to a personal fine on the King.¹⁰⁵

CONSTITUENCY OF THE JĀNAPADA

§282 From the evidence of the *Mahābhārata*, we gather that the members of the Jānapada, as well as of the Paura, were generally rich people. And those who were not rich, were not poor either. The reference in the *Dasakumāracharita*¹⁰⁶ which represents the king making an illegal request to the president of the Jānapada for the oppression of a particular *Grāma*, or the head of the village assembly, associates a Jānapada member with the village unit. The Jānapada, according to the *Arthasāstra*, was composed of villages and towns.¹⁰⁷ It is permissible to

assume that the Jānapada had similarly its constituents in village corporations and townships of the country

The Grāmanī was generally a rich man, a Vaisya according to a Vedic reference¹⁰⁸ and a Kshatriya according to the Pālī canon¹⁰⁹. The members returned to the Jānapada were, very likely, men from the Grāmanī class.

The Pālī Sūtra, (Kutadanta of the Dīgha Nikāya),¹¹⁰ which is regarded as almost contemporary in age with the Buddha's time, furnishes some details of the composition of the Naigama or Paura and the Jānapada. The king invites the Kshatriyas who were 'Negama' and 'Jānapada' for the time-being ("anuyuta negamā cha eva jānapadā cha") in the king's country ('Rañño janapade'), likewise those Negamas and Jānapadas who were officers and councillors (of the Paura-Jānapada), and, Negama and Jānapada Brahmins who possessed 'larger class of houses', and finally, 'Gahapati' Negamas and Jānapadas who were of the class of 'nechayika's. The Gahapati class was composed of ordinary citizens, Vaisyas and Sudras, freemen cultivating their land or following their trade, 'lords of their households'. 'Nechayika' probably denoted the richer class of the 'Grihapati' members as opposed to the Mahābhārata's 'svalpadhana's or the small-wealth members of the Paura and Jānapada.

This shows that the Paura and the Jānapada had almost all the classes of the population.

The poor but highly intellectual class of Brahmins probably was not there, as the qualification required was based on property of some value. The class of Brahmins whom I have described elsewhere as the aristocracy-in-poverty, i.e., those who lived up to the ideal laid down in the Upanishads and the Dharma Sūtras, would not be included in bodies where property qualification was the law. If we keep this point in view we can understand why Brahmins as a class are mentioned in the Rāmāyana separately, as joining the conference of the Paura-Jānapada to discuss the question of the nomination of Yuvarāja by them¹¹¹.

The character of the Jānapada, as representing the whole country, is quite clear. They are called the Rāshtra or the kingdom itself and the Desa or the country itself. The

Pauras were a fairly large body and presumably the Jānapadas were larger in number.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE PAURA.

§283 We have a clear picture of the composition of the Paura. The description left by Megasthenes,¹¹² of the city magistrates or the Executive bodies of the Paura of Pataliputra, read in the light of the working system of corporate assemblies of the country, shows that the Paura was divided into several sub assemblies representing different interests of the capital. The Paura was a sort of mother association of different bodies. Patanjali, who uses the word Sangha in the general sense of a corporate assembly, not limited, as by Pāṇini and also probably by Kātyāyana, to the political Sangha, mentions, as we have seen, Sanghas of 5 men, of 10 men and of 20 men.¹¹³ It may be remembered that Kautilya also employs the word Sangha in the general sense¹¹⁴ like Patanjali, although the technical sense of Pāṇini is not unknown to either. The significance becomes clear when we refer to the Mahāvagga¹¹⁵ (IX 4 1.) which lays down that a Sangha may have a quorum of 5, 10, 20 and upwards. The Panchaka Sangha, therefore, of Patanjali, is the quorum of 5. The boards of 5 members each of Megasthenes were these Panchaka Sanghas. If the boards of 5 each were the Sanghas of 5, then they would represent independent bodies, and their joint meeting would be a meeting of the mother association. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the Paura is regarded to have more than one Mukhya or Sreshtha, chief or president,¹¹⁶ and Megasthenes mentions more than one "City Magistrate"¹¹⁷. In the Mudrārākshasa,¹¹⁸ when Chandanadāsa is called by the Chancellor Chānakya (Kautilya), he is shown great respect and asked whether the people were loyal to the new king Chandanadāsa thereupon speaks for the whole country, but he is only the president of the Jewellers' Association (Manikārasreshthi). In the Dasakumāracharita, out of the two Paura-Mukhyas, one is the president of merchants dealing with foreign trade only¹¹⁹. In the Arthasāstra, where spies are sent to the Paura-Jānapadas to sound their political mind, they go to the "associations" or samavāyas (in the plural) of the Tirthas of the Sabhā-Sālās, of the Puga and the

People¹¹⁹ These Samavāyas are, except the last one, evidently identical with the Boards of Megasthenes (as pointed out above) which looked after public buildings and temples, after manufactured articles after trade and commerce. We have noticed the datum of Gautama which proves that there were Sudra members also¹²⁰. They were probably returned by the Jāti-Sanghas or the caste assemblies or they might be representing some guild of artisans. The Puga committee must have been mainly composed of the representatives of trade and commerce, apparently middle class substantial men. The Paura was thus composed on the basis of different interests in the capital.

§284 The Rāmāyana gives some details of separate bodies which made up the Naigama, probably about 500 BC. As the Paura-Jānapada (with the Naigama) appeared taking a leading part in the nominations of Rāma as Yuvarāja, so the Paura, Naigama or Jānapada, or probably all of them, figure on subsequent occasions when the question of succession to the throne presents itself. In VI (Yuddha) c 127 4, when Rama is returning to Ayodhyā the Sreni mukhyas and the "Ganas" or 'Members of the parliament', (probably the Jānapada) go out to receive him. In verse 16 they are around Bharata along with the ministers, and are mentioned as the sreni-mukhyas and the naigamas. The naigamas consecrate Rama as representatives of the Vaisya and Sudra elements of the population (c 128 62). When Bharata is called from his maternal home on the death of Dasaratha, the Srenis sanction Bharata's proposed succession, which is intimated to him (Ayodhyā, c 79 4). The "Rāma-Commentary" here explains "Srenayah" as "Paurāh" and Gobinda-rāja as "naigamāh". Probably 'srenayah' (srenis) has been used in the primary sense, like the ganas of VI 127, denoting the 'assemblies', i.e., both the Paura and Jānapada. Again, when Bharata goes to bring back Rāma from exile or hermitage, the favourites of the 'gana' go with him along with the same associates, the ministers, etc (81-12). These favourites or elected rulers of the ganas a little further (83 10) are referred to in connection with the people of the City (Nāgarikas, probably—Pauras) as the Naigamas 'those who think together' (sam-matā ye) in the company of all the ministers. Immediately following are detailed (verse 12 *et seq*) the

different bodies or classes of trades and arts who evidently made up the Naigama, e.g., jewellers, ivory-workers, stucco-workers, goldsmiths, wood-carvers, spice-merchants and so forth¹²¹. They are rounded up with (verse 15) 'Presidents of townships and villages' (grāma-ghoshamahattarāh), which the "Rāma-Commentary" explains as the Presidents for the time being¹²². As the Naigama is detailed by its various trades and arts, the Jānapada (those who think together) is detailed by its component elements—the village and township Presidents. Both these main bodies issue forth from the capital. The representative assembly of the villages and townships of the realm, as observed above, have their headquarters at the capital. But the Naigama, which was similarly at the capital, was the general representative body of different trade-guilds and guild-merchants of the capital only, as the commentators imply and the equivalent Paura proves.

§285 This conclusion derived from literature is confirmed by certain seals lately discovered at Basārḥ, the ruined site of Vaisālī. These seals are learned puzzles in the pages of the reports of the excavation without the data from literature we have noticed. They become intelligible in the light of the data adduced above. One seal bears the legend "Sreshthi Nigamasya", while another reads "Sreshthi-sārthavāha-kulika-nigama", again another, "kulika-Harih" or "prathama kulika-Harih"¹²³. The sealsending with 'nigama' are the seals of the mother association of Nigama or Paura. Kulika was a judge of the Paura, as we have already seen,¹²⁴ 'prathama kulika' would be thus the first judge of the Paura court. 'Sreshthi', "President", was evidently the General President. The seal of the Sreshthi-sārthavāha-kulika-nigama legend represented the different sections or samavāyas of the Nigama. The separate seals related to the separate entities, the corporate soles, e.g., the judicial seal of the 'kulika' judge.

THE "LAWS" OF THE JĀNAPADA AND PAURA.

§286 The laws of Paura, alluded to in the general term of grāma or of township, and the laws of Jānapada, as we have seen in the last chapter, are recognised in the codes of Hindu laws. They were really the resolutions of these bodies. They had the

force of law The law-courts enforced them against offending members¹²⁵ The resolutions regulated primarily the conduct of the corporate bodies and their business *inter se*. They were called Samaya, 'law or resolution agreed upon in an assembly' (sam+ay) These Samayas are called in Manu and Yājñavalkya¹²⁶ Dharmas or Laws We may recall here that, according to Āpastamba, the oldest writer on Dharmas yet discovered, all laws originated in Samayas¹²⁶

Another class of their resolutions was called 'Sthiti' (lit. 'fixed,' 'immutable') or 'Desasthiti'¹²⁷ (the sthiti of the 'country' or 'country-assembly') which were enforceable against everybody. The Sthiti was probably the same as the class of their enactments called Samvit, 'to be known' or 'proclamation-laws' The Samvids were passed by the Jānapada and they were recorded on a roll (Samvitpatra)¹²⁸ They were enacted with the formality of the members taking some special oath They were binding on the whole kingdom There is clear evidence of the fact that sometimes Samvids were against the interest of the king, as some authors of the codes make the exception that those Samvids only will be enforced by the law-courts which are not opposed to the king¹²⁹ The Samayas also were put on a roll¹³⁰

These Samaya (Samaya-Kriyā) and Samvid enactments were what we call at present 'statutes' They were not *leges* which were embodied in the Hindu Common Law. They were administrative statutes of a fiscal and political nature

§287 It is significant that the Samvid class of acts are mentioned in connection only with the Realm Assembly or the Jānapada and the Township Assembly Guilds and conquered Ganas (republics) and similar bodies could not enact Samvids The proclamation-acts thus were the most important of the Paura-Jānapada enactments As the term implies they were to be made known to the country—to do a thing, e.g., to give a particular extra tax, or desist from doing a thing

PAURA-JĀNAPADA AS HINDU DIET.

§288 To sum up. We had an organism or a twin organism, the Paura-Jānapada,

which could depose the king, which nominated the successor to the throne, whose kindly feelings towards a member of the royal family indicated his chance of succession, whose president was intimated by the king of the policy of state decided upon in the council of ministers, which were approached and begged by the king in all humility a new tax, whose confidence in a minister was regarded as an essential qualification for his appointment as chancellor, which were consulted and referred to with profound respect by a king aspiring to introduce a new religion, which demanded and got industrial, commercial and financial privileges for the country, whose wrath meant ruin to provincial governors, which were coaxed and flattered in public proclamations, which could enact statutes even hostile to the king—in fine, which could make possible or impossible the administration of the king An organism with these constitutional attributes was an organism which we will be justified in calling the Hindu Diet

The Paura Jānapada were a powerful check on royal authority At the same time there were also other sources of influence which kept royal responsibility fully alive and active

1 Jayaswal, J B O R S, Vol IV

2 Cf Taittiriya Samhitā of Yajurveda एषवो भरतः राजा, I 8 10

3 Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad, VI. 2

4 Patanjali on Pāṇini, IV 2 104

5 Jain Sutra, Achāranga, See above § Buddhist India, pp 24-25, Janawasabha Sutta quoted by Oldenberg, Buddha (Eng Trans) p 407, f n

See काशि-कौशल्या as one unit in the Gopatha Brāhmana, II 9

6 Buddhist India, p 24, Gopatha Brāhmana, II 9

7 Probably not so much religion as philosophy The difference between the two, as Megasthenes says, was very slight Asoka certainly made it a religion and a world-religion

8 See below §

9 See Arthashastra, p 45 and footnote at p 46.

जनपदादेशः ।

10 The Jātakas do not know anything about the Samiti There were numerous occasions to mention it if the Samiti did actually exist The Dharma Sutras also do not give any direction, writing on the duties of king, as to his relation with the Samiti Nor does the Mahābhārata recollect it

11 See below, the Jātakas and the Pāli canon have Janapada and Nigama Nigama as would be seen, is constitutionally identical with Nagara. The Arthasāstra has Janapada and Durga, the Rāmāyana, nagara, also durga and janapada (वनेवत्स्थान्यहं दुर्गे रामो राजा भविष्यति, II 79 12

12 Cf पुरं मुख्यनगरम् । Viramitrodaya, p 11

13 Cf Arthasāstra, p 46 f n नगर राजधानी ।

14 Cf modern Garh (fort) to denote the seat of the ruler, also German Schloss

15 Arthasāstra, pp 45 6 n

16 Jayaswal, J. B O R S, (1917) III p 438

17 उपतिष्ठति रामस्य समयमभिषेचनम् ।

पौरजनपदाश्चापि नैगमस्य कृताञ्छलिः ॥

II 14, 54

Govindarāja in his comment on the variant उदतिष्ठत says :

‘उदोतुर्धर्म्मसि’ इत्यात्मनेपदम् । उपस्थितमित्यर्थः ।

उपतिष्ठतीति पाठान्तरम् । Four MSS give the reading उपतिष्ठति in the Kumbakonam Edition

18 पौरजनपदाश्चापि नैगमस्य कृताञ्छलिः or कृतात्मभिः ।

Variant reading in MSS consulted in Kumbakonam edition

19 See the critical edition of the Rāmāyana by Messrs Krishnācharya and Vyākācharya, I, p. 68 (MS ‘ठ’) which is really a valuable edition

20 Rāmāyana, Ayodhyā Kānda, Ch II vs 20-22

समेत्य ते मन्त्रयित्वा समतागतबुद्धयः ।

ऊचुश्च मनसा ज्ञात्वा वृद्धं दशरथं नृपम् ॥

स रामं युवराजानमभिषिञ्चस्व पार्थिव ॥

इच्छामो हि महाबाहुं रघुवीरं महाबलम् ।

See also Dasaratha's speech in reply

कथं नु मयि धर्मेण पृथिवीमनुपालति ।

भवन्ती द्रष्टुमिच्छन्ति युवराज महाबलम् ॥

20a Manu, VIII 41

जाति जानपदान्यर्थांश्चेणोधर्माश्च धर्मेवित् ।

समीक्ष्यकुलधर्मांश्च स्वधर्मा प्रतिपादयेत् ॥

24, f n 24 §

21 Sreni literally means ‘rows’ Evidently the members sat in rows and this feature gave the name to the corporate body. Probably sreni originally was a general term to signify all those bodies who transacted their business in their ‘Session’ or by assembly system. The Mahābhārata in older passages gives sreni-baddha rājānah or ‘rulers organised in rows’, e g, Sabhā Parvan, XIV 4 (Kumbakonam Edition)

राजानं श्रेणिवद्वाच्यं तथान्ये क्षत्रिया भुवि ।

These may refer to republican rulers or to a military organization, as the Arthasāstra has sreni as a military division. In lawbooks, general literature and inscrip-

tions sreni has acquired the technical meaning of a guild

22 Yājñavalkya, I 360 & 361

व्यवहाराण् स्वयं पश्येत् सम्भवेऽपरिष्ठतोऽन्वहम् ।

कुलानि जातौः श्रेणोश्च गणाञ्छानपदानपि ॥३६०

स्वधर्माञ्छलितान् राजा विनीय स्थापयेत्यथि ।

23 ग्रामश्रेणिगणानाञ्च सङ्केतः समयक्रिया ।

Vrihaspati quoted in Viramitrodaya, p 425 See below

24 See §

25 Manu, VIII, 218-221

अत ऊर्ध्वं प्रवक्ष्यामि धर्म्मं समयभेदिनाम् ॥ १८

यो ग्रामदेशसङ्गानां कृत्वा सत्येन २ विदम् ।

विसंवदेन्नरो लोभात्त राट्प्रादिप्रवासयेत् ॥१९

एवं दण्डविधिं कुर्याद्वाग्भिर्कपृथिवीपतिः ।

ग्राम जाति समूहेषु समयव्यभिचारिणाम् ॥ २१

26 देशस्थित्यानुमानेन नैगमानुमतेन वा ।

क्रियते निर्णयस्तत्र व्यवहारस्तु वाध्यते ॥

Quoted in Viramitrodaya, p 120

27 ग्रामो देशश्च यत् कुर्यात् सत्यलेख्यं परस्परम् ।

राजाविरोधिधर्म्माश्च सवित्यत्र वदन्ति तत् ॥

Vrihaspati quoted in Viramitrodaya, p 189 See also Yājñavalkya

निज धर्म्माविरोधेन यस्तु सामयिको भवेत् ।

सोऽपि यत्नेन सरक्ष्यो धर्म्मा राजकृतस्य यः ॥

28 Compare Rāmāyana, Bk II, canto 83, v 15

ग्राम घोष महत्तरा ।

The Rāma commentary has ग्रामे घोषे च वर्तमाना महत्तराः । Govindarāja महत्तराः प्रधानभूताः ।

[Ghosha according to Patanjali and Kātyāyana was a small township with corporate arms and seal]

29 Viramitrodaya on Yājñavalkya kindly lent to me by Mr Govindadāsa of Benares

30 J B O R S, III 42

31 Divyāvadāna, p 410

32 पौरः पुरवासिनां समूहः । VM p 11

33 Comp मन्दौत्सुक्योऽस्मि नगरगमनं प्रति, Sakuntala, Act II पुरं मुख्यनगरम्—Viramitrodaya, p 11

The term for ordinary town or township is ग्राम, e g, ग्राम पौरगणश्रेण्यश्चातुर्विधश्च वर्गिणः । Ibid The Arthasāstra uses the word नगर and दुर्ग for the capital and ग्राम for ordinary town, Pāṇini and Patanjali use नगर and पुर for capital and ग्राम for ordinary town Cf Pāṇini, VII 3 14 and Kāśikā on that also VI 2 100 Patanjali on the use of ग्राम for town—शाकल्यं नाम वाह्यीक ग्रामः on Pāṇini IV 2 104 Śākala which was the old capital of the ‘Madra’s ceased to be a नगर or capital under Pushyamitra It is therefore called a ग्राम ।

See also Arthasāstra, p 46 footnote, नगरं राजधानी ।
The commentator commenting on the nāgarikās in
Vatsyāyana's Kāmasūtras (Bk II Ch 5) says .

नागरिका इति पाठलिपुत्रिकाः ।

On Durga as equivalent of Pura, comp Nārada
'सुरक्षेत् समग्रं राजा दुर्गं जनपदे तथा Viramitrodaya, p
425 नगर in Asoka's inscriptions means a Provincial
capital also Manu, VII 29, divides the kingdom into
दुर्ग and राष्ट्र । ततो दुर्गं राष्ट्रं च लोकश्च सचराचरम् ।

For दुर्ग and घर as capital see Manu, VII 70

धन्वदुर्गं महौदुर्गमब्दं गं वार्त्तमेव वा ।

नृदुर्गं गिरिदुर्गं वा समाश्रित्य वसेत्पुनम् ॥

34 आशंसते जनः सर्वो राष्ट्रं घरवरे तथा ।

आभ्यन्तरश्च बाह्यश्च पौरजानपदो जनः ॥

"The whole nation in the Rāshtra, as well as in
the best of capitals praises him, likewise the Paura
Jānapada body—both the Inner and the Outer—
praise him" It should be noticed that the Paura
Jānapada is taken as distinct from the people in the
realm and the capital

The two bodies, Inner and Outer, are mentioned
in the Mahābhārata also, see below§ For jana in
the collective sense see its use in Asoka's Inscription,
Pillar Series, VII, जनं धर्मयुत—the body of the men

in the Dharma Service Department

35 Gautama Dharma Sutra (Sāstra), VI 9 11

A Brahmin who ordinarily is never expected to do
any honour to a Sudra has to get up when a Sudra
who is an ex-member of the Paura came, though he
be below eighty Further, Sutra 15 lays down an excep-
tion with regard to etiquette between Pauras Even
if the difference in age were of ten years, fellow Pauras
were to treat each other as if born on the same day
(14 15)

नृलिककसुरपितृव्यमातुलानां तु यवौयसा प्रत्युत्थानं नाभि-
वाद्याः । १ । तथान्य पूर्व. पौराश्रमीतिकावर. शूद्रोऽप्यपत्य
समेन । १० । अवरोऽप्यार्य. शूद्रेण । ११ । नाम चास्य वर्जयेत् । १२ ।
भोभवन्निति वयसः समानोऽहनि जातः । १४ । दशवर्षं च
पौरः । १५ ।

36 Vasishtha, edition by Fuhrer, p 84

चिरक नाम लिखित पुराणे पौरलेखकैः ।

37 Vasishtha Dharma Sutra (Sāstra), XVI 19 20

प्रद्वीष द्रव्याणि राजगाम्नीनि भवन्ति । ११ ।

ततोऽन्यथा राजा भन्तिभिः सह नागरेष्वे कार्याणि कुर्यात् । १० ।

तथानाथ-दरिद्राणां सखारो यजनक्रियः । Vrihaspati,
Viramitrodaya, p 425

वालद्वयं ग्रामद्वयं वृद्धेयुराव्यवहार प्रापणात् देवद्वयं ।

"Elders of the township should increase property
of minors till they attain capacity-at-law They
should do the same with regard to the property of
Gods"—Arthasāstra, p 48

38 नित्यं नैमित्तिकं काम्यं शान्तिक पीष्टिकं तथा ।

पौराणां कर्म कुर्यात्सो मदिग्ध निर्णयं तथा ॥

Vrihaspati in the Viramitrodaya, p 424

चाट चौर-भये बाधा सर्वसाधारणाः कृता ।

तच्चोपशमन कार्य सर्वेन केन केनचित् ॥

Ibid.

39 See last note संदिग्ध निर्णयं तथा ।

Also ग्राम-पौर-गण श्रेष्ठ्यश्चातुर्विधश्च वर्गिणः ।

कुलानि कुलिकांश्चैव नियुक्ता नृपतिस्तथा ॥

Viramitrodaya, p 11.

40 साहसन्ध्यायवर्जानि कुर्याः कार्याणि ते नृणाम् ।

Vrihaspati in the Viramitrodaya, p 40.

41 (धर्मकार्यमपि संभूय कार्यमित्युक्तं तेनैव ।)

सभा-प्रपा देवगृह-तटाकारामसकृतिः ।

Vrihaspati in the Viramitrodaya, p 425

Arāma meant both a 'rest house' and a park
garden'

42 Strabo, Bk XV 50 (4 10) Compare the
"magistrates" of self-governed cities as opposed to
the royal officers (Arrian, XII)

43 A scholar who does not take so much notice
of Hindu authorities as he draws on analogies and
comparisons has misunderstood this Paura jurisdiction
of the Maurya capital as a consular department
borrowed from Persia !!!

It should be noticed that the Pauras administered
estate in co operation with the ministry, according to
Vasishtha

44 Patanjali on Panini V. I 58 and 59

45 द्वौ त्रय. पञ्चवा कार्या समूहद्वित्वादिनः

कर्त्तव्य वचनं तेषां ग्रामश्रेणिगणादिभिः ॥

Viramitrodaya, p 427

46 Mahāvagga, IX 4 1

पञ्च संघा । चतुवर्गो भिक्षुसंघो पचवर्गो भिक्षुसंघो

दसवर्गो भिक्षुसंघो वीसतिवर्गो भिक्षुसंघो अतिरेकवीसतिवर्गो
भिक्षुसंघो ।

See also IX 3 5 etc

47 नैगमा पौरवणिज, Mitra Misra, Viramitrodaya,
p 120, also नगराणि करवर्जितानि निगम-वणिजा स्थानानि
Prasna Vyākṛāna Sūtra - Vyākhyāna, quoted by
Sham Shastri Arthasāstra, p 46 fn

48 Unskilled artisans were combined as Vṛkṣas
See Patanjali on Panini, V 2 21

49 The Jātaka, Vol I p 149 सञ्जे नेगम जानपदे ।

Kutadanta Sutta Dīghanikāya, para 12.

नेगमा च एव जानपदा च ते भव राजा आसन्त्यत ।

50 Jagannātha, see Nārada (ed. Jolly).

51 See below on the composition of the Paura.

52 Compare Arthasāstra p 89

सौवर्णिक पौरजानपदानां रूप्यसुवर्णमावेशनिभिः कारयेत् ।

53 Cunningham A S R, Vol XIV p 148.

54 The Dojaka coin bearing the word **नेगम** (Cunningham Coins of Ancient India, p. 64 pl III) would signify that the name of the capital was Dojaka And the Eran coin (A S R, Vol XIV, p. 148, C A I Pp 99-102)

55 Arthasāstra, II 14 32

56 See reference in the Mrichchhakatika discussed below, §280, and numerous references indicating their location at capital

57 Rāmāyana, Ayodhyā Kānda, II 19—22

ब्राह्मणा जनसुखाय पौर-जानपदै सह ।

समेत्य सन्धित्वा तु समतागतबुद्धयः ॥

कुचुश्च मनसा ज्ञात्वा बृह दशरथ नृपम् ।

...

स राम पुत्रराजानमभिषिञ्चस्व पार्थिव ॥

इच्छामो हि महाबाहु रघुवीरं महाबलम् ।

58 Ibid.

ते तमल्लुर्महात्मान पौर-जानपदै सह ।

बहवो नृपकल्याणा गुणाः पुत्रस्य सन्ति ते ।

...

इच्छाकुभ्योऽपि सर्वेभ्यो ह्यतिरिक्तो विशापते ।

...

यदा ब्रजति सयाम यामर्थे नगरस्य वा ।

गत्वा सौमित्रिसहितो नाविजित्य विवर्तते ॥

पौरान् स्वजनवन्नित्यं कुशलं परिपृच्छति ।

उत्सवेषु च सर्वेषु पितेव परितुष्यति ।

प्रजापालन-तत्त्वज्ञो न रागोपहितेन्द्रियः ।

अश्रमते जनः सर्वो राष्ट्रे, पुरवरे तथा ।

आभ्यन्तरश्च बाह्यश्च पौर-जानपदो जनः ॥

For Jana in the collective sense of a body compare Asoka's **जन** चक्षुयुत (Pillar series, VII)

The age of the present Rāmāyana should be studied in Jacobi's critical paper on Rāmāyana (Das Rāmāyana) It seems that the original edition was composed about 500 B C and the version took place circa 200 B C

59 Ibid, Canto III verses 2—5

अज्ञोऽस्मि परम प्रीत प्रभावशतुलो मम ।

यन्मे ज्येष्ठं प्रिय पुत्रं यौवराज्यस्यभिच्छ्रयः ॥

...

यौवराज्याय रामस्य सर्वमेवोपकल्पयताम् ।

राजसूयपूजते वाङ्मनो जनघोषो महानभूतः ॥

शनैस्त्वस्मिन् प्रशान्ते च जनघोषे नराधिप ।

...

60 Ibid, verse 49.

ते चापि पौरा नृपतेर्वचसाच्छ्रुत्वा तदालाभमिवेक्षमासु ।

नरेन्द्रमानन्द्य गृह्णाणि गत्वा देवान् समानर्चु रभिप्रहृष्टाः ॥

Ibid, IV. 1

गतेष्वयं नृपो भूयः पौरैश्च सहस्रमन्त्रिभिः ।

मन्त्रित्वा ततश्चक्रे निश्चयश्च निश्चयम् ॥

61 Ibid, Canto XIV, verse 54

उपतिष्ठति रामस्य समग्रमभिषेचनम् ।

पौरजानपदस्यापि नैगमस्य कृताञ्जलिः ॥

62 Ibid, verse 40

पौरजानपदस्यैष्टा नैगमाश्च गणैः सह ।

63 सार्धंवाह विनयदत्तस्य नम्रा सागरदत्तस्य तनयः ।

64 See J B O R S, Vol I (1915)

65 पौरान् समाश्वास्य ।

66 Mrichchhakatika, Act X See also

पौरा, वावादेध किं णिमित्तं पादकौ जीवा वीर्यदि ।

which shows that the Pauras were present at the place where Charudatta and Vasantasenā were standing and where Janapada samavāya was

67 cf Mahāvamsa IV 5—6

68 Chapter III

अनुजा पुन अति बहवः तैः अपि घटन्ते पौरजानपदाः ।

69 Arthasāstra, Bk I ch XIII, 9

गूढपुरुषप्रणिधि कृतमहामात्यापसर्पः पौरजानपदानपसर्षयेत् ।

सविणो हन्दि नस्तीर्थसभाशालापूजनसमवायेषु विवादं कुर्युः ।

सर्वगुणसम्पन्नश्च राजा श्रूयते । न चास्य कश्चित् गुणो दृश्यते यः पौरजानपदान् दण्डकराभ्या पीडयतीति ।

For interpretation of दण्डकरा compare दण्ड in Bk. XIII ch V, 176 p 407

70 तत्र येऽनुग्रहसिधुः तानितरस्तं च प्रतिषेधयेत् । मास्त्रा-
न्यायमिभूता, प्रजा मनु वैवस्वत राजानं चक्रिरे । धान्यवङ्गाग
दण्डदशभागं हिरण्यं चास्य भागधेयं प्रकल्पयामासु । तेन भूता
राजानः प्रजानां योगक्षेमवद्वा तेषां किल्बिषमदण्डकरा हरन्ति ।
Ibid

For the interpretation of bhrīta, compare its meaning in Mitaksharā (Vijñānesvara),

71 Mahabharata, Santi-Parvan, LXXXIII, 46.

तस्मै मन्त्रं प्रयोक्तव्यो दण्डमाधिक्षता नृप ।

पौर जानपदा यस्मिन्निश्वासं धर्मतो गताः ॥

72 Ibid, LXXXV, 11-12

अष्टानां मन्त्रिणां मध्ये मन्त्रं राजोपधारयेत् ॥

ततः स प्रेषयेद्राष्ट्रे राष्ट्रीयाय च दर्शयेत् ।

73 विश्वममल्येन शशाम योऽस्मिन् कालेन लोकेषु स
नागरेषु । यो लालयामास च पौरवर्गान् ॥

Junagadh Inscription of 457-8 A.C Fleet—C II, Vol III, p 60

The reading of Fleet separating न from अस्मै and काले is grammatically impossible

74 Ibid, p 61

नगरमपि च भूयाद्भूमिस्त्वीरयुष्टम् ।

75 Divyāvadāna, p 407

राज्ञोऽशोकस्योत्तरापथे तच्छिला-नगर विरुद्धम शुत्वा च
राजा स्वयमेवाभिप्रस्थितः । ततोऽस्मात्परिमितम् । देव कुमार
प्रेष्यता स सनामयिष्यति । अथ राजा कुणालमाह्वय कथयति । वत्स
कुणाल गमिष्यति तच्छिलानगर सनामयितुम् । कुणाल उवाच । पर
देव गमिष्यामि ।
अनुपूर्वेण तच्छिलामनुप्राप्त । शुत्वा च तच्छिलापौरा अर्धनिकानि
योजनानि मार्गशीभा नगरशीभा च कृत्वा पूर्णकुम्भे प्रतुङ्गता ।
वत्यति च ।

शुत्वा तच्छीलापौरा रत्नपूर्णघटादिकान् ।

गृह्य प्रतुङ्गतामाश बहूमान्या वृषात्मजम् ॥

प्रतुङ्गम्य कृताञ्जलिर्वाच । न वय कुमारस्य विरुद्धा न राज्ञोऽशोक-
स्यापि, तु दुष्टात्मानोऽस्मात् आगत्यास्माकमपमानं कुर्वन्ति यावत् कुणालो
महता सन्मानेन तच्छिला प्रवेशितः ।

76 नगल जनस अकस्मा पलिवोधे व अकस्मा पलिकिलेसे व नो
सियति एताये च अठये हक धमते पचसु पचसु वसेसु निखामयि
साभि ए अखखसे अच ड सखिना लमे होसति एत अठं जानितु
तथा कलति अथ मम अनुसथी ति उजेनिते पि कुमालि एताएव
अठये निखामयिस हेदिस मेव वग नो च अतिकामयिसति तिनि
वसानि हेमेन तखशिला ते पि अदा अ ते महामाता निखमिस ति
etc Dhau Edition, lines 20 25

I have discussed the significance of the inscription
in J B O R S, Vol IV (1918)

77 Jayaswal, Ind Ant 1917

78 Arthasāstra, Bk V ch 2 30

एतेन प्रदेशेन राजा पौरजानपदान् भिचेत ।

79 Ibid, Bk XIII ch 5 176

कोषदण्डदानमवस्थाप्य यदुपकुर्वन् पौरजानपदान् कोपयेत् ।
कुपितैस्त्रैरेन घातयेत् । प्रकृतिभिरुपनुष्टमपनयेत् ।

80 Ibid, Bk XII ch 5 163.

दुर्गेषु चास्य शून्यपालासन्तास्यविण पौरजानपदेषु मैत्री निमित्त
भाविदेयेषु । शून्यपालोन्नायोधाश्च अधिकरणस्याश्च कृच्छ्रागतो राजा
जीवन्नागमिष्यति, न वा प्रसन्न वित्तमार्जयध्वममित्रांश्च हृत इति ।
बहुलीभूते तीक्ष्णा पौरान्निशास्त्राहारयेयु मुख्याश्चभिहन्त्यु—एव
क्रियन्ते ये शून्यपालस्य न शून्यपन्ते । शून्यपालस्थानेषु च सशोणि-
तानि शस्त्रवित्तवन्धान्मुक्तृजेयु । ततश्चविण शून्यपालो घातयति
विलोपयति च इत्यादिदेयेषु ।

In the above text बहुलीभूते should be compared with
स बहुल in the Jātaka, II 45, and स बहुल in the
Majjhima Nikāya, Gopaka Maggalāna Sutta, where
स-बहुल denotes holding a meeting to decide a matter
by the vote of majority

81 Epigraphia Indica, Vol VIII, p 44

अपिऽयिला करविष्टिप्रणयक्रियाभि पौरजानपद जन सस्मात्कोश
(न्) महताधनौघेन अनतिमहताच कास्तेन सेतु कारितम् ।

अस्मिन्नर्थे महाचतुस्रस्यमतिचतुर्वर्कसचिवैरमात्यगुणसमु-
द्रुतैरप्यतिमहत्वाद्दे दस्यानुत्साहविसुखमतिभिः प्रत्याख्यातारम् etc

यथावत्प्राप्तैर्वलिशुक्लभागैः । 1 14

82 Śānti Parvan, ch LXXXVII. 23—25 (Kumba-
konam ed)

आपदर्थं च निचयान्ताजानो हि विचिन्त्यते ।
राष्ट्रं च कोषभूतं स्यात्कीषो वस्त्रगतस्तथा ॥
पौरजानपदान् सर्वान् स श्रितोपाश्रितास्तथा ।
यथा शत्रुनुकम्पेत सर्वान्स्वल्पधनानपि ॥
वाञ्छा जन भेदयित्वा भोक्तव्यो मध्यम सुखम् ।
एव नास्य प्रकुप्यन्ति जना सुखितदुःखिता ॥

83 Ibid, 26—34

प्रागेव तु धनादानमनुभाष्य तत पुनः ।
सन्निपत्य स्वविषये भयं राष्ट्रे प्रदर्शयेत् ॥ २६
इत्यमापस्तसुत्पन्ना परचक्रभयं महत् ।
अपि चान्ताय कल्पन्ते वेणोरिव फलागमाः ॥ २७
अरयो मे ससुत्याय बहुभिर्दंस्तुभि सह ।
इदमात्मवधायेव राष्ट्रमिच्छन्ति वाधितुम् ॥ २८
अस्मानापदि घोराया सप्राप्ते दारुणे भये ।
परित्राणाय भवत प्रार्थयिष्ये धनानि वः ॥ २९
प्रतिदास्ये च भवता सर्वं चाहं भयक्षये ।
नारय प्रतिदास्यन्ति यद्दुर्युर्बलादित ॥ ३०
कलत्रमादित कृत्वा सर्वं वो विनशेदिति ।
शरीरपुत्रदाराद्यर्थमर्थसंक्षय इक्षते ॥ ३१
नन्दानिव प्रभावेण पुत्राणामिव चोदये ।
यथाशक्त्युपगृह्णामि राष्ट्रस्यापीदृशं च वः ॥ ३२
आपतस्ते व निवोदस्य भवद्भिः सगतेरिह ।
न व प्रियतरं कार्यं धनं कस्यांचिदापदि ॥ ३३
इति वाचा मधुरया श्लक्ष्णया सोपचारया ।
स्वर्गस्मीनभ्यवसृजेद्योगमाधायकालवित ॥ ३४

84 The prospect is dreaded by the owner of the
bamboo clump in our villages, as it means the drying
up of the whole stock The bamboo fruit is in
appearance like paddy

85 Dasyu is a technical term both in Manu (X 45)
and the Mahābhārata (Śānti P, LXV, 13-17)
denoting foreign tribes

86 Ibid, 26

87 That voting prevailed in the Jānapada and
Paura can be gathered from the procedure of
contemporary popular institutions which we have
already noticed It is implied in our text here by the
directions about creating breach in the Outer body
and about winning over the Middle body,

88 Arthasāstra Bk XIII, ch 1 171 p 394

दुर्भिक्षो नाट्युपघातेषु च पौरजानपदानुत्साहयन् सविणो बुधुः
राजानमनुयह याचामहे निरनुयहा परच गच्छाम इति ।

89 Arthasāstra, Bk II, chapter 1 19, p 47

अनुग्रहपरिहारौ चैव कोषहृदिकारौ दद्यात । कोषोपपातिकौ
वर्जयेत् । अल्पकोषो हि राजा पौरजानपदानेव यस्यते ।

90 Yājñavalkya, II 36

देयं चौरहृतं द्रव्यं राजा जानपदाय तु ।

अददद्भिः समग्नोति किंलिख यस्य तस्य तत् ॥

This verse of Yājñavalkya corresponds to Manu, VIII, 40 (See Medhātithi's explanation) and

प्रत्याहृतुं नृपक्षस्तु धनं चौरैर्हृतं यदि ।

स्वकीयास्तद्धि देयं स्यादशक्तेन महीभृता ॥

Dvaipāyana in the Mitakshara

91 Ibid

निवेशनकालं यथागतकं वा परिहारं दद्यात् । निवृत्तं परिहारापितेवानुगृहीयात् । आकरकर्मणो द्रव्यहस्तित्वमवज्ञाय विष्णुपथप्रचारान्वाग्विष्णुपथपण्यपत्तनानि च निवेशयेत् । सहोदकमाहार्यो दकं वा सेतुं वस्येत् । अन्येषां वा वधता भूमिमार्गं ह्योपकरणानुग्रहं कुर्यात् ।

92 Ep Ind., Vol VIII p 45

पुनः सेतुवन्वैनैराश्रयं हा हा भूतासु प्रजासु इहाधिष्ठाने पौरजानपदजनानुग्रहार्थं पार्थिवेन etc

93 Rhys Davids, Dighanikāya Kutadanta Sutta § 11 Dialogues of the Buddha, Vol II, p 175

94 Dighanikāya, Kutadanta Sutta, § 12

इच्छामि अहं भो महायज्ञं यजितुं अनुजानन्तु मे भवन्तो यं मम चक्षुर्दौघसत्तं हिताय सुखाय ति ।

95 Arthasāstra, Bk VIII ch 19 16 p 37

द्वितीये पौरजानपदानां कार्याणि पश्येत् ।

cf Mahābhārata Sānti Parvan, ch XL v 19

पौरजानपदानां च यानि कार्याणि निव्यस्य ।

राजानं समनुज्ञायां तानि कार्याणि धर्मेन ॥

96 Rock Series, VIII (Girnar)

बान्धवसमणानं दसणे च दाने च पैशेन दसने च हिरण्यपटि विधानो च जानपदस च जनस दसन धमानुसस्ति च धनपरिपुष्ठा च । See below on the mention of the Jānapada in Pillar Series IV.

97 राजाश्वशोको बलवान् प्रचख्छ आज्ञापयत् तच्चशीलानर्जं हि ।

उद्धार्यतां लोचनमस्य शर्वोर्ध्वस्य चक्षुः कलङ्क एष ॥

—Divyāvadāna, p 410,

The use of the word jana should be noticed here and should be compared with जानपद जन in Asoka's inscription and पौर जानपदो जन in the Rāmāyaṇa. The sense is collective, body

98 पश्चान्नि कुणालः पौरं प्रविष्टः ।

Divyāvadāna, p 410

99 Mahābhārata (Kumbakonam), Sānti-Parvan, XCIV 16

पौरजानपदा यस्य खलुरक्ता अपीडिता ।

राष्ट्रकर्मकरास्ते राष्ट्रस्य च विरोधिनः ॥

The context and grammar show that the verse 16 which ought to precede immediately verse 18 has been detached and put in its present position. Verse 17 really reads with 15

100 तथानाथदरिद्राणां सत्कारो यजनक्रिया etc

101 पौरजानपदा यस्य भूतेषु च दयालवः ।

सधना धान्यवन्तश्च दृढमूलं सपार्थिवः ॥

Mahābhārata (Kumbakonam), Sānti Parvan, XCIV, 18.

On the question of the wealth in the hands of the Paura and Jānapada bodies it should be noticed that corporate bodies not only held money and property but could even legally borrow money as is evidenced by the laws of Vrihaspati and Kātyāyana, Vīramitrodaya, p 432

102 देयं चौरैर्हृतं द्रव्यं राजा जानपदाय तु ।

अददद्भिः समाप्नोति क्लिषं यस्य तस्य तत् ॥

—Yājñavalkya, II 36 Compare other passages quoted below

103 Bk. XIII, ch 2 171 p 394

104 प्रत्याहृतुं नृपक्षस्तु धनं चौरैर्हृतं यदि ।

स्वकीयास्तद्धि देयं स्यादशक्तेन महीभृता ॥

—Quoted in the Mitakshara

105 Manu VIII 40

दातव्यं सर्ववर्णभ्यो राजा पौरैर्हृतं धनम् ।

According to Nandan it means that the king should make good to all the varnas the loss sustained from thieves, etc. The great commentator Medhātithi as well gives the same meaning

106 Dasakumāracharita, chapter III

107 Arthasāstra, Bk II chapter 1 19

108 Maitrāyaṇi Samhitā, II 65, v 38 (Macdonell and Kieth, Vedic Index, vol II, p 200)

109 See above §

110 Digha Nikāya, Kutadanta Sutta, § 12 et seq

ये भोतो रज्ज्वी जनपदे खत्तिया अनुयुक्ता नेगमा च एव जानपदो च ये भोतो (etc) असञ्जा पारिसञ्जा नेगमा च एव जानपदा च ये भोतो (etc) ब्राह्मण महासाला नेगमा च एव जानपदा च ... ये भोतो (etc) गृहपति नेचयिका नेगमा चैव जानपदा च ।

111 ब्राह्मणा जनसुख्याय पौरजानपदे सह ॥

समेत्य ते मन्वयितुं समतां गतं दुह्य ।

Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā-Kāṇḍa, chapter II 19 20

112 See §

113 See footnotes under §

114 Arthasāstra Bk III, ch 14 66 p. 185

तेन सङ्गृह्यता व्याख्याता । Bk II, ch 1, 19 (p 48)

सजादयः सङ्गृह्य ।

Bk III, ch 3 62 p 173 देशजातिकुलसङ्घानाम् ।

115 Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa, ch XV v 2

सुख्या ये निगमस्य च, ch XIV, V 40 पौरजानपदश्चेष्टा ।

116 See §

117 Act I For the date of the Mudrā Rākshasa (circa 420 A C)

See Jayaswal, Indian Antiquary, 1913, 1917

118 Dasakumāracharita, chapter III

119 Arthasāstra, Bk I, ch, 13 9 p 22

120 See §

121 Consult Gobindarāja on the technical names

122 ग्रामे घोषे च वर्त्तमाना महत्तरा ।

Gobindarāja explains mahattarāḥ as pradhāna bhutah, 'made presidents'

123 A S R 1913-14, pp 139, 140 and 153, seals nos 282 B, 320 A, 318 A, and 277A. For discussion on the seals see page 124, et seq

124 See above §

125 Manu, chapter VIII, v 218 21

अत ऊर्ध्वं प्रवक्ष्यामि धर्मं समयमेदिनाम् ।

यो ग्रामदेशसङ्घानां कृत्वा सत्यं न स विदम् ॥

विस वदेन्नरो लोभात्त राष्ट्राविप्रवासयेत् ।

निगृह्य दापयेच्चैनं समयव्यभिचारिणम् ॥

ग्रामजातिसमूहेषु समयव्यभिचारिणाम् ।

Yājñavalkya, Samvid-Vyatikrama prakarana, Bk II v 186

निजधर्माविरोधेन यस्तु सामयिको भवेत् ।

सोऽपि यत्नेन स रक्ष्यो धर्मो राजकृतश्च यः ॥

For definition of Samaya in other codes see §

126 Apastamba, I 1 1

अथात सामयाचारिकान्धर्मान्ब्राह्मणास्याम् ॥ १

धर्मज्ञ समय प्रमाणम् ॥ २

वेदाश्च ॥ ३

127 Viramitrodaya, p 120

देशस्थित्यानुमानेन नैगमानुमतेन वा ।

क्रियते निर्णयस्तत्र व्यवहारस्तु बाध्यते ॥

Vrihaspati.

128 ग्रामो देशश्च यत्कुर्यात्सत्यलेख्य परस्परम् ।

राजाऽविरोधि धर्मार्थं स विषयः' वदन्ति तत् ॥

Vrihaspati in Viramitrodaya, p, 189.

धर्मार्थ'—'legal and political rules'.

129 Ibid See above note Also निजधर्माविरोधेन

यस्तु सामयिको भवेत् of Yājñavalkya.

130 यद्वैतलिखित पत्रे धर्मो सा समयक्रिया । Ibid, p. 425.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH AT POONA

WHEN Grant Duff wrote his famous History, the Marathas were mourning the loss of their empire. But the race that dominated over India for about a century did not take long to recover from the great shock. Their empire had indeed been lost for ever, but its memory was still fresh, and they felt that its history could best be told by the sons of Maharashtra themselves. To the eternal credit of Grant Duff, the English historian, it will for ever be said that he tried his best to tell the history of his enemies as impartially as he could. With indefatigable industry, he collected all the available materials—Marathi, English, Persian and Portuguese, and although a century has passed since the publication of his work, it still remains the only reliable and authoritative history of the Marathas. But Grant Duff was one of those few officers, who stood by Elphinstone, when he was calmly watching the battle on that fateful day of Khirki, and it was psychologically impossible for him to cast off all bias and prejudice against his quondam foes, try as he might. His labour concluded, Grant Duff, deposit-

ed all his manuscripts with the Literary Society of Bombay. These might have formed the nucleus of a grand library and museum, but unfortunately no trace of them could be found when Maratha Scholars like the late Justice Telang tried their best to discover Capt Grant Duff's papers. They were lost forever, nobody knows how or when.

The Hindus of old had shown very little predilection for historical literature, but not so the Maratha. He had not come in contact with the Mahomedan scholars for nothing, and naturally he aspired to emulate the achievements of the Muslim historians as he had outdone the military prowess of the Muslim warriors in the battle field. Though they lacked that literary polish and graceful style of their Mahomedan teachers, the Marathas had left us many useful chronicles. History they had made but could not write. Not only was the science of criticism unknown to them, but they could neither arrange the events described in a chronological order with the Muslim patience, nor did they ever pause to frame a reliable chronology. This defect was, however, remedied by the existence

of a great mass of contemporary papers—accounts kept in the Government archives, correspondence of military and diplomatic officers and occasionally fragments of autobiographical works even, such as the one left by the celebrated Nana Fadnavis. But these were still unread, unpublished, mostly unknown, and uncollected, when the great sons of Maharashtra had brought their newly acquired western training and culture to the study of their country's past. This was about half a century ago.

At first their criticism was levelled mainly against Giant Duff. It was a hopeless task, for nobody knew on what evidence his conclusions had been based. Rao Bahadur Kirtane, then a young student, openly charged the great soldier-historian with deliberate destruction of his papers, but in his maturer years he has himself withdrawn the discreditable charge that had no foundation whatever. But the Maratha scholars like their ancestors were not mere angels of destruction. As the Maratha administrator in the glorious past had restored peace and plenty in the lands once devastated by his brother in the army before the final annexation, so was the constructive genius of the new generation employed, after the bitterness of controversy had abated, in historical researches. The result of this new effort was Ranade's "Rise of the Maratha Power."

Ranade was followed by a band of brilliant scholars whose enthusiasm for their work was unbounded. They realised the necessity of collecting, editing, and publishing all chronicles and historical records. With wonderful energy and devotion, they took up the work. Rao Bahadur Sane edited and published the *Kavyetihas-Sangraha*—which contained not only the chronicles and historical records, but also the old literary works. He was, by no means, the only worker in the field. Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, Mr. V. K. Rajwade, and Vasudev Vaman Shastri Khare have earned the eternal gratitude of all students of Maratha history by placing at their disposal a great mass of hitherto unpublished and unknown historical papers. It was in no

way an easy task to edit or even to get hold of these papers. Nobody knew where they existed, their owners in many cases did not know whether the heaps of old worm-eaten paper filled with *Modi* scribbles had anything important to communicate to the present generation, and the superstitious veneration of some of them would not ever allow the eager researcher to have a peep at them. It is not, therefore, difficult to guess what obstacles these scholars had to overcome before they were allowed access to what they had been eagerly seeking. They have not laboured in vain. Not only have their efforts been rewarded with the discovery of many important papers, but they have succeeded in gathering round them a band of ardent students whose daily increasing number augurs well for the future of the study of the Maratha History. They were eager not only to study and digest all that their great teachers placed before them but to discover more, and what is more important, to allow other students a ready access to the original records, to create for them a common meeting place where they could assemble, study, and discuss not only questions of Maratha history and literature but all questions relating to Indian History in general. The Deccan Vernacular Translation Society had already come into existence but it could hardly meet this new demand and the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal was founded at Poona ten years ago mainly through the efforts of V. K. Rajwade and Sardar Tatya Saheb Mehendale.

It will not be out of place here to say a few words about Vishwanath Kashinath Rajwade, for few in Bengal know anything about him, though India can to-day boast of few scholars of his industry and selfless devotion to learning, because Rajwade has decided without exception to write in Marathi only, and never has he, as yet, been shaken in his resolution. A graduate of the Bombay University and a pupil of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Rajwade could have earned high distinctions in any branch of Government Service. But no worldly prospect was bright enough to lure him away from what he considered

as the path of duty. He resolved to live and die a celibate and to sacrifice himself on the altar of Maratha History. A simple blanket forms the bed of this ascetic and his strong legs alone carry him on his distant journeys. He knows no rest and never does he feel happier than when he hears of the discovery of a new Bakhar or a new historical paper. He has already published more than twenty volumes of records alone, and it is said he has, as yet, with him, materials for five score more.

Under his able guidance and that of Messrs Mehendale, Potdar, and Majumdar, the history of the newly founded Mandal has been one of usefulness alone. It has on its role more than 600 members of all classes and during its short career of nine years, it held more than two hundred meetings where more than one thousand papers had been read and discussed. It has published more than "twenty-one books replete with valuable researches covering in all about 5000 closely printed pages." Sardar Nana Saheb Chandrachud has presented to the Mandal about 10,000 historical papers and more than 5000 Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts. Sardar Mehendale has promised to make a gift of his splendid library to the Association of which he has the proud privilege of being a founder. The figures speak for themselves and no comment is necessary.

The Mandal's collection of manuscripts and records is very rich indeed but it is no less rich in coins and old paintings. It has at present in its show case more than 200 gold, silver and copper coins, the most valuable being one of those rare Shiva Raj gold *hons*.

The Mandal possesses very beautiful specimens of Maratha painters' and the Maratha calligraphists' art. It must, however, be admitted that no new style was introduced by the Maratha painters, nor did they take their lesson from the old paintings of Ajanta. They learnt their art from Mahomedan masters and these could well be proud of their new pupils. The artist who painted the portrait of

Baji Rao I, must have been one of the best that Maharashtra produced in that age. And we cannot praise too highly the patient scribes who have left us those beautifully illuminated copies of the Gita now in the Mandal's museum. The two portraits of Mahadji Sindhia also deserve mention, for their natural expression.

The Mandal has commenced to build a beautiful mansion at an estimated cost of Rs 50,000, and the construction of one of its wings has already been completed. Here can be seen every evening a band of ardent students, the future historians of Maharashtra, carefully examining old records or critically studying an old treatise. It is a hopeful sign that the Maratha nobility have not kept back from this important movement. Not only have they placed their family papers at the disposal of scholars like Rajwade and Khare, but they have not been loth to unstring their purse to further the cause so dear to them.

I hope my Mahratta friends will not take amiss a word of friendly criticism. Hitherto they have published almost every paper they have discovered, without any reference to their intrinsic value or relative importance. But this should now be given up. Maharashtra is very rich in historical records, and human life, as we all know, is by no means long.

We in Bengal, suffer under a very great disadvantage. Our old nobility have either died out or fallen into evil days. With them have disappeared their family papers and the climate of Bengal played no unimportant part in the process of destruction and disappearance. The Bangiya Sahitya Parisat have no doubt undertaken to collect old papers, but their efforts have by no means been systematic. We have been more fortunate in our collection of old inscriptions and old statues, but that is no reason why we should not try to keep pace with Maharashtra in the work of conservation so far as Pre-British records are concerned.

SURENDRANATH SEN.

THE RANI OF GANORE⁷

At last, the long-fought foreign victor came
 Within the castle-wall and claimed her hand
 By right of conquest—more than all the land
 He prized her loveliness whose bruited fame
 Had drawn his passion's greed And as the game
 Of war was lost, despite her soldier-band
 Who fought with valour under her command,
 Devoid of help she stood, subdued and tame —

Feigning assent, she made the nuptial bed
 Upon the terrace for her bitter foe
 And in the banquet made him drink a bowl
 Of poison—When with pain he gan to scowl,
 And lay upon its waters, floating dead

P SESHADRI

From Tod's Rajasthan

THE CAUSATION AND PREVENTION OF SUICIDE AMONG
GIRLS AND WOMEN

MAJOR N P Sinha has done yeoman's service to humanity by drawing public attention to the cause of the increasing suicidal mania that has been of late getting a strong hold on our young girls in Bengal and casting a gloom over our hearths. We have cried shame on the proverbially tyrannical mother-in-law or on the defective system of education that transforms the modern girl into a bundle of nerves. The energetic Police Surgeon has gone deeper into the root of the evil and tried to prove that the cause of the suicide of girls is physical as well as mental. At the Coroner's Court he declared that in every case he found on autopsy some disease of the ovaries. Two years ago he very kindly permitted me to examine the ovaries of such subjects and in every case I found them diseased in contrast with the normal ovaries of those dying from accidents.

How can the diseased ovary and the suicide be linked together as cause and effect? Without entering into a technical discussion, I may mention the fact that some of our glands had hitherto been considered as so many useless appendages, or as the late savant Metschnikoff would have it, so many errors of Providence. In our early medical career we thought that the thyroid glands situated on both sides of the neck were created only to swell without provocation and mar the beauty of attractive faces, and the spleen to kill and disable Indians with malarial poison, to rupture at the slightest touch of the boot and to declare on oath that death from a kick was natural and not homicidal. The kidneys with their capsules were thought to be so many factories only for the production of that noxious substance *urine*. But the recent startling physiological discovery has been that the thyroid,

the spleen, the kidney capsule called adrenal and some other glands are not only not useless creations but important cog-wheels in the physical machinery forming a brotherhood and helping each other in the development and control of the whole system. An ordinary gland such as the salivary has got a tube called "duct" to conduct its secretion externally, but a gland of this group generates a secretion called "hormone" or "chemical messenger" not conducted through a duct, but being absorbed in the circulation helps or controls the action of other glands in the development of the system. This harmonious accord of one organ with another, formerly termed *consensus partium*, is now designated "hormonic balance". If owing to the defective action of one or more of these glands called "ductless" the hormonic balance is disturbed, the whole system is upset.

The ovary, a member of this ductless group, throws into the circulation a "hormone" which has a marked influence on the body and mind of the individual. The specific activity of the females in this country ranges from the ages of twelve to forty-eight on an average. *Susruta* observes

तदवर्षाद् द्वादशाद् ऊर्ध्वं याति पञ्चाशत्. क्षयम् ।

"It begins at twelve and ends at fifty"

The period at which female activity evidenced by the monthly flow ceases is called the climacteric period. If this occurs before the proper age, a host of nervous symptoms such as headache, vertigo, flushing of the face, irritability of temper and even insanity make their appearance. The troubles have been traced to the defective secretion of the ovary and other glands. The same symptoms appear if the internal secretions of glands are diminished owing to disease. I have seen girls hitherto hale and hearty, cheerful and active, suddenly turned morose, feeling no interest in life or its surroundings, branded as hysteric and neurasthenic and left to their fate after a show of treatment. As soon as proper treatment was commenced, attention being paid to the improvement of the secretions

of the ovary and other ductless glands, the patients rallied and were their own selves again.

The diseased condition of the ovary in the female suicides invariably detected at the Morgue shows that the girl must have been suffering long from the symptoms of the defective action of the ductless glands merging into temporary insanity in which condition they committed suicide. In the majority of cases this was done during their monthly flow in which period the nervous system is in a state of high tension. The vast majority of cases occur during spring and autumn when nervous irritability is aggravated.

But why are the girls, and Bengali girls in particular, so prone to disease of the generative organs? Taking into consideration the fact that the ductless glands controlling the generative organs are played twelve times each year during the thirty years of their activity, and their action is disturbed during at least ten years of their pregnancy and lactation, we need not wonder why their glandular function is so instable. Adding to this the morbid sensibility of the half-educated Bengali girl whose imagination is played upon from a very early age by all sorts of careless talks concerning marriage and sex, whose life is proclaimed in season and out of season as useless unless yoked to a companion however undesirable and whose mind has been cultivated in a modern home which has lost that peace and poise formerly found in the comforting assurance of faith in *Karmaphal* or a kind Providence, one wonders not why so many but so few cases of suicide occur in Bengal. Poverty which has been mentioned by the poet *गुणराशिनाशौ* very often plays an important part in these tragedies. Ill nourished cells generate a susceptibility to slight impulses and morbid sensitiveness with an exaggerated perception of comparatively trifling stimulation. To such a girl, pre-disposed by diseased organs and morbid surroundings, any harsh word or treatment from a mercenary mother-in-law, a brutal husband or a careless mother acts like a spark of fire on a gunpowder magazine. It was only the

other day I was called to treat a case of poisoning. It was not burning in kerosene flame but drinking kerosene mixed with opium. The subject was a girl of fourteen years who was scolded by her mother crying her down as a *dhari* (old maid) not married as yet, as if the single life was her own choice! As a strange coincidence I found two of her ductless glands lacking in their normal function. Fortunately she recovered.

For the prevention of these mishaps I would suggest the following measures:

(1) Any abnormality, however slight, after puberty, should receive the immediate attention of the family physician. (2) Special care should be taken of neurotic girls during their monthly periods and in the spring and autumn seasons. (3) Anything that increases mental tension, such as educational strain, exciting talks, reading sensational novels and seeing exciting scenes in theatres and cinemas, should be avoided. (4) Society leaders should turn their attention to the eradication of those customs which bring on melancholia in young girls, as in the case of Snehadata and to the ostracization of brutal husbands and mothers-in-law who set a monetary value on the lives of their wives and daughters-in-law. I know of a house in Sitaram Ghosh's Street which was marked as a daughter-in-law killing house (*bau mara bari*) and people would think twice before marrying their daughters in that family. (5) The idea that suicide is a most heinous crime should be impressed on young minds. Stories of suicidal cases turning out evil spirits and passing their days in indescribable anguish are still cur-

rent in our villages where suicide is much less than in cities. Like Sri Chaitanya, teachers should bring home to the pupils the idea that "देहवागादि तमेष्टकं पातककारणं", that life at every stage whether single or married is but a school in the vestibule of eternity where training must be undergone with patience and perseverance.

Authorities state that suicidal tendencies are most common in western Europe and America where the struggle for existence is keener and "the bases of faith are weaker." In 1914 the suicidal rate in San Francisco was 72.6 per 100,000. The Mayor of Cleveland, Ohio, appointed an Anti-suicidal Commission whose duty it was to enquire into all causes of intended suicide brought to their notice and endeavour to remove the causes which produce the wish to shuffle off this mortal coil. (6) Social diseases like the physical are catching. The opportunity to pore over the details of robbery or suicide with greedy eyes until the impressionable mind becomes obsessed with a desire to do likewise, is one of the disadvantages of a cheap press, the easiest and quickest method of finishing life amidst kerosene flames preys on the imagination and culminates in a sub-conscious suggestion that one might destroy herself in a similar manner. Neurotic girls should be kept away from such newspapers and kerosene bottles as far as possible, for many cases are on record which justify King John's reflection:

"How oft the sight of means to do ill deeds
Makes deeds ill done."

SUNDARIMOHAN DAS

WALLS

Some kinds of ancient walls
Have songs in them,
Wisdom and wonderful dreams
They go trailing through the woods
Mossy, ferny, deep in loam,
Beloved of many a quivering heart
That knows no other home

And the songs they sing the year around
Have a music older than sound,
And the dreams they dream by day and night
Are clearer than human sight,
But their wisdom none can understand at all
Whose heart hath never built a

sheltering wall
E. E. SPEIGHT,

THE CENTURY OF HOPE*

MR F S Marvin is the author of the *Living Past*, a sketch of Western progress which was reviewed in this magazine when it was first published. Mr Marvin possesses a synthetic mind and can take in, at a sweeping glance, all the main characteristics of a century or period, and intellectually he is well equipped, both on the scientific and philosophical sides, for the task which he undertakes. To us of the East, his books are convenient summaries of the landmarks of Western advancement, and though the author is absolutely ignorant of Asiatic civilisation and its historic contributions to European development and is hardly sympathetic towards us, for thoughtful students of sociology and human progress all the world over his new book will be a welcome addition to his previous work, dealing as it does, more particularly than the latter, with the most wonderful period of European progress.

Mr Marvin's last work ended with a buoyant confidence which is reflected in the following passage:

"Thus science became in fact as well as in idea international, largely through the genius and action of Germany. She remains, as she was, the mother of Goethe and Humboldt and Helmholtz as well as of Stein and Bismarck. Thirty years after Humboldt's work, the Franco-Prussian war inflicted the sorest and deepest wound of the century in Western unity. Time and the power of common work and common thought can heal even this. It grows together as science and social action grow. Already the unity of the great triple bulwark of Western progress is more secure than those imagine who would make Sedan, Fashoda, and Agadir our landmarks for the period. Even as this is being written the growing unity shows itself effectively in overcoming the most dangerous crisis of recent times, the Balkan difficulty of 1913. It is by such wise and patient action that the Western 'concert' comes into being, and will

increasingly assert itself—strong, foreseeing, and united for the common weal."

"If the nineteenth century is the age of steady progress, of profound research and wide speculation, hers [Germany's] will be the leading name"—this was the deliberate verdict of Mr Marvin in the year 1913. Next year, this greatest of the 'triple bulwarks' of western progress ran amok, to the Allies the name German became synonymous with Hun, and Europe was plunged into the throes of the most horrible war that the world has ever seen. Today Mr Marvin sings to another tune, and in the preface to his new book says:

"In one respect the war made clear what many have always held to be a cardinal truth in European politics, that good relations between France and England are a most valuable asset to Western progress—perhaps the most valuable of all—and that a study of the parallel development of the two countries is the most enlightening approach to an understanding of modern history."

It shows England's political sagacity that she should always sail before the wind and be on the winning side, and so we need not wonder at this apparent *volt face* of our author, who now transfers his admiration from Germany to France. But in spite of the breakdown of President Wilson's idealism and the poor promise of the League of Nations, in spite of the disappointment caused in all right thinking minds by the iniquitous Peace, in spite of the fact that Mr Marvin, in the passage quoted above, proved a ridiculously false prophet so far as the immediate future of Europe was concerned, we yet believe that in the following lines of the Preface to his new work, barring the superlative terms he uses, his optimism is on the whole justified, if the trend of events disclosed by the war be applied to the forces and circumstances which are re-shaping the world on the morrow of the Peace.

"Yet if the war was the greatest, so also was the world-alliance for humanity and inter-

* The Century of Hope. A Sketch of Western Progress from 1815 to the Great War. by F S Marvin. Oxford, Clarendon Press 1919. 6s net. With Bibliography and Index on 352.

national law which brought it to a victorious conclusion. So also, we believe, will the world-union be the greatest, and most permanent, which will arise from the devastated earth and the saddened but determined spirits which are now facing the future with a new sense of hope."

The necessity of international justice, and the evil effects of international wrongdoing, have been brought home by the present war more strongly than by any previous war in history. Nations, like individuals, learn only a small part of the lesson that a catastrophe brought about by their own conduct teaches, but the little that is learnt gives an impetus to the power making for good, and so the prevalence of right over might, of spiritual over material forces becomes easier for the future, and the international conscience grows by the price it has to pay for its growth, but the essential factor in the development of even European, not to speak of universal, unity, is the application of the same moral standard in the East and the West, and till this is done, national vanity and racial discrimination will continue to do their evil work, and the progressive unification of the world and the growth of humanitarian principles will be retarded—a truth which, to our mind is not sufficiently emphasised in this thoughtful and instructive book.

At the end of the eighteenth century, France was intellectually the most advanced of European countries. The French Revolution was no sudden outburst of human passion. "For if we accept the truth that not economic conditions nor the ambition of governments is the *primum mobile* in human affairs but the spirit of Man itself seeking greater freedom and expansion, then we are bound to turn to the movement of thought which preceded the Revolution as the chief explanation of its occurrence and its results." The dominating mind in France was inspired by several of the general or philosophic ideas of the time which will be found among the foundations of the nineteenth century.

"There was the notion of the infinite perfectibility of human nature which finds so noble an expression in Condorcet. There was the

passion for freedom and nature in Rousseau. There was the belief in the unlimited power and right of the sovereign people."

The breaking of chains must be the preliminary to every free movement, but the chains of Rousseau were to Burke the sacred and indispensable traditions which hold society together. The conservative attitude of Burke, intensified hundredfold, is the attitude of the vast majority of educated Indians.

"What we need is a temper or a principle which will take us above this unceasing clash, some ideal for the sake of which we shall be content to abandon our father's house even if we love it, some plan to guide us in building the new one for ourselves if we are compelled to do so."

Liberty is the liberty to develop the full capacity of the individual, and this capacity, as we are taught by the doctrine of perfectibility, is infinitely great. Equality really means that every human being should have an equal opportunity—so far as society can make it equal—of realising his powers, and that every man should be equal before the law.

"Fraternity was the most positive of all the watchwords, and, allied with freedom in the true sense, will be found a continuous force in society, growing in intensity down to our own time."

The new birth of humanity at the Revolution brought even a larger store of thought and force and idealism together than in the days of the birth of Christianity or medieval Catholicism in its best days. A widespread application of great ideas which had before been regarded as the visions of isolated dreamers now began to be manifest.

"The worst of all errors is to deny or ignore the validity of the ideal aspect which is just as real a fact in the minds of men as the cannon-shot or the actions of leading individuals—things only put in motion by human thought in the mass."

The first of the leading traits which characterise the modern world is the growth, application, and appreciation of knowledge—While the best mind in France has been devoted to ideal constructions and to science, the corresponding preference has been given in England to business and practical life in politics and elsewhere.

The English political habit has overspread the world. To Lord Acton, the end of all our life and effort is freedom. There is a progressive effort to gain for one's self and to secure for others a fuller life on all sides, the fullest life of which the individual is capable. Every part of Europe has, since the emancipation of Greece, been struggling for a strong national system.

"Yet even nationality is overshadowed by the still larger growth which marks the century of our study. For by a strange, apparent contradiction the bitterest and most determined struggles of nationality have taken place in a world tending to greater unity. We might, in fact, speak with equal truth of the age of rising internationalism as of competing nations."

Above all, this is an Age of Hope. Men have been living for the future and believing in it as they had never done before. While India is obsessed by the depressing notion that this is the Kali Yuga when nothing good can come to fruition, Europe finds food for its hope in the view of history as the revelation of "an illimitable upward process in which mankind and all creation are labouring together from moment to moment and age to age." To look forward and work for a better future is therefore a mark of the times.

John Howard's work for the improvement of prisons at the close of the eighteenth century was followed by the abolition of the slave trade in 1807. It was a new manifestation of the growing belief in the value and dignity of the individual human soul, and both are varied symptoms of one common and general movement in the mind of man. The barbarity of the English law and the weakness and partiality of its administration were then attacked [*not of course in the dependencies*]. There were still, in 1818, 223 capital offences known to the law in England. In 1829 the Catholics were emancipated. Education, poor law, and factory legislation were the three directions in which social reform began to make its influence felt. The principles of nationality and freedom were also beginning to inspire the hopes of the world. Mr. Marvin in briefly referring to the political activities of England in the first-half of the century and the assistance rendered

by her to struggling nations for maintaining the balance of power in Europe complains that "the proper prudence with which we pursued these aims gave some colour to the charges of our critics that we did nothing for the good of others without an eye to our own advantage."

From the sordid game of politics let us turn to literature, where the true spirit of the times can be studied in a pure form. A new spirit of freedom is, next to its creative power, the most striking general feature in the literature of the age. Freedom, directness and greater simplicity in language were the badges of the greater freedom of the spirit. The aim was to get nearer to the truth of human nature. The truth that was aimed at in the delineation of life was not the microscopic, photographic study of human nature which passes by the name of naturalism.

"The search for truth of the earlier writers, found it rather in the appreciation of those traits in character which tend to greatness. Idealism there must be in every work of art. Are we to look for it in a brilliant picture of the weak and little in our nature, thrown by a powerful magnifying light upon the screen or in the delineation of those characters and those features in any character, which, subject to given trials of circumstance, become heroic, sometimes in action, sometimes in suffering, but always in growth? This is also truth to nature, but truth developed to a higher power."

Speaking of the realistic portraits of Balzac the author says

"But at the end of it we ask ourselves whether the picture is on the whole a true one, whether any great society can really be compounded of such a mass of selfishness and jealousy, the worship of money and the obsession of sex and beyond this, again, whether the greater artist is not the man who sees the better things in human nature more clearly than the worse, and whether, as he must select by the very nature of his art, there is not a place, the highest place of all, for the artist who, while preserving the general truth of his picture, yet idealises in such a way as to inspire by the beauty of goodness and the hope that goodness may at least survive. Tolstoi and his somewhat earlier contemporary Turgueniev approach perhaps more closely than any other novelists of the century to our ideal. They have both the wide sympathy and imaginative power which make their characters live. They both tended without falsifying their picture to that idealisation of goodness which is essential if the new art is to

take rank beside the great art of the past and help to build up the humanity of the future "

We agree with the author that this is a better test to judge a good piece of literature by than that of art for art's sake which is the realist's excuse for grovelling in the mire of human depravity

Poetry is the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge, the impassioned expression which is in the countenance of all science. Science has to pass into the common stock before it will be matter for the poet to deal with. As the years roll on, the noble stream of French poetry which has flowed in swelling volume throughout the century comes more and more in contact with those deep problems of life and thought which Wordsworth has taught us are the proper subject of poetry. Indeed France has done more even than England in our century to promote the union of poetry with science and philosophy. Love of nature, sympathy with common human nature, passion for freedom, the ideal of perfect beauty, characterise the new poetry of the age, prose romances become the leading form of imaginative literature. To this must be added the effort of the historians to recreate the past

But "one note may be detected, deeper than the rest and linking all the rest together. It sounds in the history of Carlyle as in the poetry of Shelley, in the novelists as clearly as in the philosophers. A new order is being born in which mankind is all to share in a life of greater freedom and beauty, worthier activity, and more unselfish happiness than the world had known before "

Social regeneration was the final note of this new spirit in literature. It issued from the same spirit of progress aiming directly at the redress of social inequality, at curing the diseases of poverty, at substituting co-operation for competition as the master-motive in human life. Karl Marx had gained a more complete and philosophical view of the social revolution than any other socialist leader ever reached. The capitalist organisation of industry was to be followed by the organisation of industry by and for those who create its values, namely, the workers themselves. But he laid too great an emphasis on the opposition of classes, and sought the

main spring of human progress in a materialist and not a spiritual impulse

The industrial revolution was the result of the application of science and larger organisation to some of the fundamental occupations of mankind. The scientific discoveries of the Greeks was not followed in ancient times by any industrial organisation because industry was then despised by the intellectual classes and owing to the frequent wars the social condition of the country was most unstable. But with industrial organisation machines, created by mankind for their own ends, too often assumed the mastery of those who worked them. Organisation however became the leading note, organisation of society parallel to organisation of thought. Society has become, in all those countries where industry has been developed and organised by science, a far more united and stable thing than it was before, or than it is in other regions less advanced in this respect. But this organisation and closer union are only to be considered good "if they express themselves ultimately in a fuller and nobler life on the part of all the individuals who are enmeshed in the system and made to work as wheels, and parts of wheels, in a great machine "

"But there can be no turning back. The human mind, to gain a step forward, has to accept the work that it has accomplished in the past, and use it for still higher purposes in the future "

Darwin was the leading exponent in his generation of the doctrine that all living things are the result of an immemorial development by gradual steps from simpler forms. This is, in a broad sense, the historical spirit which has transformed in the last hundred years all the sciences of life. The keynote of modern biological and sociological thought is that the organism is to be interpreted historically as the issue of an infinite process of growth and adaptation, the fitting of the being to the fullest use of its environment. "The cell-theory must be put side by side with evolution among the greatest scientific discoveries of the century, and it owes most to German men of science " Whether the changes that any individual may acquire during his

life-time can be transmitted to his descendants is now in doubt and very generally denied. But the opinion seems to gain ground that something like purposeful effort lies behind the variations of life. The effort involved in all life becomes with man not only conscious but ideal, an effort to reach a higher state which he deliberately thinks out and places before himself. Huxley maintained that moral, æsthetic, or social progress could not be explained by a mere struggle for existence, or any process of mechanical causes. There were in fact two natures in man, and the higher had to fight not only or mainly against external nature or hostile animals, but against the lower nature in man himself. This was to be brought into subjection to a higher purpose by a painful and persistent effort in conscious co-operation with fellow-workers in the same task. It is this effort which adds to the Descent an Ascent of Man. To the doctrine of Evolution we owe the idea that any sound notion of progressive life requires an environment upon which the developing organism acts and which reacts upon it. The reality of progress could and should be measured by the adaptation of the living being to its environment, including in the environment those fellow creatures with whom it lives. The isolation inculcated by the Hindu law-makers is sure to lead to deterioration and decay.

In 1848, Helmholtz reached the greatest and most far-reaching generalisation which had yet been reached in the realm of science—the principle of the conservation of energy. And now in the constitution of the atom, reservoirs of force have been discovered which surpass conception and stagger our imagination by their unfathomable depths. In spectral analysis and radio-activity we find man's boldest approaches to the secret structure of the material universe, and both lead to fresh unification and visions of unity. Electricity is the force which is ultimately to prove the most potent in the universe of matter, the common form into which, as it now seems, all the rest may be resolved. We seem bound to turn to the conception of a universe of an infinite variety of matter, incessantly changing, but changing by

some intelligible law which our minds may fathom and express in ordered form, if we apply to the facts the same methods which have brought success in the past. The growing tendency of the human mind to see things whole is visible in the growth of one comprehensive science of inorganic matter. Between this, indeed, and the science of life a gulf still remains, and another barrier lies between the sciences of the lower animal life as a whole and the sciences of human nature which involve a conscious ideal. But Pasteur and a host of other chemists and biologists have invaded that realm. In his abstract thought man is constantly attaining more perfect harmony in the midst of expansion and growing distinctions and multiplicity of detail. Man's power of thought being his characteristic and supreme quality, it may be supposed that his whole nature will ultimately be dominated by it, and there should be in the conduct of his life some corresponding rhythm, in other words, his unity of thought will be reflected more and more in a unity of purpose.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the idea of a common humanity became current in the western world, a being of all races and lands, deriving traditions, instincts, powers, from common roots in the past, and destined in the future to closer and closer co-operation for the common good.

"Such ideas were reiterated, expanded, and explained by hundreds of thinkers in the nineteenth century. But it is a far cry from a doctrine, however true, held however fervently and intelligently by small groups of men, and the application of the same truth to the 'Government of nations and the healing of mankind.' The truth to be operative must be expressed in public actions and embodied in institutions and forms of law."

But what do we find to be the actual facts in the Western world?

Within ten years of the Brussels Conference of 1889, which recorded the most benevolent principles, "the Congo population had been decimated by oppression, official records of inhuman crimes in the German colonies are known to all men similar offences, though not often so great, have been committed at some time by white men of all nations in contact with the black. There was little humanity among the Powers, united though they were, as they stood round the

prostrate form of China after her defeat by Japan", "the British gunboats of 1840 forced tons of opium on the reluctant Chinese at the cannon's mouth" "England took the first step in using force to open Chinese doors to western trade" "For a moment it seemed possible that China too might be partitioned"

This was averted by the mutual jealousies of the competing States, and above all, by the presence of the Japanese

"The British empire, so far as it is white, is an empire only in name, (and is) in reality a free alliance of self-governing peoples"

But what of India, "the most important part of our empire in the stricter sense of the term"?

"We should note," says Mr Marvin, "in our empire general rest and contentment for the last twenty-five years, the only exception outside the British isles being the Boer War and spasmodic sedition in India"

But Mr Marvin fails to note that the Boers have been placated by self-government, while the most important part of the empire is yet without the elements of it, in regard to really essential matters. It is no wonder under the circumstances that the author describes the British rule in India as a 'chequered success'

All the political and social activities of the Gladstonian times pale into insignificance before the Elementary Education Act of 1870, the object of which was to give every citizen a minimum of instruction and the possibility of more. It involves the growing realisation of that desire for a fuller life for all, which became prominent towards the end of the eighteenth century, and "it points the way at its highest levels to a new and more permanent basis for internationalism and human unity than the medieval discipline had been able to afford". But the opposition to State control of education proceeded from the conviction that the State was not the aspect of community life which naturally turns to things of the spirit and cannot rightly touch those deepest springs of our being if it would, and that, if it tries to form them, they wither and grow misshapen by the act. In 1876, compulsory attendance at school was made the law of the land. "The century since Waterloo has seen indeed few greater changes than

in the attitude of all civilised nations towards popular education". England, pioneer in the industrial revolution, was the last of the nations "to recognise the need of national effort in technical education. In this matter the French led the world, but Germany had learnt the lesson to most purpose, and the research institute at Charlottenburg was soon to become a sign of wonder and of imitation to the world

Religion involves the recognition of some highest thing to which we owe allegiance, and our consciousness of this highest thing will advance and become fuller and nobler as our minds rise and expand. The result of the comparative evolutionary method is the recognition of the fact that there is something true and divinely revealed in every religion. The new sense of historical continuity in religion and of the gradual evolution of the divine in man must be put among the greatest of the conquests of the nineteenth century. The lapse of centuries had profoundly modified the meaning of the traditional creeds. The legends of the faith are no longer what they were to the first believers. Those who cling to the literal truth of the religious stories and formulæ which have come down from antiquity, and hold that if there is obscurity or contradiction, it is in the mind of the misguided believer, are nowadays few, except perhaps in India.

In the rest of the world, "men of the most varied shades of belief, or of none at all meet habitually for common work of every kind, without demur, without a question asked. Partly, you may say, through indifference, still more, we would add, through the growth of other common links which put religious differences in the background"

To the historical spirit, the scientific study of social evolution, both science and religion appear as immemorial growths of the human spirit. Comte recognised no other canon of right conduct but the moral progress of the human community as a whole. Mere pleasure, personal or general, is to be wholly rejected as an end. Science, art, and philosophy are of the highest value, but the highest of all is love.

"A noble creed, looking back with some

sympathy to ancient stoicism and medieval asceticism, but with a world of new human sympathy between, a doctrine of self-denial, but with a positive content, the losing of one's self, but the finding of it again in the larger self of humanity "

The new temper in religion sees its goal in philanthropy and social service and evinces a growing devotion to good works especially of an organised kind. The progress of religion, in fact, consists essentially in bringing its conceptions more and more into harmony with the highest moral ideas of mankind. The missionaries have, it is true, been a powerful factor in the expansion of the West, but on the whole they have represented the humane and civilising side of Western influence, "thanks to the missionaries, the exploitation, which hangs so heavily on the Western conscience, has been less inhuman than it might have been." Nowadays the most noteworthy feature of religion is the increased emphasis on the ethical side. "It has been the mark of every step towards a higher and purer religious life to discard superstitions and approximate to reason." There has also been a revival of mysticism, which is the doctrine of the supremacy of self-consciousness carried to the furthest point in depth, without extension and without the proper balance of the objective world. Our developing consciousness must be regarded as correlative to external facts as well as deeper within, a mirror of the world as well as a mirror of man.

"And this, too, is a patent mark of the new spirit in religion. We are now accustomed to a view in which all good things, the beauty of nature and the joy of living, as well as knowledge itself, are all included in that manifestation of the Highest to which our being tends."

But we must also note that the individual self does not stand alone, it is part of the wider, the more social self.

"The same century has seen the attainment of the highest point in both conceptions, superficially opposed, inherently but two aspects of the same thing,—a completely developing self-consciousness or personality, and a humanity from which that self derives its depth and fulness."

"The perception of the developing self, developing in history as well as in the individual soul, the projection of the Ideal before us, sometimes in the fitful light of our own personal-

ity, sometimes in the radiance of another and a greater, the gradual filling out of this ideal by all the achievements of a slowly perfecting humanity, the pursuit of this ideal by one's self becoming wiser and greater minded, but always in fellowship with others in family, in country, or in the world, with whom or for whom we have to live—these are the characteristics of the new religious growth. Just in so far as these things are actually in process, under whatever formulæ of faith they may be expressed or concealed so far Western man is becoming more religious."

Force the Western nations have, irresistible force, when used collectively, the force of applied science and organised numbers.

"But in order that this force should be used for the best advantage of all mankind, it is necessary that the ideas of the leading nations should be humane as well as powerful, enlightened as well as organised. They have to recognise, if they are to be a blessing and not a curse to the world, that a higher life for all, and not mere power or acquisition, whether of land or wealth or rule, must be their aim. And this higher life must be aimed at, and to some extent enjoyed, within the bosom of the governing nations before they can extend it to the races whom they influence. They must recognise, too, that the higher life of one man or one community will differ widely from that of another, that no one can advance to a higher stage of his own being, except on lines which the nature and previous history of that being will dictate, and this implies wide sympathy and knowledge, as well as a profound love of freedom in the minds of those who must, whether they will or no, put their hands to the task."

Social reform has proceeded hand in hand with colonial expansion. John Ruskin best represents the spirit of social reform in England. He criticised the spiritual tendencies of the ideal implied in the orthodox economics, which was governed by the unrestricted action of the laws of supply and demand.

"There is no wealth but Life—Life, including all its powers of love, of joy, of admiration. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings."

The same ideal of the service of man lies at the bottom of his appreciation both of art and of industry. Both were to be tested by their effect on life. The Reform Bill of 1830 had a strong humanitarian element behind it, for, as Sydney Smith had

said, the effect of placing political power in the hands of a large number of people must be to increase the attention paid to their interests in a hundred ways. The triumph of the Trade Unions came in 1875. Legal protection was granted to Trade Union funds, to the permission of combination, of striking, even of picketing. The self-government of industry, voluntary organisation for the advantage of workers, was carried still further by means of Guilds or Syndicates of the workpeople and the Co-operative and Friendly Societies. They all proceed upon the principle that we can only live and thrive with the help and through the well-being of our fellows. Women's Institutes, Girls' Friendly Societies were also established. Old Age Pensions to the poor, and budgets increasing the burdens on the rich for the sake of the less well-to-do, were culminating measures of the movement. Social service, and spiritual growth through such service, is the keynote of the movement. This growth of the social spirit, of triumphant association, is indeed so indubitable and impressive that we might be inclined to rest on it alone as sufficient evidence of the progress of humanity. The health statistics confirm the hopes of the reformers. In 1908 the death rate was the lowest on record, being just over 14 for every thousand of the population of Great Britain.

"But this bald fact of keeping so many thousands more alive is but a small part of the truth. The lives they live have been rendered by medical science happier as well as safer. Many diseases, leprosy, cholera, typhus, small pox, have practically disappeared. Many others, typhoid and scarlet-fever for instance, are far less prevalent or fatal. Other scourges, such as cancer, syphilis, tuberculosis, are now being studied and guarded against with a care and a possibility of prevention quite unknown before our time in the world."

Robert Owen was a pioneer in the theory that by altering the environment you could modify to any extent the being of those who lived under it. Auguste Comte added the proviso that it was within man's power by the determination of his will to modify his fate, subject to the necessities imposed by physical laws. Here was an extension of Bacon's dictum, 'study the

laws of nature in order to command by obeying her.' The new school added, 'study also man's nature and history in order to modify that by due observance of its laws.' In the first decade of the present century many steps have been taken which take us farther on the way to Ruskin's ideal, things which have in them also the germ of beauty, of a fuller life as well as a longer and more vigorous one. The Town Planning Act was passed by the same ministry which came into power in 1906 and gave old age pensions to the poor. Town planning is part of the movement which has given the garden cities in Europe and America. The linking of beauty with health, of happiness with industry, was the point aimed at. Mere illiteracy has disappeared, but the spread of inferior literature and vulgar taste has gone hand in hand with it. But on the whole the leading traits are the love of freedom, the association with fellow-men, the development of varied national types in differing lands and climes, the kinship of all in the growth of science and the expansion of the human spirit.

In international progress, the influence of the United States is most marked.

"They, more than any other Western people, have been disinterested in their treatment of the weaker races . . . it cannot be without reason that we connect these things with the suffering and effort by which they consolidated their own national existence on a moral basis. They made in their Civil War [of which the abolition of slavery was the result] the freedom and the human rights of every member of the community the cardinal issue." "Was every man within the borders of their community to be an end in himself, to call his soul his own? And the whole community, surmounting the danger of a permanent rupture, decided in the affirmative." "Wherever the United States have added their strength to an international movement, it has been more strictly in the interests of humanity and of peace than the action of any other Power."

The United States returned to the reconstituted Government of China the indemnity imposed on her for the Boxer Rising. Sums raised by the United States from the colonies by way of tariff have always been returned for the good of the colony and large sums were spent for edu-

cation and humanitarian work The idealism of President Wilson is a reflex of the national mind Practically all the international laws and customs of war have been violated in the late war, and our hearts may well sink within us

"But it is a faint heart after all Men will not remain content for ever to see a wise and perfectly attainable ambition unattained "

The supreme goal of political activity should be the moralisation of politics The growth of international union has been accelerated by the vast expansion of the material links of the world order, and by the growth of man's common mind, showing mainly in the mass, and the influence of science, and also in the spread throughout the globe of common ways of life and thought The Hague Tribunal, constituted in 1899, was established in obedience to a general demand for the reference of international disputes to arbitration The boundary between Canada and the United States, stretching three thousand miles across a continent, was fixed by a mixed commission so far back as 1794, and is not defended by a single fortress And shortly after the Great War began in 1914, two most momentous agreements were arrived at between Great Britain on the one hand and America and France on the other, referring all possible matters in dispute, at least in the first instance, to arbitration waiving the clauses as to vital interests and honour, which had been excluded in similar previous treaties It will however be seen that these international agreements are between Powers equally strong, where the motive for arbitration is obvious, though references to arbitration have been numerous in the period under review, it cannot be said that the weak nations possess such guarantees of protection against the strong as could be wished And it is to be deplored that the doctrine of mandatories under the League of Nations scheme leaves the weaker peoples very much where they were before the Great War

The history of the last hundred years has demonstrated again and again that the instinct of nationality, like the desire

for freedom or for private property, is ineradicable

"Two things only can we postulate universally about nationality, one, that it is a spiritual bond, a link between men, commonly of the same blood, who have grown together by common action and common suffering, the other, that it involves attachment to some definite portion of the earth's surface, a homeland to which its members turn with more affection and yearning than to any other place Being a spiritual thing, nationality must have freedom to live and grow, and this growth will, in the normal case, where external conditions have not prevented it, lead to self-government But freedom it will have at the cost of unceasing suffering and unrest "

The author claims that "this freedom Great Britain has, on the whole, succeeded in securing for the nationalities embraced in its political orbit, and it is constantly extending it" Mr Marvin is evidently thinking of the self-governing colonies and not of India, 'the most important part of our empire in the stricter sense of the term' The lessons which the war is said by Mr Marvin to have burnt into our minds for ever do not seem to be very much in evidence in England's dealings with India, if we think of the martial law atrocities in the Punjab and similar incidents He says

"Wherever, as in the east of Europe, there is an area of unsatisfied, unreconciled national units, there you have a focus of war The oppressed peoples, wishing to change their condition, will be eager to provoke a disturbance which, bringing in more powerful antagonists than themselves, will be likely to create some change in their own condition, and the oppressors, denying to subject-nationalities their natural demands—freedom of speech and life and self-control—will be the more apt to fail in the general obligations of fellowship with mankind, the observance of old loyal understandings this skeleton at home makes them suspicious and secretive abroad "

The British Empire has three such skeletons—Ireland, which being of the white race will sooner or later have justice done to it, Egypt, and India It is yet to be seen whether Great Britain has learnt the true lesson of the war in the matter of her dealings with them

But it is pleasant to leave the thorny path of politics and contemplate the deeper

links of co-operation and progress involved in the advance of knowledge and science

"Human skill and perseverance in piercing the St Gothard, human insight and synthesis in tracing the curves and learning the constituents of the most distant stars, human care and ingenuity in analysing disease and chasing the poisonous bacillus from the blood, the noble human emotion, in all its compass and gamut, which speaks in a symphony of Beethoven—these things are the true uniting forces, and, as a rule, in recording the achievements of the past, we put these in the smallest type or leave them out altogether. But they have been growing all the while, and the nineteenth century was their best flowering time." "It is in this sphere, the sphere of pure intellect, that, as Dante showed, the unity of mankind is most fully realised. All sects of learning, whether universities or learned societies, or associations for spreading knowledge in wider circles, are in reality the organs of a true internationalism, and strengthen the human spirit by knowledge springing from a universal source and tending ultimately to the universal good."

Let us hope that the Universities of India will more and more take their place in this intellectual communion, of which the author says

"The learned societies and universities of the world have been acquiring habits of co-operation more and more rapidly with the spread of science,

and it would never occur to any professor, either on the physical or biological side, to allow the passions of a national conflict, whether just or blinded, to bias him for a moment in judging of a new hypothesis or criticism. Here we all are, and must be, at one, and on these lines it would seem that science is leading us through our places of education and research into a new unity of thought which will have more permanence than the medieval system."

The modern spirit stands in sharp contrast with the medieval, which still persists in India. "The old ideal was one of supreme blessedness in a state of contemplation, of rest in a vision of what the universe might be, if penetrated by Love and irradiated by Beauty." The Vaishnavism of Chaitanya was the last great manifestation of this spirit in India.

"The modern spirit knows no such rest. It has the real world with all its 'Hearts of Darkness' to enlighten, and we see it at its best when in some national effort it determines to end ignorance and squalor at home, or in some international union resolves to redeem the horrors of the African tribe enslaved and decimated by Western greed. It is from such manifestations, too rare and often too feeble, but more frequent and stronger as the century went on, that we may augur the rising of a Heart of Light."

CRITIC

SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIA

III

THE RELATION OF THE SEXES

I AM not aware of any discussion in the Vedic literature on the relative positions of the sexes. In early Hindu literature man is treated as man, and woman as woman. No idea of the superiority of the one or the inferiority of the other is discernible until we come to later writers. In fact the Hindu theory of creation which credits Brahma with having divided his body into two parts, with one creating man and with the other woman, places woman on a much superior footing than the one implied by the Christian theory of

Genesis which makes Eve come out of the ribs of Adam, thus making her only a part of him. In any case it is safer and sounder to have a clear grasp of the matter than be confused by a discussion of the equality of the sexes or the superiority of one over the other. Mr Ellis puts it well when he says that it is for the good of the worlds that men and women are different. Difference does not, however, involve the inferiority of women, nor does it justify a denial of equal opportunities of progress to her or a denial of freedom to her to live her life the same as man claims to live his. If a man is free to live his life, choose his avocation, regulate his conduct, exercise

his rights, perform his obligations, so must a woman be. In order to be able to rise to the full height of her womanhood, the woman has as much right to education and freedom as man has. There can be no limit to her development, no curtailing of her liberties without harming the whole of society.

The present position of women in India is extremely harmful to the progress of the community. It substantially hinders the religious, the social, the physical, the mental and the material progress of the nation. From the point of view of final social values, no question is of greater urgency than that of the restoration of their rights to women, *viz*, their right to education and freedom of action. The ancient Hindus recognised no limitations to a woman's right to education, nor restricted her freedom of action except what her status as wife or mother entailed on her by virtue of these positions. A nation which tolerates the bondage of her mothers cannot make rapid progress towards freedom of any kind.

The writer is not unaware of the difficulties in the way of the restoration of their rights to Indian women. The ignorance of the masses is the chiefest of them, the narrow education which the Indians receive in schools and colleges is another, the deep-rooted sentimental prejudices are the third.

The writer has noticed with regret that a very large number of his educated countrymen seem to have very crude ideas about the education of women. That the girls are entitled to education and should receive education, is now generally conceded, even in orthodox circles. But as to the degree and kind of education which women should receive, the greatest diversity of opinion prevails. In certain influential circles an opinion is often expressed that the education of boys and girls should proceed on entirely different lines. Some people would limit the education of girls to an elementary knowledge of the three R's, an acquaintance with religious literature and a training in domestic duties. Their ideal of a woman is a religious dame who can read religious

literature, raise children in an atmosphere of health and religion, is proficient in cooking and sewing and is generally obedient to her husband. For a long time, for the first three quarters of the 19th century, the same was the ideal of the West. The last quarter of the 19th century has brought about a revolutionary change in the position of woman in the West. There seems no reason why educated India, with access to the history of the development of woman's position in the West should accept the ideals of the first half of the 19th century.

To me it seems that the educated Indian's ideas about women and their right to full freedom in the matter of education are reactionary because of the atmosphere of snobbery in which he is brought up. It is a fashion in certain educated circles in India to talk of the western woman in language of strong disapprobation. The western woman is by no means a paragon of virtue. She has her own faults and so has the eastern woman. The pictures of western women drawn by biased Indians are as true or untrue to life as the pictures of eastern women by Christian missionaries and globe trotters. In both cases they are the result of bias, hasty generalisation and a false pride in the superiority of one's own standards. The missionary indulges in these generalisations with a motive. He wants funds and workers to carry on his propaganda. For this he depends on the sympathy he excites by his description of the pitiable and oppressive condition of the eastern women. This motive creates a bias which often, perhaps unconsciously, leads him to unjust and exaggerated views about the condition of eastern women. The oriental traveller in the West, on the other hand, loses his balance, when he sees the freedom enjoyed by women in the West. He ascribes it to their barbarous sensuousness. His opportunities of coming into contact with the best type of western woman are perhaps as rare as those of the Christian missionary working in the East. For a proper understanding of the question it is needed that both the occidental and the oriental should approach it from a scholar-

ly scientific point of view and free their minds as much as possible from preconceived biases. The question has received a scientific treatment from western scholars. There is evidence that our ancestors had studied it in a scientific spirit. We owe it to ourselves, to our women and children, to investigate it on the same lines and in the same spirit.

The easterner has an inherent prejudice against revolutionary changes, but revolutionary changes are a part of the evolutionary process. This truth holds good in all phases of social life. What one part of the world has achieved by evolution may well be accepted by the other parts without necessarily going through the same process of struggle and conflict. It took the world a long time to invent the steam engine and the use of electricity for the purposes of man. These scientific truths were first brought to light in Europe but that is no reason why Asia should not at once use steam and electricity without waiting for some Asiatic to re-invent the same things again in Asia.

I see no justification for the belief that the educational needs of men and women are so radically different as to require two entirely different kinds of education. It may be that the education of our boys is proceeding on erroneous lines and we are anxious to avoid the mistakes of which we have been guilty in the case of our boys. If so, we should be equally solicitous to educate our boys also on right lines. Our ideas of the educational requirements of our women should not be based on what we would like them to be—affectionate wives and good mothers only. We certainly want affectionate wives and good mothers, but women are more than that, just as men are more than affectionate husbands and good fathers. Just as a boy needs an education which will help his complete development to manhood, so a girl needs education which would help her complete evolution to womanhood. The same principle must guide the education of both, may be with minor differences in details. But to say that the two systems should be radically different is to display either prejudice or ignorance or both. What, however, is

wrong with us, is that our ideas of education are not sound. The woman has as much need of individuality, freedom, resourcefulness, initiative, courage, economic independence and intellectual growth as man has. The needs of the Indian woman in this respect are exactly the same as those of the western woman. Climatic conditions may require certain differentiations, but subject to that we will profit immensely by the experience of the West in the educational development of women. The question is important enough to need a specialised study by some of our eminent educationists.

IV

Having discussed the general questions of sexual ethics, of the position of woman and of the education of women in India, I propose now to take up the question of marriage. According to Bertrand Russel,

"There are two questions to be asked in regard to any marriage system, just how it affects the development and character of the men and women concerned, secondly, what is its influence on the propagation and education of children. These two questions are entirely distinct, and a system may well be desirable from one of these two points of view when it is very undesirable from the other."

Following Bertrand Russel's example I propose first to describe the Hindu and the customary laws of India and public opinion and practice in regard to the relation of the sexes.

I will take the Hindu Law and the practice among the Hindus first. Marriage under Hindu Law is a religious sacrament. It is an indissoluble tie which lasts for the lifetime of the parties. Among the three higher castes no divorce is allowed by the law as administered in these days. Under certain circumstances the law sanctions more than one wife for the husband, but under no circumstance does it countenance more than one husband for the wife. Again, under certain circumstances the law allows the husband to remarry in the lifetime of one or more wives, but under no circumstance is a woman allowed to remarry in the life-time of her husband. For centuries it was unlawful for women to remarry after the death of a husband.

but now the remarriage of widows has been made lawful by statutory law

In theory Hindu Law enjoins marriage on every man and woman. There are certain exceptions in the case of men, who at an early period of their life decide to devote themselves to a lifelong study and practice of religion and to propaganda work. A wife may accompany a husband when the latter enters *Vanaprastha Asram* but the pair must separate when the husband decides to become a *Sannyasi*. I know of no authority which expressly sanctions *Sannyas* for women. To all intents and purposes it is assumed, nay expressly stated in the later *Smritis*, that a woman can never be independent. In her childhood she is under the control of her parents, when married she is subordinate to her husband, when widowed or otherwise deprived of the guardianship of her husband, she must submit to the control of her grown-up sons or other male relatives. If so, there is no chance for her to lead a life of independence and freedom except by violation of the law. Custom enforces the law in this respect rather rigorously. There are certain sects, particularly amongst the Jains, in which the women are allowed to become *Sadhvis* (i.e. female ascetics), but the number of female ascetics in India is infinitesimal as compared with male *Sadhus*.

Accordingly a woman has no voice in her marriage even when grown up. The later *Smritis* leave no occasion for such an exercise of choice. They presuppose that every girl shall be given in marriage by her parents or other guardian before she attains the age of puberty. A father or brother or uncle who neglects to arrange for the marriage of his daughter or sister or niece before they arrive at the age of puberty is threatened with all kinds of real or imaginary punishments. In the very extreme case of a girl not having been married before she reaches the age of puberty and in case of continued neglect for three years on the part of her male guardian she is permitted to take a husband of her own choice.

We do not know of any period in the history of the Hindus when the women

were absolutely free in the matter of marriage. The Vedic texts on the subject presuppose the consent of the bride, but whether they contemplate a choice of a husband by a maiden against or independent of the consent or wishes of her parents is extremely problematic. The only exceptions, if I am not mistaken, are those in which the choice of a husband was made by *Swayam-vara*. The very expression means self-choice. The well known case of Sanyogta who selected Prithvi Raj even in his absence and insisted on marrying him and him only even against the wishes of her father is a case in point. Sanyogta's father and Prithvi Raj were political enemies. Sanyogta had never seen or met Prithvi Raj. She had only heard of him. At the time of the *Swayam-vara* ceremony Prithvi Raj was not present. To show his contempt for Prithvi Raj, Sanyogta's father, Jai Chand, had a clay image of his put in the hall, assigning him the menial duty of washing the dishes. Yet when Sanyogta entered the hall with the garland of flowers in her hand, and the whole assemblage of princes and nobles were thrilled with the expectations of good luck, Sanyogta went straight to the clay image of Prithvi Raj and garlanded it. Her choice was made. It was irrevocable. Her father refused to ratify it. He was angry. But Sanyogta's decision had been made. She sent a secret message to Prithvi Raj to come and claim her. Prithvi Raj did come and his attempt to obtain possession of the person of Sanyogta was successful, though not before rivers of blood had been shed between the adherents of the two royal houses. This romantic affair cost India her political independence.

Marriages of love are not entirely unknown to Hindu Law but they are always treated as exceptions and the *Sutras* and *Smritis* speak of them in rather apologetic language. Going as far back as the time of the Epics every man seeking the hand of a maiden, however grown up, had to obtain the consent of her parents. Even Santanu, the emperor, dared not marry the daughter of a common fisherman with whom he had fallen in love at first sight,

without obtaining the consent of her father. How the father of the girl dictated his own terms to the love-lorn monarch is very graphically described in the pages of the *Mahabharata*. He would not give his daughter in marriage to the king without the latter promising with the consent of the heir-apparent *Bhisma* that the succession to the kingship would devolve on the eldest son of his daughter. Nay, he went further and insisted that *Bhisma* should not only renounce the throne for himself but also for his issue, which *Bhisma* did by taking the vow of life-long celibacy. This incident alone (with numerous others to support it) ought to be a sufficient answer to those detractors of India who say that Indians had no respect for law. A comparative study of the marriage laws of the world in the different epochs of the world's history would show that nowhere have women been altogether free in the choice of their husbands. But it appears that in India until the inauguration of the custom of child marriage, no maiden could be forced to marry a person she did not like.

The institution of child marriage, however, changed the whole aspect of the question. Boys and girls could not be expected to choose their mates. So the choosing was done by their parents. Now, generally speaking, parents must be presumed to be the best friends of their offspring. But as we know, sometimes, even the best friends may be your worst enemies. Considerations of their own good may swing them away from the path of altruism. Sometimes with the best of motives they may be guilty of conduct which ruins the lives of the two persons whom they unite in wedlock for their mutual good. But instances are not lacking where parents have been swayed by the meanest and the most sordid considerations in arranging the marriages of their children. Even in the West, where child marriage* does not at present prevail, parents have, in not a few cases, exercised their authority in a most

arbitrary fashion out of sordid and mean motives. The evil, however, reaches its climax where the parties concerned are minors and altogether unable to look after their own interests.

Educated India has, with one voice, condemned the institution of child marriage. It has also declared in favour of young men being allowed to choose their own wives, but it has not yet done anything to confer the same right on girls. This is probably due to the lack of education among girls as also to their economic dependence. It is obvious that the first condition of a happy marriage is the free choice of their mates by the parties. Many Indians have been heard to say that marriages among westerners are no more happy than among the Indians, that the percentage of happy marriages is perhaps greater in India than in Europe and America. I do not agree with this opinion.

What is the test of happiness? A forced happiness brought about by a sense of helplessness and inevitableness is not real happiness. Two young people brought together by the will of their parents, find that, willy-nilly, they must accept the situation. The girl knows that for her there is no way out of it, unless she makes up her mind to be a life-long widow or is prepared to take to a life of disrepute. So she starts by presuming that her husband and lord is the most handsome, the most virtuous and the only man for her. She begins to love him and gives all that she has in his service. The devotion of Hindu wives to their husbands is something sublime, superb. But after all it is the devotion that is born of a feeling of helplessness. The economic dependence also is a factor. On the other side, the man also finds that although legally he could marry another woman, yet a second marriage would bring such an amount of social obloquy in its train and besides would be economically so costly that the very idea is unentertainable. Women in India are not *cheap*. In some provinces the number of men exceeds that of women. Then the law entitles a wife to a maintenance suitable to the position.

* Though among Italians and Jews marriages of girls at the age of 12 were not uncommon a short time ago.

in life of her husband. So in good many cases the man decides to make the best of the situation and eventually the devotion of the wife completely wins his heart and he in his turn makes a fairly good husband. But it is a fact that in an equally large number of cases the parties fail to adjust themselves and live in life-long misery. In each case the loss of happiness and satisfaction involved, leads to much waste and wickedness which effectively tells on the efficiency of the nation. There are however cases, few though in number, in which the man sets aside his first wife and marries another, leaving the first to a life of enforced widowhood. Now the very existence of these cases, however few, makes it necessary that in this respect the position of the man and the woman should be equalised. A law which affects injuriously and unjustly even one human being is bad and must be changed. But the change of the law means the freedom of divorce. The freedom of divorce, however, is an absurdity, where there is no freedom of marriage. So we must start with freedom of marriage. Forced acquiescence in a marriage, in which the parties to a marriage or at least one party had no voice, is a denial of that freedom which is the fundamental right of every human being. It is a serious handicap to the development of the personalities of men and women and as such reprehensible.

A Hindu's sense of propriety is shocked when a young man refuses to marry a girl whom he has not seen and who has been selected for him by his parents. 'Why, this is unheard of,' says the old man, 'who could have expected such a degradation of ideals or fall from the path of virtue.' But a girl's desire to see her proposed husband before marriage is still unheard of in India. It is time that girls should be encouraged to demand this right. Of course mere seeing is nothing. Parties to a marriage must know each other well, before they unite in wedlock. This introduces courtship, which is revolting even to most of the best educated Hindus and Moslems. The western people have advanced greatly in this line. People argue that for a young man and a

young woman to become permanent partners in life they must know each other thoroughly, before they take the final plunge. To a Hindu this may look like the coming down of the heavens. But we must make a beginning by insisting on the rights of the parties to see each other and to know each other. The first thing which the Indian mind requires to be accustomed to think is that the personality of a woman is as important, even if not more, as that of a man in the progressive evolution of mankind and the attainment of that state of emancipation which leads to salvation. The second thing which Indians need to be told is that bearing children is not the sole or even the principal function in the life of a woman. The idea that the only justification for marriage is the desire for offspring is a superstition, which deserves to be demolished. That the union of man and woman means certainly much more than the legal gratification of desire is a truth which should never be lost sight of. The ancient Hindus were quite right in their sociological ideas in imposing restraint even on married couples. These ideas are based on hygiene. Their chief purpose is to secure a healthy body and a healthy mind to the married couple as well as to the issue of the marriage. The union of man and woman helps them in the development of their personalities and that is the chief object of life. The bearing of offspring is a social duty, a duty which men and women owe to the race. It is also a personal duty, as the existence of children helps them in their own personal development also, but surely this is not their only or even their main business in life. A social system which reduces women to the position of child-bearing machines bears its own condemnation. The fact that celibacy is permitted by the Hindu Shastras in the case of both men and women, for advancement of learning and for spiritual development, amply proves that the bearing of children could not be the *summum bonum* of life either for men or for women. Even in this direction the Hindus went to the other extreme in giving celibacy the highest place in the list of virtues. The best course for the generality of men and women is to

be natural and to avoid excess in either direction

In order to ensure even a moderately happy and fruitful marriage it is necessary that,

(a) the couple be physically fit to become parents,

(b) that they start with love and attachment to each other, which can only be known by at least a certain amount of social companionship before marriage,

(c) that they be free from the taint of disease, inherited or contracted, or, in other words, that they be eugenically fit, and

(d) that they be economically able to make a home

The economic conditions that at present prevail in the West, whereby a large number of middle class and almost all of the working class women have to work for their livelihood from 8 to 12 hours a day, is hardly conducive to marital felicity. The marriage problem is as acute to-day in the West as it is from a different angle in the East. The nations of the West are trying legislative and educational experiments of different kinds. The problem is unsolved. The experimental stage is causing a great deal of laxity and promiscuity, which seems to be inevitable if the matter is at all to be determined without injustice to the fair sex. The western woman is in revolt. She hates the present domination of men and is in open rebellion against man-made laws of marriage and divorce. It is only when men will realise that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander, that a co-operative attempt will be made to arrive at a solution which may be satisfactory to both as well as to the race in general.

The chief difficulty comes into view when we start to consider marriage from the point of view of the welfare of the children. It is not rare that the interests of children come into conflict with the personal interests of the parents, either one or both. The welfare of the children demands (a) that the parents should be in full possession of health both physical and mental, at the time of conception, (b) that during conception, delivery and at least for a year afterwards, the mother should be absolutely

free from economic and other kinds of worries, and (c) that up to the age of majority the child should get nourishing food, ample clothing, good housing and, last but not least, every facility for education. Under the circumstances any defect in the parents at the time of union and any subsequent estrangement between them regardless of the circumstances over which they have no control, for example poverty and unemployment, are likely to be very harmful to a healthy and vigorous development of their children. Advanced European thinkers are of opinion that the best time of life for having children is when the man and the woman having crossed the boundary of childhood, are throbbing with the passion of life. They are of opinion that the issue of even illicit unions should not be looked down upon, that every child that comes into life is sacred and pure, and that the prevailing social ideas which brand some children as illegitimate and bastard is barbaric. In their judgment, all children should be treated equally. Everyone of them is entitled to protection, maintenance and education on equal terms and that it is the duty of the society into which they are born to look after them and enable them to grow into men and women with healthy bodies and healthy minds. These writers are of the opinion that under the present social and economic conditions the progress and development of the race is seriously handicapped by the restrictions that society imposes on the free marriage of men and women, that these restrictions result in unsuitable and undesirable unions, in unions late in life, after both men and women have wasted themselves in illicit satisfaction of their sexual appetite or in unnatural suppression of it, that marriages are often delayed because men and women are not economically well off to have a home and to provide for children, that even when married, many men and women, although fully healthy and desirous of having children, use artificial means of preventing the coming of children for want of means to support them and to educate them, that, as at present, the vast bulk of children come into life either too late

or too early, that the great majority of them suffer either from the poverty or the folly of their parents. Healthy men and women have to go without children,

while diseased and foolish but rich parents get children and thereby perpetuate a diseased and inferior humanity.

LALPAT RAI

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

I. Rising Japan.

Rising Japan by Jabez T. Sunderland, D.D., LL.D. Billing Lectures (1913-14) in Japan, China, and India. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York and London 1918. Five Shillings. Pp. 220.

Dr. Sunderland's deep sympathy with all weak and oppressed nations and with all who are victims of misrepresentation, is well-known, and this interesting book is devoted to a sympathetic presentation of Japanese civilisation and Japanese political aspirations with a view to remove the misconceptions about them which have been circulated by interested parties in the United States, where the prejudice against the sixty thousand Japanese in California is very strong and has led to unjust State legislation against which the federal Government has been powerless to protect the subjects of a friendly foreign power.

Dr. Sunderland begins with a panegyric on Asia, 'the greatest mother of nations,' of civilisation, of religions, of the alphabet and of letters, 'of astronomy and navigation and mathematics and most of the arts and industries of the world.' Europe, borrowing the knowledge of the Chinese and of the Indians through the Saracens, has improved it almost out of recognition, whereas Asia went to sleep and the light went out of her, till the land of the Rising Sun once more succeeded in focussing the attention of the world by adopting every means of effective self-protection against the aggressive West.

It is a common error in India to suppose that Japan has been completely denationalised. As Dr. Sunderland says, "She has not *become* civilised, she was civilised *before*. What has happened is, she has opened all her doors to a *new form* of civilisation—the civilisation of Europe and America—not to *supplant* her own, but to *supplement* it, to take from the new what seemed to her of most value, and with that enlarge, carry forward, and enrich her own. It required a strong and a great people to plan such an advance, such a transition, such a revolution, and carry it out, holding themselves steady, meanwhile, never being submerged, never being carried off their feet, never proving

false to their own civilisation or their own historic genius, and never losing or laying aside their own ideals, through all the long and trying transition period. That is what Japan has done." Those among us who boast of our 'original' civilisation do not indeed understand what they say. If we think of it, there is really no civilisation, as there is no mind, that is absolutely original. History teaches us that the civilisation of India, like that of every other country which is not surrounded by a Chinese wall of isolation—and the Western passes of India were always open to invading foreigners before Europeans from beyond the seas gained a foothold in the land,—is a composite product of many strands, and the process of absorption and assimilation still goes on. Imitation is no sin or shame, civilisation grows by imitation—provided we do not lose our soul in the process, and have patriotism enough to preserve the best in us, and sufficient wisdom and discrimination not to take in the bad with the good, so far as the two can be separated. It requires courage and foresight to accept as well as to reject, and in many things it is sincerely to be wished that educated Indians could elevate the nation and protect themselves from aggression by a courageous imitation of the West.

"It seems to be a common impression in this country," says the author, "that the Japanese are a nation of materialists. It would probably be much nearer the truth to call them a nation of idealists. This characteristic of their nature comes out in many ways. It appears in the universal fondness for poetry, from the Emperor and Empress down to the humblest day-labourer. But perhaps the clearest indication is seen in art. It is doubtful whether among any other people in the world the art instinct, the art feeling, love for beauty and the constant enjoyment of beauty, is so universal as among the people of Japan. Japanese drawing and painting are conspicuously idealistic, not realistic."

A missionary doctor of divinity told the author that his Japanese servants knew more of what was going on in the world than he did, such is the popularity of newspapers and periodicals.

cals, thanks to universal education, both among males and females. 'Nor do the people confine their reading to newspapers and periodicals, they are great readers of books, and solid books, books of value, not merely ephemeral novels. It is amazing what numbers of the best books of Germany, France, Russia, Italy, England, and America one finds translated into Japanese. Every public library and every book store is rich in them. Equally surprising is the number of new books by Japanese authors, in every department of thought and knowledge, that one finds issuing from the press of Japan.' In Bengal, translations of good foreign books are not much in favour. Every author aims at being original, but in most cases the originality is found on analysis to resolve itself into mere unacknowledged plagiarisms either from Sanskrit or European sources which are seldom presented in a readable form, whereas a good translation of a foreign classic would always be welcome, and uplift the character and stimulate the intellect of the reader, besides enriching the vernacular literature of the country.

The question of sex morality and divorce in Japan has a peculiar interest for us in India. "It should be said, however, that the frequency of divorce does not grow so much out of immorality on the part of either husband or wife, as from the custom long prevalent in Japan (but now being rapidly changed) of young husbands bringing their brides to live in the homes of the husbands' parents. The dominance of mothers-in-law over the wives of their sons is a fruitful breeder of trouble between wives and husbands, which only too often leads to separation. Now that the custom is growing, of newly married couples at once establishing houses of their own, it is believed that divorces will grow less frequent."

"Judged by one test," says Dr. Sunderland, "Japanese civilisation seems to us of the West not to be high. That test is the status of woman." But the difference even in this respect between India and Japan is enormous. Nearly half the primary schools of Japan are in charge of women, and nearly all the women of the country can read and write. Sixty-four occupations, which were formerly confined to men, are now open to women. The Imperial Railway Bureau employs four thousand women as ticket-sellers, cashiers, and book-keepers. The Bank of Japan has 120 women employees. Women typists are numerous. There are fifteen hundred students in the well-equipped Tokyo Woman's University. "There are now in Japan women artists, novelists, journalists, poets, musicians, actors, doctors." There is, of course, no purdah in Japan. The Reverend author sums up the position thus, "I think it may truthfully be said that both the intellectual and the social life of woman in Japan are being steadily elevated. She is coming to be given a position in all respects more nearly equal to that of man. More and more she is being made man's real companion."

"In the war between Japan and Russia, Japan set a new standard of morality and honour for modern armies, and especially in her treatment of her prisoners. If the fine example set by Japan in these respects had been followed by the European nations in the war of 1914, how different would have been the terrible record!"

The following observations of the Reverend gentleman have now become a commonplace, but it is a commonplace which shows that none but the strong are respected in the world as it is constituted at present, and that, in Milton's words, "to be weak is miserable, doing or suffering" —

"It is one of the strange anomalies of a civilisation calling itself Christian that the professedly Christian nations of the West virtually compelled Japan to create an army and navy and to show herself formidable as a military power before they would consent to grant her equal international rights with themselves, or admit her to fellowship as a first-class nation. Her education, her art, her industries, the intelligence of her people, her civilisation older than that of many of the nations of Europe, did not avail. She had to show that she could fight, then but not before they were willing to treat her with justice and to give her a place by their side."

Much of the book is devoted to criticism aimed at destroying the bogey of the menace of a Japanese invasion of America, sedulously preached by a group of Americans. Referring to this 'organised campaign of misrepresentation and calumny' the author asks, "Do the American people believe these representations? Yes, millions of them do. That is the strange, dark, dangerous thing, for when nations circulate and believe such evil reports about one another, wars become inevitable. Why do we in America believe these suspicion-breeding, fear-breeding, hate-breeding, war-breeding declarations about Japan?" The author proceeds to show that for offensive war on American soil Japan is totally unprepared and her resources are entirely insufficient, though "doubtless she can defend herself and protect her rights at home. She has a large and well-trained army and an efficient navy, probably ample in strength to repel any possible invaders from her shores." "And let us know that if an armed conflict ever arises between the two nations, it will not be a war of invasion of America, but, as already said, a war of aggression on our part, which we shall be compelled to fight at Japan's door, the crime of which will not be Japan's, but our own." The writer points out that the national ideal which Japan has set before her is "not a career of military conquest, but one of ever-growing industrial and commercial development—a career of leadership in the East in the arts and sciences, in manufactures, in trade, and in finance, similar to that of England or Germany (Germany apart from her military obsession) in the West."

Though the recent history of Shantung may tell a different story, the general attitude of Nippon towards the Celestial Empire is lucidly set forth by the learned doctor in the following passage

"As for the integrity of China, that in the past has been violated repeatedly, and with results of the most serious character. Who have been the violators? For the most part the nations of Europe. At least four of those nations—Great Britain, Russia, France and Germany—have wrested from the Chinese people large areas, including strategic military and naval bases of great importance, and have laid plans threatening still further seizures. Of course Japan from the beginning has recognised in all this a peril to herself and to the whole Orient. If China were destroyed as an independent nation by being apportioned among the powers of Europe, nothing in the Orient would be safe. Even Japan herself would have to fight for her life, and would be fortunate if she could preserve it. Indeed it could hardly be more than a question of time when all Asia would become subject to Europe, as two-thirds of it already is.

"These facts and considerations should help us to see how greatly to the interest of Japan it is that China's integrity shall be preserved inviolate, and that the Chinese nation shall become prosperous and strong. In the very nature of the case any signs of weakness on the part of China's Government causes anxiety in Japan, for a helpless China, ready to fall an easy prey to the nations which have despoiled her in the past, renders Japan's own future insecure.

"Is it strange, if the facts that Japan is situated near to China, that their interests are closely related, that her government is well established and strong, while that of China is as yet somewhat insecure, and above all that she possesses large military and naval strength, while China has comparatively little—is it strange if these facts cause Japan to feel a degree of responsibility for and to China, and a desire to lend her a helping hand if she may?

"Nothing is more clear than that the future destiny of Japan is largely bound up with that of China, and the future of China with that of Japan. The two nations must stand together as friends, or else, in the words of Dr Gulick, 'come under the heavy hand of a united European domination. If Japan does not win and keep the friendship of China, then Japan herself is ruined, for China and Europe combined can crush Japan.'"

The above seems to be the only safe policy for both the Mongolian empires to follow, but the treatment of Korea, the occupation of Shantung, and the imperialist policy which Japan has been pursuing since the war with Russia, do not appear to square with the sane, conciliatory, and far-sighted policy sketched by the author.

We shall conclude with another extract from

this interesting and instructive book containing the author's views on the American possession of the Philippines.

"By our action we stultified ourselves as a liberty-loving people, trampling under foot before the eyes of all nations the principle for which we had always stood, the principle on which our nation was established, that just government can be founded only on the consent of the governed.

"We try to console ourselves and we apologise to others, for our blunder and our wrong, by the plea that we are benefiting the Filipino people. But are we? I do not wish to answer that we are not, but I do wish to ask very seriously, Are we sure that we are? If we are benefiting them in some ways, are we not more than offsetting this by the injuries we are doing them in others? Who should be the judge? Should not the Filipino people themselves? What do they say? Almost to a man they declare that their freedom, their independence, the right to shape their own career for themselves, are to them more precious than all the boons that we have conferred, or that we possibly can confer. And if we were in their place, would we not say the same?

"The questions are asked. Will this [restoration of independence to the Philippines] be safe? Are the Filipino people competent to rule themselves?

"I answer, Yes, more competent than any foreign nation in the world to rule them. New York City makes many blunders, and under the influence of its Tammany and other bosses does many corrupt and evil things. But it rules itself better than it could possibly be governed by Philadelphia, or San Francisco, or Montreal, or Paris, or any foreign city. For centuries England has declared that Ireland was unfit to govern herself. Now the whole world sees that compelling her to submit to alien rule, even the supposedly very wise rule of England, has been a terrible mistake. The worst blunders and scandals connected with the government of the Philippines since they came into our possession have been the work of the Americans, not of the Filipino members of the Government who knew the needs of their people as we could not, and who were interested to guard those needs."

We must remember that the United States, within two decades of the occupation of the Philippines, have granted all but absolute freedom to the people and yet Dr Sunderland thinks that gross injustice has been done to them by the Americans. We leave our readers to imagine what would have been his verdict on bureaucratic rule in India which, after nearly two centuries of occupation, can perpetrate the horrors of martial law in a province which has shed its best blood in the allied cause in the late war, and whose generals are not ashamed to propound the doctrine of 'shooting straight and shooting well' against an unarmed and inoffensive crowd, and whether

as a free-born and liberty-loving American, he could have contemplated with unctuous satisfaction the grant of the barest rudiments of responsible government in some non-essential departments in the provinces as the very acme of political wisdom and generosity, while the supreme Indian government remains as absolute and irresponsible as hitherto both internally and externally, so that there is no constitutional bar to the passage of future Rowlatt Acts and declarations of martial law and the shooting down of hundreds and bombing from the air of dozens of innocent people without warning and the passing of Indemnity Acts

CRITIC

II. The Seed of Race.

The Seed of Race An essay on Indian Education By Sir John Woodroffe Ganesh and Co, Madras, 1919 Neatly printed and bound in cloth Pp 65 Price Re 1

This essay is Sir John Woodroffe's answer to a senior member of the Indian Educational Service, and others, who regard him as 'a reactionary who would throw back the land into mediæval darkness' Sir John has not only no objection to the teaching of the English language and western culture to Indian youths, but seems to be of opinion that they, including western philosophy, literature and art, should be taught by Englishmen Similarly Indian culture which is neglected in Indian education should be taught by Indians of the right type, who are 'not mere sedulous apes of a foreign civilisation' Sir John says again and again that if the Indian teacher is such an imitator, it is far better to have an Englishman in his stead, the right type of Englishman, 'as the original and stronger character' The education of Indian youths should therefore be imparted by Englishmen in so far as western culture is concerned and also in the matter of eastern culture which should be taught, it would under certain circumstances be preferable to select Englishmen of the right type, who would preach *Swadharma* to Indians while strictly holding to their own themselves, down to the exclusion of Indians from their clubs, which Sir John seems to approve

I trust I am doing no injustice to the learned author of this essay, but reading all his books I cannot but feel a deep sense of humiliation The knowledge of Sanskrit philosophy and literature he possesses is obviously secondhand He has the Englishman's breadth of culture, historical spirit, clear sight, and power of presentation, and with the aid of these gifts, he has been lecturing us to stick to the racial soul, the seed of race, the spirit of the race and so forth He may be a friend, but a friend who has to be taken with a grain of salt, for his excess of zeal on behalf of the spirit of our race may cause us more harm than good Sir John Woodroffe is quite confident

of his right to advise and lecture us Whence comes this confidence, since he has no scholarly acquaintance with our own culture? It comes from that very cosmopolitan culture which most Indians lack, and which enables him to envisage civilisation as a whole, and civilised man as a factor in national growth Our humiliation proceeds from the consciousness of the fact that we are so helpless, both materially and intellectually, that it is our lot to be lectured by friends and foes alike When we are able to stand on our own legs, and can discriminate between the false and the true, we shall refuse to go into ecstasies over the flatteries of our friends just in the same way as we ignore the calumnies of our enemies That would be the true way of preserving our racial personality, for which Sir John is so anxious

Sir John is of opinion that "in some respects probably no two persons (are) more dissimilar than a Hindu and an Englishman" He also understands that "it is natural that an Indian should best appreciate what his race has produced" Knowing all this, he should leave the "sedulous apes of a foreign civilisation" to learn from men of their own race, like the 'great man' Vivekananda, and Rabindranath Tagore, who are steeped in the culture of the Orient, and have also assimilated all that is best in European culture Perhaps even these 'sedulous apes' understand their national culture better than Sir John, and when brought to the test would be found to have a greater sympathy with it than one so wholly alien as Sir John Speaking of the Japanese, Sir John says "It appears to me that the Japanese are endeavouring to preserve their racial spirit and that, to speak generally, what they have done is with that object They have recognised that they may be Japanese, and yet take what is of advantage to them from the West" If that be so in the case of the Japanese, why not also in the case of the Indians? "The Japanese govern themselves, and if they take anything from the West it is because as a free people they choose to do so" In other words, is it because we are an enslaved race, that we must not aspire to choose freely even in such directions as may be open to us? Modern education in India, as the Calcutta University Commission rightly say in their Report, even though "leading in some cases to what Sir John Woodroffe describes as a 'paralysing inner conflict', has in the main prepared the way for a culture which will harmonise with and supplement the national culture and will stimulate the latter into new manifestations and achievements" Western example, in the sphere of education at any rate, has therefore done us some good

In spite of his exhortations to conserve the racial spirit or *samskara*, Sir John Woodroffe has a vision clear enough to perceive that change is inevitable and even desirable We shall try to

present his point of view in his own language "True conservatism, however, is not necessarily bound up with the maintenance in the twentieth century of forms a thousand years old, but the maintenance in its purity of the Racial Spirit which produced or adopted certain forms in the tenth century and which will produce, if necessary, other new forms or modifications of ancient forms today" "The Seed of Race today is thus the Indian *sanskara* which has produced the minds and bodies of the Indian people of our time, amongst whom some are rejecting their *Dharma* as a whole, others are rejecting only what they deem to be corrupt accretion with a view to recover essential principle, and others again are adhering with a firm and sometimes fanatic devotion to everything which they have received from their fathers. The middle path is here, as in so many other cases, the best. For it is the path of evolution whilst the first is an attempt at revolution with little chance of present success, and the last is an endeavour to crystallise for all future time what is itself the product of ages of change. In short, the call is for the maintenance of those elements of the Aryan culture which have value. This does not spell any static attitude, which in fact is not possible, but natural development of the Racial Spirit or the product of Aryan culture by assimilation of foreign stuff, if necessary. It is not likely that it [the Racial Spirit] will merely reiterate the past." "When racial character is re-established, an autonomous centre of receptivity is established, capable of receiving (without risk of being overwhelmed thereby) every form of foreign culture. This is possible because there is then a healthy organism capable of assimilating every form of food presented to it. A knowledge of foreign life and thought is as essential to India as a knowledge of what is its own." "It is not the product of past ages which as such has to be maintained or reproduced. It may in fact be maintained if it is good. We are all concerned with the present and the maintenance of the Seed of Race. If this be free and strong, it will develop into a plant which will live, that is, a plant suitable to the time, place and circumstance under which it grows for nothing can live which does not fulfil these conditions. It may be that, nourished in part by the food of a new and western civilisation, it may reproduce subject to certain modifications, or may put forth some entirely new developments. What is produced is immaterial provided it is the issue of the freely developing Seed of Race. It must be free to develop as it will. Essential alone is the maintenance of the Seed of Race [defined by the author as the spirit of the race, the fundamental characteristics and outlook on life which distinguish the people of one race from all others, and which persist through all the varying forms in which it clothes itself], let it develop how it may." "If, however, it is meant

that Racial Soul is to be kept integral, but such of its past products as are really unsuitable for the times are to be cast away and the Racial Soul is to equip itself for the struggle of life today, then the position is a true one and none other than that for which I contend." "Let me repeat that India may take what she desires from the West or elsewhere, provided that she is not false to her own Racial Soul." [The italics are ours.]

The Racial Soul, the Racial Spirit, the Seed of Race, the Racial *Sanskara*,—this, in the author's opinion, "is the root of all questions. If there is success here, then 'all else shall be added to you'." Let us, therefore, examine a little more closely what is meant by the Racial Spirit. It is, as the author defines at the beginning of his essay, something peculiar to the race which persists through all change. If this be so, it is superfluous to say, as Sir John says in the passages quoted above, that all salutary changes, in accord with the spirit of the times ['time, place and circumstance'] should be adopted, provided they are also in harmony with the Racial Spirit. For whether we choose or no, the spirit of the race persists and cannot be ignored. The soul of an Indian, as Sir John takes care to remind us, "can never for any length of time wander far from the essentials of its inherited civilisation." This is more true of us than of any other people on earth, and to this many would attribute our present position among the civilised nations. Instead of laying the emphasis on the racial spirit, therefore, what we have got to see is whether the change proposed is good. A healthy organism is capable of assimilating all kinds of food, as the author tells us. Our organism is weak now, and we have to strengthen it. This we cannot do by merely offering it invalid food, bottled milk, and sick diet. We must accustom it to strong, invigorating, nourishing food, so that it may absorb into the system all that is good and wholesome, no matter what may be the country of its origin, and may possess sufficient vitality to reject what is unwholesome, instead of succumbing to it. "Whether a particular reformation is justified, depends on the facts of the case. It is a true expression of the Indian spirit if it proceeds from it." Here Sir John Woodroffe puts the cart before the horse. Whether a particular reformation is justified, depends upon whether it is right or wrong. Of course what may be right for one country may not be right for another, not being suited to the genius of the race, but this can only be so in regard to minor matters of detail, and not in regard to essential principles. The details should be developed in accordance with the individual national tradition in order to yield the largest measure of success, but the general lines of the principle are the same everywhere. If the thing desired is right in itself, a knowledge of and sympathy with the inherited culture of the race

helps us to find justification for it by referring to the country's past history. Take a concrete case, female education, for instance. We all recognise that female education is right. We know that such education is absent among us in the form in which it is understood now-a-days. Those who are deeply imbued with the spirit of the race among us can make out a case for such education by reference to Gargi, Maitreyi, Kshana, Lilavati and others, and the fact that in still older times women were initiated by being invested with the sacred thread, as the *Harita Samhita* shows. And Sir John Woodroffe knows that the spirit of the Indian race is a very complex affair. "India contains all types of culture extending almost from the neolithic to the present age: several races and cultures have gone to the production of the Aryan body and soul as they now exist." So that just as a hostile critic of Indian civilisation may point to any number of absurd and pernicious practices and customs in the social body of India, a patriotic Indian, steeped in Indian culture, may find a historic justification for everything good that may be found elsewhere, in the chequered evolution of Indian civilisation. Sir John argues that English education is beneficial to us because it holds the field and rightly understood, what is, is right. "This does not mean," says he, "that what exists in fact today is to be approved and continued, but that, until there exists the will and power to effectually change such fact, its past history justifies its present existence." By parity of reasoning, we may say that it is useless to kick against the pricks and decry our 'anglicisation'. It is happening, and therefore it is right. To a certain extent we have neither the will nor the power to change it. Nothing succeeds like success, and if the transformation succeeds, i.e., if it proves beneficial to us and helps to save us in the struggle for existence as it has saved the Japanese, then it will have justified itself. Then Sir John Woodroffe and others of his way of thinking will say of us, as he now says of the Japanese, that what we have been really doing "is not to slavishly follow foreign culture, but to engraft such of it as they desired on to the parent stock of their ancestral culture."

Sir John Woodroffe is very nervous about wounding orthodox feeling. When he says that the Racial Spirit may produce other new forms or modifications of ancient forms today, he at once proceeds to reassure the orthodox that they need not be alarmed at this statement, for as to essentials there can be little or no change. It is on what he means by 'essentials', that everything does in fact turn. We have only to allude to some of Sir John's views to show that he is thoroughly permeated by the rationalistic and historical spirit which is anathema to the orthodox of all nations. If the views of

the orthodox Indian be as liberal as those of Sir John, we do not anticipate any harm from their acceptance of his theory of the Racial *Samskara*. In the opinion of Sir John Woodroffe, probably none of the Indian peoples are of pure Aryan descent, 'like other peoples, the modern Hindus are in varying degrees of mixed stock', there has been considerable admixture of high and low types, modern India is in a state of arrested development and degeneracy, the Aryan culture has itself been affected by the non-Aryan peoples. "What critical and informed person looking at the images of Kali, Tara, Chhinnamasta can imagine them to be in their origin Aryan concepts? Many 'sooty superstitions', as an English writer has called them, have their origin in the black races of India."

We have shown above that in the opinion of Sir John Woodroffe, "a conscious and independent self may, and will, assimilate any foreign food which is good for it." Does not the fact that we are learning to assimilate foreign food, by giving up our cultural seclusion, tend to show that our national self is growing conscious and independent?

We commend Sir John's views on education to our orthodox brethren. "The knowledge of the English language, which is that of a vast and increasing part of the world, and of western science, is essential to the progress of this country, and only one who was either without sense, or an enemy of its advancement, could hold otherwise." "As I have elsewhere said, all separatism is becoming increasingly difficult, having regard to the form of present world-development. Knowledge belongs to the world and not to any one people, and the more the Indian people know of the rest of the world and its thoughts, the better for them, provided that what is taken in can be assimilated, that is, adopted without prejudice to the individuality of the Indian organism."

According to the theory of evolution, instinct is inherited custom transfixed by time, and as custom changes, new instincts are in the process of being built up. If there are instincts in the composite fibre of the Indian race which do not make for racial survival and growth, the growth of new and wholesome customs, tending to the conservation of the race, will change those instincts in course of time, and instead of appealing to them as the essentials which the spirit of the Race must subserve, we should refer to them as noxious accretions which sullied the racial spirit and should be done away with in order that it may shine forth once again in all its pristine purity. The Aryan culture, which according to Sir John Woodroffe himself, was overlaid with evil customs and beliefs, should thus be purged of them so that the true 'essentials' of the racial spirit may stand revealed. It does not matter in the least whether we call this evolution or revolution. It is really a distinction without a difference, and no two

persons agree as to where evolution stops and revolution begins. A transformation which, looked at stage by stage, is an evolution, will, when viewed through a sufficiently long perspective, appear to be nothing short of a revolution. Even revolution would be a mild word to describe the process of change through which Indian culture has passed since the days of the Vedic Aryans. We have to guard against the danger that lurks in such catch words as 'Evolution, not revolution', and the preservation of the 'spirit of the race'. We need have no fear whatsoever that any wholesome reformation cannot be proved to be in consonance with the spirit of the Indian race.

There is considerable truth in Sir John Woodroffe's observation that "when a man loses faith in his own historic past, he cannot have any faith in, and respect for, himself." "The young Indian," rightly says Sir John, "has been subjected to such a strong and continuous suggestion of his inferiority, that it is a wonder that any spirit of self-assertion has at all survived. These suggestions can, and should be, countered by others based on an accurate appreciation of the Indian character and its cultural achievements. The Seed of Race will then commence to sprout and flower." While we should, therefore, cultivate the spirit of national self-confidence, we should not also forget what a learned Christian missionary, who, apart from his inevitable religious bias, has presented us with a profound study of Hinduism, has to say on the subject. "Twenty-five years ago no educated Hindu dreamt of defending idolatry and the grosser features of caste and Hindu family life to-day almost every type of Hindu revivalist defends the whole of Hinduism" (*The Crown of Hinduism*, by J. N. Farquhar, Oxford, 1913, page 455, also page 334). The reaction against excessive self-depreciation is but too complete and how greatly we stand to lose thereby will be apparent to every thoughtful Indian who really cares for his country. It is because what we see around us in the everyday life and thought of our countrymen makes us share the apprehension that too much self-glorification may be as much a bane to our progress as its reverse, that we are not overjoyed at Sir John Woodroffe's championship of the spirit of the Indian race and all that it implies. For between excessive appreciation and depreciation, the middle path is the best, as it is the most difficult to follow, and the prevalence of the laudatory spirit among the more ignorant and the less able section of my countrymen clearly indicates how easy it is to delude us by flattering our vanity and prevent the growth of that divine discontent which is at the root of all progress.

Incidentally, we draw the attention of our readers to what Sir John Woodroffe calls 'the exhausting poverty of India' and to the fact that according to him the number of landless labourers

has increased from 10 lakhs in 1901 to 45 lakhs in 1911, and that "the next census may show something like two crores of landless labourers, descendants of the old and famed artisans of India. This is the class which gets one meal a day and which is the first to fall a victim to the recurrent famines." Is this a sign that we are growing wealthier, as our rulers would have us believe?

Lastly, if we think deeply enough, may we not even question the fundamental proposition round which all Sir John Woodroffe's arguments revolve,—the conception that the essentials of the racial spirit are unchangeable, and that it is only in non-essentials that any modification is possible? The mutual inter-relation of heredity and environment remains very much undetermined to this day. In the last analysis, are the essentials of civilisation so very different in different parts of the world? Are not the growth of science and the means of communication creating a condition of things over the entire globe the like of which never existed in the historic past so as to afford a basis of comparison and safe deduction? Among the best minds everywhere is not the spirit of man recognised as superior to the matter which he controls? Is not man in those respects in which he can function freely the maker of his own destiny? Is not human nature very much alike the world over? It all depends, really speaking, on the more or less—in one country emphasis is laid on one aspect of cultural life, in another country on another aspect. In other words, racial cultures differ in degree, not in kind. The eternal verities on which all civilisation is based are the same everywhere. Looked at from this point of view race-spirit is co-extensive with civilised humanity and is another name for the spirit of humanity. It is only in details that one race varies from another, and it is these variations in detail which give each race its local colour and individuality, and are capable of modification in the light and on the lines of racial tradition. The essentials of the spirit of the human race are the same for all. If they were not, there would be no hope for man, and the eternal clash of interests and conflict of ideals would divide man from man till the end of time. A world from which all diversity and local peculiarity had been banished would indeed be a dull world to live in. But the preservation of such racial individuality as this implies is surely compatible with the unification of ideals in the higher strata of civilised humanity, leading to harmonious co-operation towards a common goal—the infinite upward march of mankind towards a higher spiritual perfection, after all our exigent material needs are satisfied and man ceases to be so largely the victim of his physical environment and his soul has full freedom to grow.

III. Redemption, Hindu and Christian.

Redemption, Hindu and Christian by Sydney Cave, D D ('The Religious Quest of India' Series) Published by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press Pp 263 Price 10s 6d

The book is divided into two parts. In the first part the author describes the religions of Rigveda, the Upanishads, the Brahmasutras, the Gita and some modern phases of Hinduism. In the second half (chapters vii—xi) of the book the attempt is made to supply an answer to the long quest of Hinduism. Christ's Gospel and the Apostolic experience of it are described in chapters seven and eight, and in the three concluding chapters this Gospel is brought into relation with the great Hindu doctrines of *karma*, *bhakti* and redemption. 'Our empirical christianity,' continues our author, 'does not suffice to meet the demands thus made upon it by the ancient religion of a people so richly endowed with emotional fervour and intellectual acumen, so deeply conscious of the transiency of the present and the reality of the eternal. But though Christianity, as we know it, is not sufficient, it is the faith of the writer that Christ is adequate.' P 22

Our author is very liberal and frank. But his faith does not seem to be justified by reason. Our conviction is that, Higher Christianity is more akin to Higher Hinduism than the Religion of Christ is. The God of Higher Christianity is immanent as well as transcendent, whereas the God of Christ is an extra-cosmic transcendent Deity. He has a local habitation, he lives in heaven. He is a limited God. The God of Jesus is the Semitic God. There are three stages in the development of the Semitic religion.

- Viz—(i) The stage of polytheism,
(ii) that of monolatry,
(iii) that of so-called monotheism.

Monolatry is the worship of a single god to the exclusion of other gods. It does not deny the existence of other gods, it simply ignores them and considers them as unworthy of worship. In this form of religion one tribal god becomes the supreme God and sole object of worship. Then comes the stage at which the existence of other gods is denied.

"Magnify one
Eliminate others"—

this has been the principle of the development of the Semitic monotheism. This type of monotheism has not been able to satisfy the philosophic instinct of the cultured Hindus. To them the Semitic religion is "*Eka-Deva-Vada*." It is, as if, one of their gods has been elevated to the supreme position and other gods have been annihilated. It is, therefore, no wonder that they should call the Semitic Theism—Pseudo-Theism and Crypto-polytheism. It is Pseudo-Theism, because this so-called theism is not really theism. The

hall-mark of monolatry is stamped on its forehead, though it is gradually being effaced. It is Crypto-Polytheism, because it is really a polytheism appearing in the garb of monotheism with other gods concealed. According to our ideal, true monotheism is that in which the existence of a rival god or of a Satan is physically and metaphysically impossible and logically inconceivable. But the God of Christ and popular Christianity does not satisfy this test. We can easily imagine the existence of rival gods and Satan living side by side with this God and disputing with him for the possession of the whole or part of the Universe. The Highest Being of the Hindus is not a being who can be conceived as living side by side with other beings. He is one in many, one underlying all, one including all. He is the metaphysical basis and unity of what is and what will be. True it is that the Hindu mind has subordinated God's personality and ethical attributes to his metaphysical nature. To the Christian, it is a defect, but to the Hindu mind, it is the highest type of religion. To the Hindu, God is Super-personal,—never less than personal. He is super-ethical,—never less than ethical. To such a mind, the Semitic monotheism is quite unacceptable. Dr Cave lays too much stress on Christ's Kingdom of Heaven. But has it not been explained, by competent authorities, to mean the final catastrophe, the passing away of the then existing order of the things, the end of the world and the advent of a New World in which the inequalities and miseries of the old world would be more than counterbalanced.

The author says, "The Christian message does not bid us to flee the World." P 240. But what about the order of monks and nuns? Has it not the sanction of the major half of Christendom? Did not St Paul say, "I say, therefore, to the unmarried and widows, 'it is good for them if they abide even as I' But if they cannot contain, let them marry, for it is better to marry than to burn." I Cor. VII 8, 9. Celibacy was the ideal, and marriage a concession to the weakness of flesh.

Did not Jesus himself say, "If thou wouldst be perfect, go, sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven and come, follow me" (Mat XIX 21, also L XII 33). The following passage is significant: "And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren or sisters, or father or mother or wife or children or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold and shall inherit everlasting life" (Mat XIX 29).

Yajnavalkya and others also left the world but not with the view of receiving 'an hundred-fold'.

Our author says—"His Communion with the Father was perfect and uninterrupted" (P 232). But did not Jesus say, "my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken Me?" (Mat XXVII 46 and Mark XV 34).

According to our author Jesus gave his life for the salvation of the world. But did he give his life willingly? Did he not pray—Father, all things are possible unto thee, remove this cup from me (Mark XIV 36, Luke XXII 42). Did he not actually make arrangements for offering resistance and for self-defence? Jesus said, But now he that hath a purse, let him take it and likewise a wallet and he that hath none, let him sell his cloak and buy a sword. And they said, Lord, behold, here are two swords. And he said unto them, it is enough (Luke XXI 36-38). Our author says, "Through Christ it is that the Fatherhood of God has become the commonplace of religion. It is true that in some of the earliest hymns 'Father—Heaven' is extolled, but it is in conjunction with 'Mother—Earth', and 'Father' here means little more than 'Fertilizer' (P 145).

We draw the attention of our author to the following passages among others —

लम् हि पिता, लम् माता

Thou art Father, Thou art Mother (RV VIII 87 11)

सखा, पिता, पितृनमः पितृणाम्

Thou art our Friend, our Father, the most Fatherly of Fathers (RV IV 17)

पिता न असि, पिता न बोधि

(Yayur V 37 20)

Thou art our Father and as Father, instruct us

The assertion that the Fatherhood of God was an idea foreign to the Hindus, shows an utter ignorance of the Hindu Scriptures, Hindu tradition and Hindu ideal.

To a Christian, no relation can be higher than Fatherhood. But to a Hindu sage, even this is an external relation. He wants One who is nearer, dearer, sweeter than Father. To him God is Father and more than Father, Mother and more than Mother. He is the soul of our soul, He is the self of our self—the warp and woof of our very self-hood.

The author has described Hinduism sympathetically and the book is well written.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH

IV. Baroda Library Movement.

Baroda Library Movement—a short account of the origin and growth of the Central Library Department of the Baroda State—By Janardan S. Kudalkar, M.A., LL.B. With Illustrations. Baroda Central Library. Price Rs 2-8 or 3s 6d.

The library movement as a factor in educating the masses and stimulating them to intellectual aspiration, has opened a new vista in the history of education. The Library had long been looked

upon as mere depository of books, and librarians as janitors whose business was to keep his treasures away from the public. The rapid growth of education during the best quarter of the 19th century and the rapid stride which education has made during the present century, has entirely changed the aspect of the library and of late it has begun to play a very important role in modern education. The library movement has not taken hold in British Indian education in the sense it is used in America and other countries. But the case of Baroda is a little different from that of British India. The percentage of literates in Baroda is about 10 p.c. as compared with 3.22 p.c. of the British India.

With the growth of education and the rise in number of literate persons the need for proper guidance regarding further studies was seriously thought over. In America and other countries there are continuation schools and night schools where aspiring young men flock to qualify themselves either for higher posts or for higher studies. But for various reasons that sort of enthusiasm is entirely lacking in our society and so the state approached the people where the people were passive, but since then the outlook began to change and with the spread of education under the parental care of the present Maharajah, the people have come forward with funds and above this with a willingness for culture which is the most hopeful sign in them. The state lent its helping hand and the people were not slow in responding to its call.

Along with the rapid spread of education, there was a growing desire for reading and to give impetus to it a new department was created in 1910-1911, with an American Expert at its head. It consists of the following sections —

I Central Library at Baroda with (a) a Reading Room having 225 papers and periodicals, (b) a Circulation or Lending Section, (c) a Reference Library, (d) a Children's Branch, (e) a Ladies' Section, (f) a Sanskrit Library.

II District Libraries Branch, which has opened and is maintaining and supervising 496 Libraries and 52 Reading Rooms in towns and villages of the State. Of these 3 are Prant Libraries, 39 Town Libraries and 754 Village Libraries.

III Travelling Libraries Branch, which has (a) 444 Library Boxes, (b) 14,000 books in stock, and (c) circulates about 10,000 books per year.

IV Visual Instruction Branch, which gives (a) Cinema and Magic Lantern shows free in the State, (b) distributes Stereographs and other Pictures.

The total expenditure on the Library department in the year 1916-17 was Rs 1,04,945.

As regards the Library movement of Baroda the most significant fact is the Mohila Branch and the Children's Branch. There is no Library in Calcutta where special facilities are given to children or guidance is available to them—Mohila (woman's) Library might be set aside as

impracticable and unnecessary in Bengal! Besides these, the good which the Travelling Libraries and Visual Instruction Branch in Baroda are doing to the State can better be imagined than described. In the whole of Baroda State besides the city of Baroda, there are 3 District centres, 38 towns, 427 big villages and 2628 small villages. In the Central Library of Baroda, there are 2 lakhs of books. These books are available to any of the numerous Libraries that are scattered throughout the country. Next to the Central Library, there are 3 District Libraries, each with 20,000 books, which are available to any libraries in the district. Next to them there are 38 towns with 5,000 books each. Then come 426 bigger villages, each of which contains 500 books and last come the small villages with libraries of 250 books each. Any library which finds a certain amount of money for its use will have a like amount granted to it by the Local Board and a similar sum from the provincial funds.

The Department has recently taken up another work in their hands, namely, the publication of Sanskrit Books, which are known as Gaekwad Sanskrit Series. It also publishes a monthly magazine dealing mainly with Library science. This is the only magazine in India which deals with Libraries in a scientific manner. Besides this they publish Bulletins from time to time to help the Librarians in their work.

The classification of books is no doubt a difficult task with an honest Librarian. It requires training, education and culture. This is denied at least in practice—in our Colleges and Schools. Any man, it seems to be thought, can do the work without any training or culture. This is not the case with Baroda, where it is regarded as a Science and men are trained in it. In America

there is a special course covering a graduate's term for the training of Librarians. Mr. Borden, the organiser of the Baroda Library movement, was a disciple of the great Library organizer Mr. Melville Dewey, whose principle of classification along with the cutter system was followed by this gentleman in Baroda. I may have occasion in future for a broad treatment of this subject of classification and cataloguing in our country and may put in a word or two about the utter neglect of the mnemonic secret which is the principal basis of the Dewey Decimal system. The Presidency College catalogue and the adoption of it by the authorities of the Sahitya Parishad are the two instances of stupendous failure of this system.

"The Baroda Library Movement" is a neat volume, which will well repay the reader his trouble in reading it. We thank Mr. J. S. Kudalkar, M.A., LL.B., for preparing this book, as it might serve as a good incentive for the people and Government of British ruled provinces. There are about 40 illustrations in the book with a diagram showing population and area provided with libraries and reading rooms.

In conclusion I reproduce the foreword by H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwad, which should be the motto of every government and social worker—

"The people must rise superior to their circumstances and realize that more knowledge is their greatest need, their greatest want. They must be brought to love books. They must be taught to make books a part and parcel of their lives. The libraries would not then be a luxury, but a necessary of existence."

P. K. MUKHERJI,
Librarian, Santiniketan

NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH

TALES OF THE SAINTS OF PANDHARPUR by C. A. Kincaid, C. V. O. Published by the Oxford University Press. Pp. 120. Price Re. 1-8.

These tales have been translated from the *Bhaktivijaya* of Mahipati. The events described in the book are mostly miraculous.

PRECIOUS THOUGHTS OF MASTER MINDS by R. J. Lalca, retired Superintendent of Post Offices, Gujrat, Ahmedabad—Khanpur Road. Pp. 140. Price One rupee only.

A collection of passages from eminent authors,

BARDA FAROSHI, OR TRAFFIC IN WOMEN by Lala Jiwan Lall, Inspector of Police, Jammu and Kashmir State. Pp. 25. For free distribution.

A FIRST BOOK IN GEOGRAPHY FOR SCHOOLS IN INDIA by C. Morrison, M.A., LL.B. Published by Macmillan and Co. Pp. 60 (illustrated). Price not known.

An excellent handbook for teachers.

THE PROBLEM OF NOTHING by G. R. Malkani, M.A. Published by the Indian Institute of Philosophy, Amalner. Pp. 35. Price not known.

There are three chapters, viz—(i) Analysis of the Idea of Nothing and its place in Bergson's Philosophy. (ii) The Idea of Nothing in Advaitism. (iii) Some Reflections on Zero.

The author adversely criticises Beigson and defends what he calls Advaitism. According to him "the thought cannot reach out to the real Zero. The Zero it knows is the one it creates by an indefinite process of subtraction, but this Zero has yet a 'form' and, paradoxical though it may appear, it has the form of Nothing." In another place he says—"The Self, the Zero is the true reality, nothing exists beside it and nothing can it create. It is not only the first and the beginning but also the All and the End."

"This is the Zero of Advaitism and not the fictitious zero of mathematics which implies the whole edifice of numbers and regards it as the true reality."

A MANUAL OF VEDANTA PHILOSOPHY AS REVEALED IN THE UPANISHADS AND THE BHAGVAD-GITA by S S Mehta, B A, Bhatwadi, Sandhurst Road, Girgaon, Bombay Pp 85 Price Rs 3

By the Vedanta Philosophy expounded in the book the author means "the Vedanta of Sri-Sankaracharya." He gives the substance of (1) Kathopanishat (7 pages) (2) The Mundakopanishat (7 pages) (3) The Brihadaranyaka (9 pages) (4) The Chandogyanishat (6 pages) (5) The Aitareyanishat (3 pages) (6) The Taittiriyanishat (6 pages) (7) The Isopanishat (2 pages) (8) The Kenopanishat (2 pages) (9) The Mandukyanishat (7 pages) (10) The Svetasvatara and (11) The Gita.

The author says he has tried to follow closely Sankaracharya, but in many places he has committed serious mistakes and thoroughly misunderstood not only Sankara but also the texts of the Upanishads. For example, he translates one well-known passage as follows —

"Than Him there is no *higher* seer, hearer or knower,"—as if there can be more than one seer or hearer or knower according to the Rishi. Every scholar knows that its meaning is —

"Than Him there is no *other* seer' hearer or knower."

The mistake is significant.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH

CEYLON AND THE HOLLANDERS (1658-1796), by P E Pieris, D Litt (Cantab)

The author of the book is a brilliant member of the Ceylon Civil Service and a devoted student of the ancient records of this island. By various treatises and monographs he has illumined several dark corners of Ceylonese history. The present volume is a continuation of his book "Ceylon, the Portuguese Era", a monumental production. The same spirit of thoroughness and sobriety characterizes his history of the Dutch regime. No one can impute an iota of partisanship to Dr Paul Pieris. His narrative is colourless and cold. Yet though his rather over-scrupulous presentation there comes out a fact which is of profoundest significance both to the *governed millions* of the

East and *governing few* of the West. It is the futility of the path of inhuman exploitation. Empire over these helpless downtrodden Easterners seemed to be a political prize and a glorious privilege. It turned out to be a matter of profound responsibility and a moral problem! Thus the verdict of History contradicts the convenient expectation of nations. Thus ethics seems to be the uncompromising basis of politics! The Portuguese came to Ceylon and elevated *plunder* and *persecution* into a political principle. The Dutch came and with unique duplicity tried to play the game of economic exploitation and political dissimulation which verged on subservience and cowardice. These corrupted principles imported by the conquering Westerners not only vitiated the conquered Ceylonese but reacted disastrously on the character of the conquerors. Hence within a short time appeared vulgar nepotism, glaring dishonesty and ravenous greed in the wake of commercial Imperialism, while immorality sapped the foundation of character. Thus History, as says Theodore Mommsen, "has a nemesis for every crime." The proud conquerors of Ceylon ultimately became the refuse of miscegenation—the degenerate Burgher population of the present!

On the Sinhalese side of the picture we find a condition of hopeless disintegration. Kings oblivious of the suffering of the people, the people almost on the point of exhaustion through simultaneous sucking of their blood by the native officials as well as European governors, the ministers a vile hierarchy of self-seekers! The only redeeming feature in this dark age of Sinhalese history is the remarkable revival of Buddhism by *Saranankara*—the indomitable spirit determined upon re-establishing the noble religion of Tathagata—now almost dead in the island once considered to be the stronghold of Buddhism! We expected a more detailed account of this religious *renaissance* from the author. All the same we congratulate him on the publication of his instructive work.

KALHAN

CANARESE.

MAHATMA GANDHI, HIS LIFE, SPEECHES AND WRITINGS, by M M Hardekar, Davangne (Mysore State)

The author of this little book is a well known Canarese writer. He has written numerous books and brochures, but in none of these, except perhaps his 'Counsels', he has been so completely successful as in the volume now before us. The short preface with which the book opens is inspiring. Mahatma's life is divided into three well marked periods: (1) his boyhood and education, (2) his work in Africa, and (3) his work in India. Every part is well proportioned. To the end is tagged a summary of his speeches and writings. The style throughout is simple.

and chaste, and though it lacks terseness and nervous force, is well adapted to the story of a great saintly life which it tells. There are a few misprints. Inverted commas especially are not closed. Words are joined where they should have been separated. To enhance the value of the book Mahatmaj's speeches and writings should have been given in extenso.

M S K

PERSIAN-URDU

KHULASAT-UT-TAWARIKH by *Sujan Rai Bhandari of Batala*, edited by *Maulvi Zafar Hassan, B A*, with *Urdu and English Prefaces (Delhi, 1918)* Pp 16+540+32+8, Rs 5

This Persian history of India, written in 1695 A. D., enjoyed great popularity in the early days of British rule, when the primary sources of Indo-Muhammadian history were unexplored or difficult of access. But a mere compilation, such as this work is, sinks into deserved oblivion after the detailed and authentic histories of the period have been popularised by scholars. The only value of the *Khulasat* now lies in that part of its topographical notes which is not borrowed from the *Ain-i-Akbari*,—which amounts to little except in the chapter on the Panjab. Manuscripts of the work are very frequently met with. I bought one at Benares for Rs 7 only.

Mr Zafar Hassan, the editor, is inaccurate when he remarks that this is the first history of the Muhammadian rulers written by a Hindu. Brindaban, the son of Dara Shukoh's diwan, had anticipated Sujan Rai. The editor knows English, but he takes no note of the preceding studies of this work in English, viz, Mr Beveridge's article in the *J R S A* (1898) and my *India of Aurangzib Statistics, Topography and Roads*, with extracts from the *Khulasat-ut-tawarikh* and *Chahar Gulshan*, translated and annotated (1901).

JADUNATH SARKAR

SANSKRIT

TANTRIK TEXTS edited by *Arthur Avalon*, Vol VIII *Tantraraja Tantra with the Commentary named Manorama* by *Subhaganandana*, Part I, Chapter I-XVIII, edited by *Mahamahopadhyaya Lakshmana Shastri*, Luzac & Co, London Pp 37+331

The Tantras are sometimes divided into three classes technically named *Kadi*, *Hadi*, and *Kahadi*. The volume before us belongs to the first class, and hence is called *Kadimata*, besides, *Svatantra*, *Tantraraja*, and *Purnatantra*, as *Sivaramaprakasa*, another commentator of it, says in the beginning of his commentary (कादिमत-सूक्तन्त्र, राज-तन्त्र, पूर्णतन्त्र, रूपनाम चतुष्टय वाच्यै-तन्त्रतन्त्र). A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS, Govt Oriental MSS Library, Madras, vol XII, Religion, p 4383) "The Kadi Tantras

give," as says the general editor, Mr Avalon, in his introduction, "detailed injunctions touching the worship of Shakti in Her various forms." There are sixteen such forms called *Nityas*, and there are three forms of their worship, viz, *Sthula* or gross, *Sukshma* or subtle, and *Para* or supreme. The *Tantraraja* gives all these three forms of worship "whereby the Sadhaka is led by his Guru through ascending stages to Advaita Siddhi."

The work is divided into 36 Patalas or chapters of which the first 18 Patalas are presented to us in the first part under notice. The colophons of the Patalas from IX to XVIII in the commentary have been very carelessly edited, for each of them contains the words expressive of the subject matter (as नित्यकृत्ता नित्यादिवाविधान प्रकाशनपर etc), which, in fact, is not dealt with in that Patala, but in others. This may be due to some extent to the MSS which are evidently not correct here and on which the edition is based, but it might very easily have been checked only by taking a little care to read the beginning of each of the Patalas in the commentary.

We are glad to see that it is through the thoughtful writings and unflinching zeal and energy of Mr Avalon that Tantric literature is no longer a subject looked down upon by the indologists.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

GUJARATI

ARUNA OR VARANGNA KE VIRANGANA, written by *Ramanlal Nanalal Shah*, and published by *Champaklal G Jarivala, Surat*, paper cover, pp 154 Price As 12 (1919)

The historical incident of Aruna, the mistress of Rana Udaya Singh of Chitore, fighting to save the honor of that ancient Rajput house, and successfully turning back Akbar and his Mogal hordes, is the fine subject matter of this interesting novel, and no one will regret his time spent in reading it.

EMERSON'S NIBANDH^{OR} ESSAYS, by *Shanti Shanker Bhanu Shanker Bhatt*, printed at the *Vasant Vjaya Printing Press, Bhavnagar*. Thick paper cover, pp 171 Price Re 1-4-0 (1919)

This is a second attempt to render Emerson into Gujarati. Emerson's American English, his terse style, epigrammatic language, and sentences which are synonymous with aphorisms, render his translation into any other language very difficult. Added to this is the fact that he attracts very few readers of the ordinary type. Considering all this, we think Mr Bhatt has on the whole done his task well. We say so, because on reading the essays, one is able fully to enter into the spirit of what Emerson meant to say.

PUSHTI MARGIYA SIDDHANTA (पुष्टि मार्गीय सिद्धांत अथवा शुद्धाद्वैतना मूलतत्त्व) Part II, by Patwari Ranchoddas Vrandavandas, B A, LL B, Dwari, Gondal, Kathiawad. Printed at the Gondal Town Printing Press Thick cardboard, pp 146 Price As 4 (1919)

This book is supposed to be a reply to Bankim Babu's Krishna Charitra, by one who is steeped

wholly in the unreasoning and blind faith of a *Pushti Margiya*. It consists of a string of quotations from several religious books, and dialogues, all of a partisan nature, which may carry conviction to those predisposed to it, but not to those who would care to examine both sides of a question

K M J

THE COMING REVOLUTION IN EDUCATION

BY CAPTAIN J W PETAVEL, LATE R E,

PRINCIPAL, MAHARAJAH COSSIMBAZAR'S POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE

GOOD and bad are relative terms in our world of imperfections things we call good at one time, we begin to call bad at another when we see our way clear to better. Now we have a rapidly increasing number of people who condemn our whole educational system as bad, and we all know what is the cause of this attitude towards it namely, the growing idea that education could and should include all-round training, and not merely class-teaching, supplemented perhaps with a few hours a week devoted to some physical exercises.

We are living in an age of science and diffusion of knowledge. We have had, among other things, a Royal Commission on Physical Deterioration to drive home to us the fact that, in its own words, the young human being, under the age of about eighteen, is 'plastic', yielding rapidly to influences alike in character, in mind and body, and the environment up to that age is largely determining for good or the reverse in after life, we have been made to realise what a serious thing it is to neglect the training of youth in any way during those infinitely precious years of plasticity. Along with that we have had the great War to rush us headlong into an era of expenditure hitherto undreamt of, and to reveal, as by a flash-light, what enormous wealth and spending power we possess, if only we have a mind to use it. Naturally, then, we are thinking that we

must use some of it for the infinitely important purpose of moulding the young in every way whilst they are plastic and it can be done.

No subject, of course, has been studied with more loving care, and by more able and devoted people, than education, but limited by the lack of means, they evolved a system, that, as we know only too well, fails from the point of view of training. It gives such poor opportunities for character-training that we have not been able to evolve any general method in connection with it, it is conceived with too scanty regard to health requirements, and is defective even from the point of view of training the mental faculties, because it does not train them all, neglecting the practical side.

Those who evolved it, and work with it, well aware, of course, of its limitations, appeal to all conscientious teachers to give their personal care to the training of the character of the youths entrusted to them, whilst, for physical development, and also for character-training, they look to sports, which serve fairly well, and efforts are often made to introduce certain practical elements into the school curriculum.

But this plan of leaving the most important things to unorganised effort, which never gave quite satisfactory results, has become quite impossible now that education has extended downwards among

classes of people who have not the means either to place their children in the charge of experienced masters for character-training, or to give them very much in the way of sports to train them physically, so it has become absolutely necessary now to have a system that includes all this training. In countries like Great Britain, where the population is largely urban, the need of this change is of the greatest possible urgency. Country children, after all, have wholesome surroundings, but town-children are severed from natural opportunities of health and character-training, and have not even always opportunities for healthy play. Great Britain, with four-fifths of her population urban, is clearly called upon to lead in utilising the new forces we now see to be at our disposal to revolutionise education, India's duty is hardly less clear, with her problem of popular education yet unsolved.

Now the position with respect to the education problem is as profoundly interesting as any that has ever existed.

The limitations that are responsible for the deficiencies of our system have been removed.

We are on the eve of a revolution in education so wonderful that it will be comparable only to the revolution that was brought about in the domains of travel and intercommunication by steam and electricity, but one that will be fraught with immeasurably more good for mankind.

Owing to our industrial progress the economist is able now to say to the educationalist, describe exactly what you want, and I shall tell you how you can have it.

If we were able to ask for exactly what we want, with the knowledge we have now about this "plasticity" of the young human being, we should say that we want a system designed first to give the children vitality, to make them in every way alive, wide-awake, energetic, keen, strong and healthy.

To give them vitality what we need is to arrange that they shall be employed in such a way that they will be maintained as constantly and as keenly interested as possible, and so be led to the

fullest and most joyful exercise of their various faculties.

That, however, does not mean that, because children are not keen on class-work, it should be neglected. It is of supreme importance for mental discipline, and, of course, for developing a great many of the faculties of the intellect, indeed, most of them, and therefore it will have always the same importance, but we should make the school hours an alternation of different kinds of occupations. Sports should play a very great part, because they stand first in inducing keenness, set games, well conceived and organised, should be the basis, but looked upon, as far as possible, as a means of leading the children to finding their own avenues of joyful and spontaneous exertion. Joy and spontaneity are the rain and sunshine that alone can bring the young human plant to its greatest possible perfection, developing the body through the influence of the mind, as much as the mind itself.

The school hours might be ten or even twelve, four might be devoted to class-work, coming in short periods, separated by periods of sports, or practical work, so that lessons would be welcomed as a change and rest, as a complete change of occupation is, instead of boring the children as they do now, and tiring them.

As regards, however, their intellectual development, we should say, make them vital, and cultivate in them the mentality that is quick to learn, and knowledge of subjects will come. In every respect we should put training first and foremost, and mere learning nowhere in comparison. The learning age does not terminate with adolescence, the formation of a wide-awake, learning mentality, is the thing to see to whilst the age of plasticity lasts.

Whilst developing vitality, the moral sense must be developed and that, of course, is the educationalists' greatest task. All will agree that, to give them the best opportunities, they want to have the children as long hours in their charge and as variously occupied, as possible, and that nothing could be better than if they could be employed part of the time co-operating

together doing some practical work towards their own maintenance. All know the incomparable educative value of useful work, the special interest aroused by producing something visible and to be used by themselves, comes second only to sports in creating keenness, and to many, indeed, it is sport in the true sense. Character, keenness, practical faculties, everything in fact, is developed by that best of all educational means, productive work, as educationalists of all times have well appreciated.

There might be three hours at first, and more later, devoted to the practical productive work, and the remaining hours to lessons, sports and intervals of rest and refreshment, rest coming at the right times, as for instance after games or manual work.

Now we come to what we have perhaps the right to speak of as the most hopeful fact of modern times. Owing to the industrial progress of the last decades, the manual part of the training can, under proper conditions, be made to pay for the whole, so that we can have the entire programme for the poorest as well as for the richest.

If the children were well trained from the first, they would soon have value in an industrial organisation helped by modern methods, which can make considerable use of the labour of children. By when they were sixteen or seventeen, working in the organisation in which they had been brought up from the first, they would have the value of men and women, so that, with a proportion of adults as leading hands, they would form a useful labour staff, children of twelve, even, helping usefully in some of the work—though, it is important to note, that would not be economically necessary.

But we must understand the economics of production for use to realise how these improved methods could help an education organisation, and enable us to keep some at least of the children till sixteen or seventeen, which it is necessary to do with some for economic success, and with all, if possible, for the best educational results to be obtained.

Briefly, then, we are very safe in saying that, on a general average, the shop prices of articles are double what it costs to produce them in a good organisation, so that an organisation paying its workers in kind, would be able to give them double as much as their money wages would buy and they would be able to take home for a half day's work as much of the produce of their own labour as the wages of a full day's work will purchase. Generally speaking the father of a family must earn money to buy the variety of articles the family needs, but a boy or a girl can perfectly well bring home their little contribution in the form of some useful articles used every day, and therefore it is possible for them to work under those exceedingly advantageous conditions, and thus to be full earners whilst devoting half their time to training.

The fact that I have spoken of as the most hopeful of our day may be stated thus —

Owing to industrial progress, we have now only to make an education system perfect, and then it will be perfectly cheap, and all children, rich and poor alike, and in all countries, will be able, during those precious years of plasticity, to have the training that, begun young enough, and continued long enough, can make them strong and healthy, developed in every way and educated in the best sense. There need be no more neglected children, either as to education or in any other way. Town-children can be taken, daily or on a system of rotation, to farm-schools in the country, where they can be employed in this way, and where their parents desire it, or if their homes are unhealthy and undesirable, they can remain as boarders, and be well fed and cared for, paying for it sooner or later by their labour in the organisation in which the seniors will produce necessities for themselves and the juniors.

Could such things be practically possible, it will be asked. Surely, it will be said, if they were, some such plan would be adopted at once, at least in England where four-fifths of the population is urban, and where, therefore, it would be nothing less than bodily salvation to the children; and

in India where the masses are illiterate, because the country cannot afford education that costs money

But it cannot, indeed, be done all of a sudden, that is to say, it would need an amount of capital and enthusiasm that are not forthcoming in such causes as that of helping the educationist solve his problems. We shall have to go to work patiently to build up the organisation, and the problem for us is how best to do that

I will now describe very briefly the plan I suggested in my report to the Calcutta University Commission,* and the steps that, by the generosity of the Maharaja of Cossimbazar, I am taking towards carrying it out

In India we have, on the one hand, an education system leading many of those who follow it into a blind alley, and on the other hand, industrial and commercial development opening up opportunities on all sides for suitably trained youths

An obvious plan, therefore, is to establish schools in connection with which there will be as much industrial work as possible, and co-operation to give the boys practical commercial training

The best plan would be to have land attached to the schools, to grow as much food as possible for the boys, and for use in their homes, when the school is in the town I suggest taking the boys outside daily or by rotation, and for week-ends and holidays. In the industries and on the land, hired labour should be used, but the boys should learn the processes practically, specialising of course in different branches, some in the workshop, some on the farm, others in the garden, so that, when in the upper classes, they will become effective helpers in the work of supervising the hired labour. The fundamental principle is instruction of the boys and supervision of the hired workers arranged for together. The boys would be under instruction longer, but those looking after them would at the same time be looking after some paid workers doing productive work. That is another way of explaining this first step

* See volume VII, p. 18 of its Report.

It would be possible in that way, not only to give them a training of the highest value from the point of view of general, as well as vocational education, but ultimately to enable them to help very usefully towards their support, producing for use—not for sale—in the way described above

A useful first step can be made with a small piece of land

With sufficient capital and the help of modern methods, a great deal of produce costs but little to grow, but the difficulties generally are, first, supervision of this kind of work in which the workers are scattered and engaged in an extraordinarily large variety of processes, and secondly, the need of much additional labour at certain times of the year. The schools could supply this

All the boys would be carefully trained to observe and to be methodical, and each made thorough in some department of the work, so that, after a time, they would be of real assistance to the superintendent. That is clearly the very best possible training for them. As regards the extra labour required at certain seasons, all boys should help

In my own school, Maharajah Cossimbazar's Polytechnic Institute, we have got so far as to give all our boys some manual training and the next step I intend will be to secure some land near a canal that runs close to us, and take boys out there to start agricultural operations in a small way, seeking also to co-operate in every manner with the villagers and carrying out ideas which I also advocate in connection with this plan,* doing all kinds of co-operative trading, both buying some things from the villagers, and opening co-operative stores as a practical commercial training for the boys

With such a munificent patron as Maharajah Cossimbazar and the liberal and sympathetic help of the Education Department, we hope to go on increasing our activities

* See also Report of Calcutta University Commission and my Lectures to Calcutta University, 1917, on Man and Machine Power, p. 108

So much, then, for our school, our first step. But, after all, this is not a matter in which we must lose ourselves in the details of an individual effort. The really useful thing is to draw attention to the principles, to the great and hopeful economic facts, with their profound significance for the future. On the initiative of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Calcutta University has established a fund to propagate knowledge of them, and formed classes of students to study them. His Highness the Maharajah of Mysore has shown interest and I have been formally requested by His Highness's Government to suggest a scheme for carrying out the plan in Mysore. His Excellency the Viceroy and Lady Chelmsford have sent expressions of their appreciation and their good wishes.

Let us keep in mind the facts, they are fraught with hope. The Swiss and French have given us illuminating examples by applying the principle to the teaching of agriculture. From such beginnings, equally applicable to other kinds of technical education, the system can extend, and we must see it does extend, and rapidly. We must rise in this case above all pettiness and prejudices that oppose new ideas for the sake of our children and their future.

In practically every country in which popular education on the old plan has spread to all classes, we hear of moral deterioration, shirking work, whilst often recruiting statistics tell us terrible tales of physical deterioration, and "race suicide", the last word of degeneracy, is rampant. It

is impossible not to put a share of responsibility for these things on an education system which, just at the age when it is of supreme importance to make the children's spirits run as high as possible, bores them, and just when everything should be done to induce in them earnestness and keen application, keeps them a great part of the day sitting on benches, doing work, the fruit of which is too much in the distant future to interest them, so that it induces the spirit of shirking. With all the respect due to those whose genius and loving labour have evolved the system of the past, under the handicaps of the past, that system, applied under our conditions, and with our modern knowledge, puts us in mind of the words about giving "A stone for bread and a scorpion for an egg."

It is our most urgent duty to exchange a system that is certainly open in such important ways to the charge of doing the worst for the children, for one doing the very best possible for them during those years of plasticity that are the great chance of their lives.

With the knowledge we have now of physiology we see our system to be utterly defective, with the knowledge we have of economics we know we can alter it, so we must do it and without delay. The work is going on, all can help, and educated men in India have a very special reason to do so zealously in the fact that this education system will solve completely and finally the problem of middle class unemployment.

THE MUSEUM OF THE VARENDRA RESEARCH SOCIETY, RAJSHAHI (BENGAL)

BY ORDHENDRA COOMAR GANGOLY

"IN the afternoon His Excellency opened the new building and the museum of the Varendra Research Society." This meagre information, conveyed to the local newspapers by the Associated Press on the 27th November last, was very ill suited to convey to the general public,

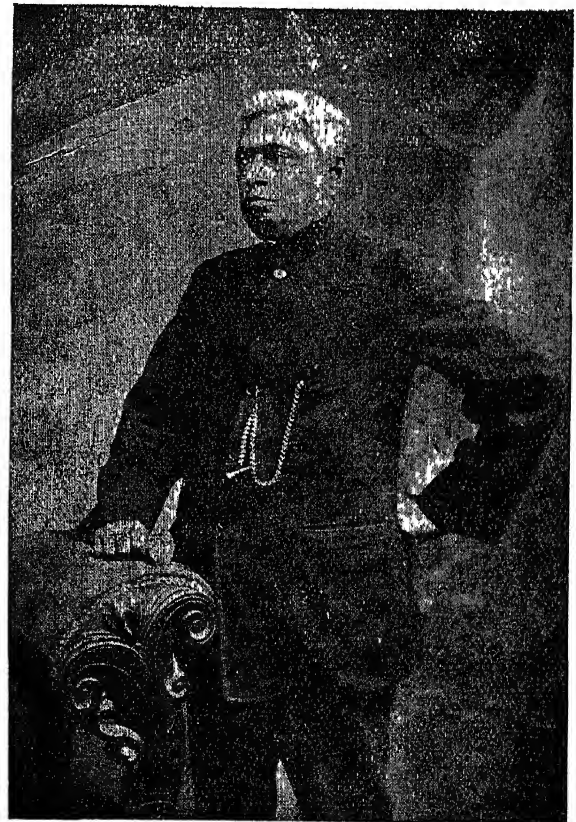
characteristically indifferent to such matters, any idea of the importance and significance of the event in the educational history of Bengal. In other countries such an event would have aroused a wide-spread interest and enthusiasm, if not among the multitude, at least amongst the upper tens



Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray, M A
President, Varendra Research Society

of the educated public, and very probably the principal dailies would have sent special representatives to the scene of occurrence to write appreciative notices of a first-hand impression of the opening ceremony. But Bengal has yet to progress in these matters and, therefore, apologies are needed for resurrecting that stale news from the burial of its oblivion. We require a lot of argument to convince ourselves how the opening of a "Jadughar" could be an event in the educational history of a province. Indeed, the 'magic palace' has no place in our educational scheme. Where progress of education has still to be marked by the pages covered in the *Calcutta Gazette* by lists of matriculates and other successful university examinees and the multiplication of Ph D's, culture and education will continue to be aggressive antonyms, rather than, as in other countries, sweet synonyms. It is said that in winning knowledge man becomes

an outcast from beauty. And a good deal of the dissociation of intellectual acquisition from artistic feeling is the direct product of the superstition of confining education to literary scripts. Our educational pundits appear to have taken elaborate precautions not to let any kind of knowledge, training, or education steal or filter "through the eyes" except perhaps through the cumbrous and musty machinery of books, commentaries and lecture-notes. And the vital and organic relationship that exists between University education and museums in western countries, (there are museums attached to most universities in America) is still awaiting recognition in educational ideals in India. As matters stand at present, the museum, far from being a part of the system of education, is not looked upon as any useful help or supplement to the ordinary university curriculum, and practically no educational uses are made of any



Mr Akshay Kumar Maitra, M A, B L
Director, Varendra Research Society

objects of our museum collections except in the domains of Zoology and Geology in which the models and specimens themselves are the unavoidable text-books of the subjects. Museums are generally regarded as show places and are resorted to, as such, by our illiterate women-folk and children as a means of whiling away a spare half-an-hour for pleasure rather than for profit. An attempt was made in the local museum to arrange for what is known as 'docent service' for the benefit of visitors, but it appears to have been a failure, as very few people responded to it, there being a general disinclination to regard a visit to the museum as any thing more than a pure pastime. It must be recognised, however, that the primary and perhaps the best use of a museum lies in its opportunity of enjoyment rather than for any other purpose—an opportunity of broadening our culture and sensibilities by the exercise of the faculty of

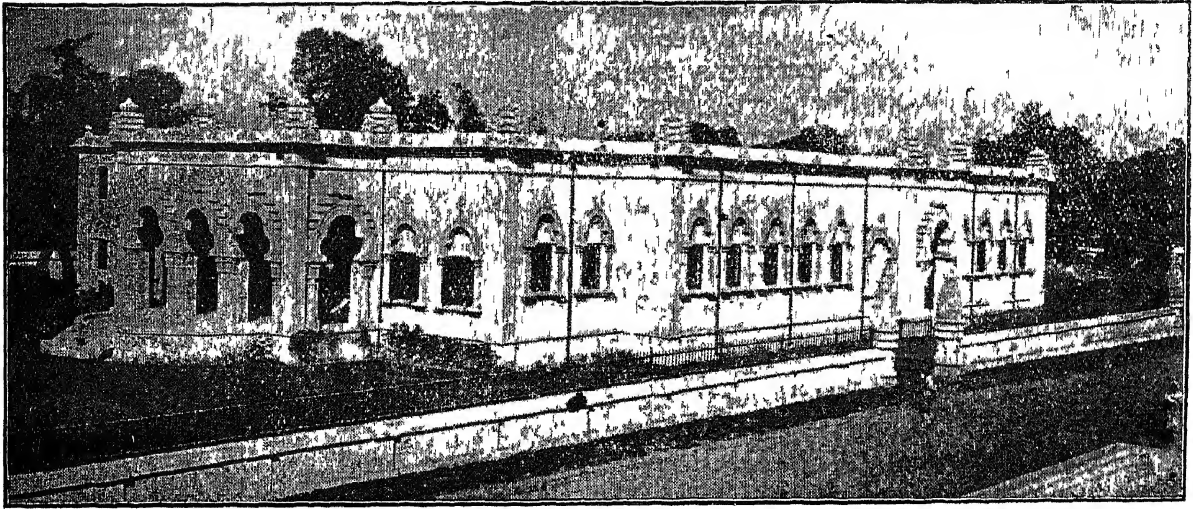


Mr Radha-Govinda Basak, M.A.
Honorary Secretary, Varendra Research Society
"liking things which others have made to their liking," and by the re-awakening of the standard of enthusiasm of the race in every new beholder, however distant in time and place from the creator of the exhibits. It has been well argued that a museum is primarily an instrument of culture, being an instrument of enjoyment of beauty and, only secondarily, is a seat of education or learning. An institution which can educate our capacities for enjoyment of things and to teach us "to like things as their creators liked them" is in the highest sense of the term an instrument of humanizing education. While there is an important distinction between culture and learning, there ought not to be any substantial breach between culture and education. An instrument which helps us to identify culture with education has greater educational uses than many schools and colleges.

The museum of the Varendra Research Society, opened in November last, is a signal landmark in the history of educa-



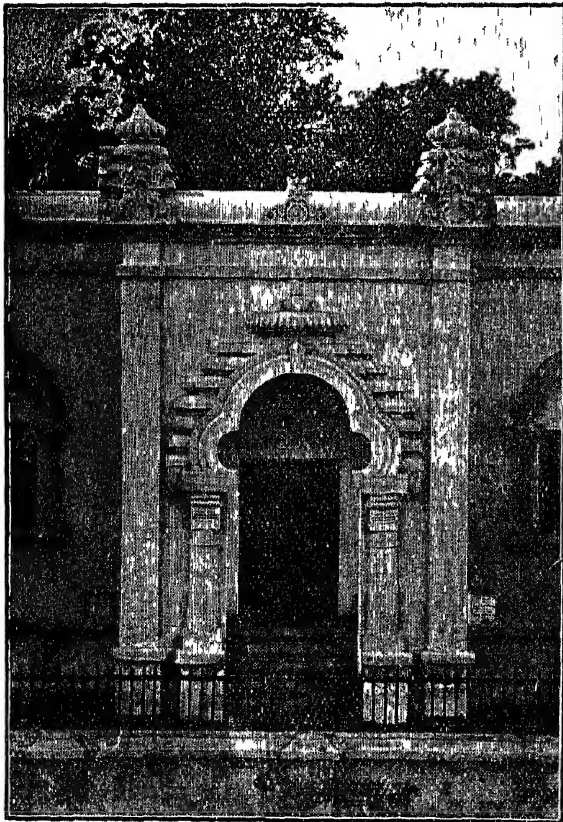
Mr Ramaprasad Chanda, B.A.
One of the Founders, Varendra Research Society



Varendra Research Society, Main Building

tion in Bengal. It is the first attempt to realise an ideal in education which is yet beyond the dreams of the Indian Univer-

sities. The event acquires additional significance from the fact that it has been accomplished by the sacrifice and devotion of a group of educated Bengalis who had no direct connection with the educational history of Bengal. The birth of such an institution in a provincial town far away from the official educational centres offers an interesting experiment for decentralization in education. The valuable treasures of the museum to which we shall shortly refer should attract students and research scholars who will find abundant materials for many new fields of knowledge connected with the history of art, literature, religion and the dynasties of old Bengal and Gaud. The many acrimonious and bitter controversies that followed some of the publications of the Varendra Research Society have created a sort of unworthy prejudice against the value of the materials collected by the Society and there has been an unfortunate inclination on the part of our fellow ditchers to look upon the movement as a provincial effort not deserving of serious consideration. With the growth of urban civilization there has been an unhappy tendency to discount all suburban movements as petty and provincial, though much of our urban culture itself is really snobbish and 'suburban'. The museum founded by the Varendra Research Society is certainly not a petty provincial institution. It is worthy of and

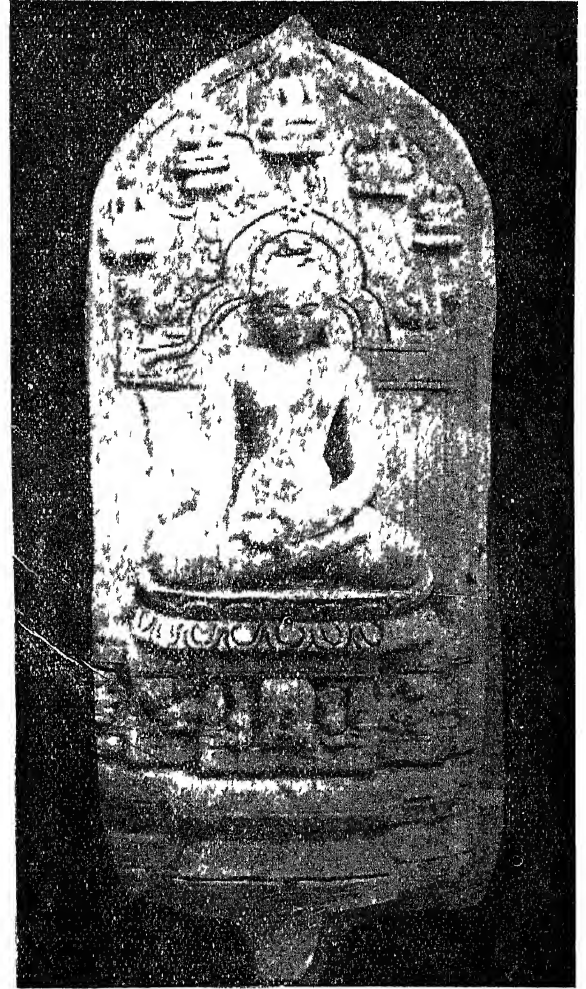


A Gateway in the main building of Varendra Research Society, showing the Style of Architecture employed in the construction of the building

it has yet to be imitated by all the educational capitals of India. The movement in this provincial town deserves, in its own sphere, the same public estimation that in a different sphere has been accorded to the famous institution at Bolpur. If we have not co-operated with the founders and organisers of the society in their laudable efforts, they are, nevertheless, ever willing to extend to all of us the privilege of participating in the fruits of their acquisitions and of joining them in a common appreciation and enjoyment of the beauties of old Gaud—our joint heritage of history, the relics of which they have reverently collected in their new Magic Palace.



Dancing Ganesha



A Buddhist Image

The Society was founded in 1910 and was at first accommodated in the rooms of the Rajshahi Public Library, but its collections soon outgrew the limits of the accommodation provided by its temporary lodging, and it was soon realised that it must have a suitable building of its own with space for future expansion. Through the generosity of the Vice-Patron, Raja Pramada Nath Roy of Dighapatiya, the Society received as a gift a beautiful plot of land on which it has now been able to build its new home, the foundation stone having been laid by Lord Carmichael on the 13th November, 1916. The main building of the museum, which has been very appropriately designed with architectural motives from old specimens with which the archaeology of Gaud



Sarasvati

has made us familiar, is an imposing edifice with a proper setting provided by two bits of grounds on either side. It has a porch and an entrance hall measuring 18 feet square, leading to two galleries on either side each measuring 110 feet in length, flanked by a corridor 222 feet in length. There is also accommodation for a library and reading room, a council chamber and also a guest room with all provisions for conveniences and necessary servants' quarters, officers' quarters, and kitchen. The total cost of the building and the land has amounted to Rs 63000 and has been met by Mr Sarat Kumar Ray, the President, who has been generously

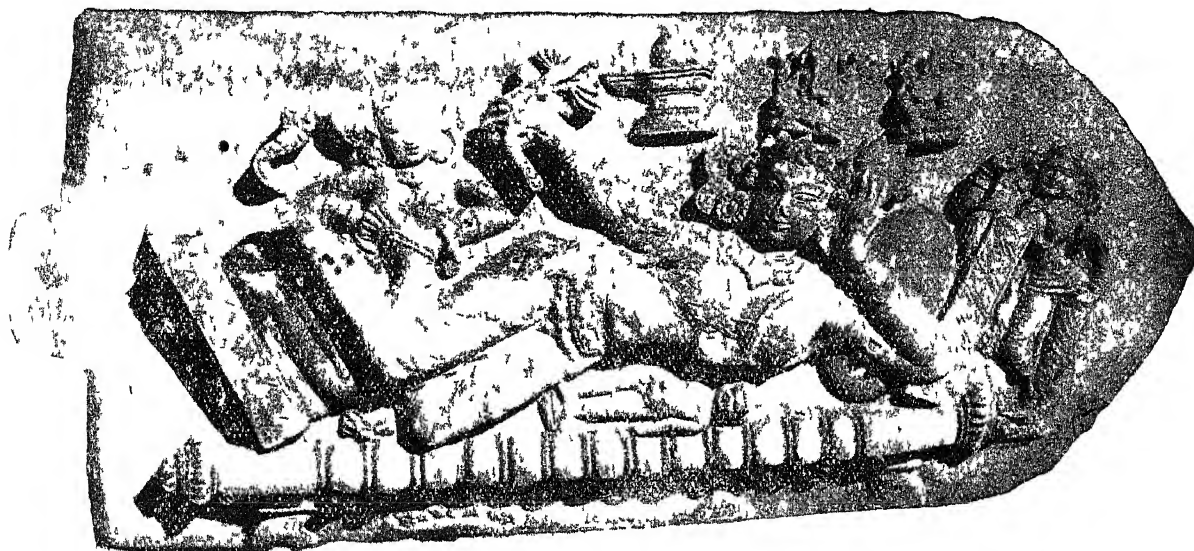
assisted by his brothers, and Mr Basanta Kumar Ray.

The museum, now located in the new home provided by its generous patrons, provides ample accommodation for its numerous relics, which include very interesting specimens of stone sculpture, copper images, stoneslabs, and other architectural relics and various valuable copper plates, some of which are the earliest records hitherto discovered in India, and a good collection of coins. The Library, which is a very live and necessary adjunct to the Museum, is enriched with 852 volumes of printed books, chosen with care and judgment and expert knowledge, which makes it the



Garuda

most useful reference collection for research students outside Calcutta. The richest treasures of the library are undoubtedly made up of the collection of valuable Sans-



Mother and Child

krit manuscripts numbering 1348, some of which are of unique interest

To students of antiquity and of the history of Bengali Sculpture, the collection of stone images, mostly of black chlorite offer interesting documents for the study of a branch of Indian Art in its interesting phases under the Sen and Pala dynasties. For assistance of comparative study of the other periods of Indian sculpture in its relation, if any, to Gaudian Art, some examples of Gandhara sculpture have been acquired by gift from the Indian museum. Two images of Buddha and a *dwarapala* of the Gupta period, discovered in Gaud, help to make the collection representative of the principal periods. The examples of Bodhi-Sattvas, Tara, Marichi, Hariti cover a very full, though not quite exhaustive, illustration of the Mahayanist Pantheon. The examples collected have very important relation to the study of Nepalese art, which, according to the superficial study that has been hitherto bestowed upon it, has many interesting ties with the sculptural tradition of Gaud and Magadha. Indeed it is possible from the small evidence now available, to suggest, and very shortly, to demonstrate that an important portion of what is now known as Nepalese Art was practically an emigrant and refugee from Old Bengal and Gaud. While the organisers of the Archaeological collection directed by



Makara-head,



Surya

Mr A K Maity has opened very fruitful and suggestive fields of enquiry of the part said to have been played by Gaud in the development of Art in Kalinga and Java, comparatively less attention has been given to the relationship of Gaudian Art with the interesting development in the Nepal valley. The collection, taken in their inward and local aspect alone, unrelated to the developments in neighbouring provinces, opens up a new field of enquiry, particularly from the point of view of iconography. The examples collected

of the images of Surya and Vishnu offer a great variety of specimens which easily link themselves into a string of iconographic development. The members do not claim to have yet discovered actual examples of sculpture from the chisel of Dhiman and Bitpal, the leaders of the Bengal School of sculpture, according to historical renown. Although, it is hoped, they still cherish the laudable ambition of finding masterpieces by these artists who have such a halo of historic fame about them, many of the examples of sculpture are of great aesthetic value, whether they belong to the school of the names made famous in



Vishnu.



Mauchi

history or not. It is yet premature to attempt to trace the genesis of Gaudian sculpture. But from a superficial study of some of the specimens some tentative and hasty suggestions may be hazarded. It has been asserted that the Gaudian School is an altogether indigenous growth, springing from the soil of Old Bengal spreading its ramifications to its neighbouring countries and influencing the arts of many distant places, such as Orissa and Java. The magnificent remnants of Orissan sculpture, hardly appear to our mind, to bear any traces of Gaudian influence, though they have many ties of affinities and common bonds. The



Yama

Orissan School has a vitality and an individuality which precludes any suggestion of its being an adjunct or a pendant to the school of Old Bengal. If it had any direct connection with Gauda, in the earlier part of its history, is still an open question to be decided upon adequate materials. The leading motives of Orissan Art belong to the main stem of Indian Sculpture and seem to go back to the school of Central India and Mathura. The Gaudian School appears to have closer affinities with the old School of Magadha. Whether critics will agree to accord to the School the qualities that have been claimed for, it has yet to be seen. That it does not bear unmistakable evidence of a new and indigenous development will be obvious to many. Those inclined to under-rate Gaudian Sculpture from the nauseating repetitions of numerous examples of Vishnu and Surya of a very hackneyed type discovered in various parts of Bengal,



Siva-Lingam

will receive a very pleasant shock of surprise from the variety of examples collected in the Society's Museum. Indeed there are several new types of images of which no parallel has yet been discovered outside Bengal. The illustrations which accompany these notes will help to suggest the rich variety of the collection. The classification followed in the list recently printed as a preliminary to a fully scientifically descriptive catalogue which is to come later, covers a very wide field.

A Buddhist Images (a) Buddha (b) Bodhi-sattva, (c) Tara, (d) Marichi, (e) Hariti, (f) Mother of Buddha, (g) Vajisvari,

B Jaina C Saiva Images (a) Sivalingas, (b) Sadasiva, (c) Ardha-narisvara, (d) Uma-mahesvara, (e) Natesvara, &c, (f) Siva-Bhairava, (g) Kartikeya D Sakta Images (a) Chandi, (b) Mahishamardini, (c) Durga, (d) Chamunda, (e) Matrikas E Vaisnava Images (a) Vishnu, (b) Avataras, (c) Garuda, (d) Balarama F Saura Images (a) Sun-god, (b) Navagraha slabs, (c) Revanta. G Ganapatya Images (a) Sitting Ganesha, (b) Dancing Ganesha H Miscellaneous images e.g., Brahma, Yama, Ganga, Manasha, Saiaswati, &c Some of the architectural relics, Buddhist, Brahmanic and Mahomedan, are of unique interest and testify to the existence of glorious monuments in stone which have not survived destruction. From this

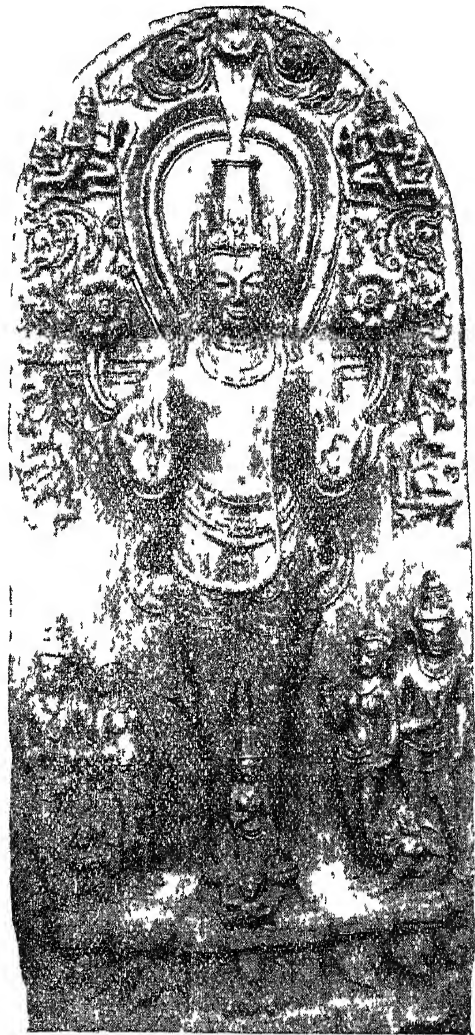


Chandi.

point of view the relics from the ruins of Mahisantosh are of special interest. They show that a mosque was built at the place in the fifteenth century from materials actually taken from Hindu and Buddhist temples and some of the fragments yet carry on one face the carvings of Hindu images and on the other Mahomedan decoration for a Mihrab. The metal images of the collection, though not so numerous as the stone relics, include 2 or 3 very fine pieces. Of the various copper plates collected, all of them very valuable documents for the study of the



Uma-Mahesvara



Surya

dynastic history of Bengal, one is the earliest in date hitherto discovered in India.

A study of these tangible monumental heritages of Bengals' past history is likely to throw many new lights on a past, which in spite of its many political vicissitudes, has many phases of brilliant activity, particularly in the domain of Art and Letters. It is a pleasure to testify to the laudable attempts made by the organisers and members of the Varendra Research Society to make the institution a living and growing centre of study. Museums and Libraries have an unfortunate tendency in this country to cease to be live institutions. After a few days of glorious life following the opening ceremony, they invariably settle down to comfortable



Chandi

obscurity. Indictments are often made against museums, as costly prisons of art, and libraries as cemeteries of books. It is really the active interest and enthusiastic study of exhibits on the part of an educated public that can save collections of art and antiquities from the fate of prisons and mummy houses. And the members of the Society have taken all possible steps to make their institution a living centre of study, and by initiating a valuable series of publications, the Society has endeavoured to utilise and interpret the valuable documents that it has been able to collect. The earliest of these publications, 'Gauda-Rajamala' (History of the Kings of Gaud) followed by Gauda-Lekhamala (the Inscrip-

tions of Gaud) are very well known. It is intended to publish in the same series a work called "Gauda-Silpamala" giving a survey of the Art of Gaud. The Founder President has placed at the disposal of the Society in 1917 funds to publish a series of Sanskrit works named "Savita-Memorial Series" in memory of his late lamented son. The first issue of this series 'Bhasha-vritti', a commentary on Panini's Gram-



Ardha-Nariswar

mar written under the orders of Lakshmana Sena, has already been published and two others in the same series, "Dhatu-pradīpa" and "Alamkara Kaustubha" are under preparation. The "Indo-Aryan Races" by Mr Rama Prosad Chanda published by the Society has made its fame quite international, Professor V Guiffrida-Ruggieri of the University of Naples, one of the leading authorities of physical anthropology, having adopted the scheme of ethnic stratification and classification of the Indian races as suggested by Mr Chanda in his learned thesis. The Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, has awarded a Government Post-graduate Research Scholarship to Mr Haridas Mitra, M A, for carrying on research work on iconography under the guidance of Mr Akshaya Kumar Martra, the Director of the Society. The Scholar is working in the Museum engaged on a monograph on the iconography of "Sadāsiva" of which the museum, contains various specimens. It is evident that the Society has amply justified its existence by creating a living centre of research and culture. It is by realising the history of the racial culture of Bengal that the future of the education of the country can be placed on solid foundations. And the Governor in his speech at the opening ceremony has rightly pointed out that "the activities of the Varendra Research Society are of the greatest value on two accounts. First-



Chandi

ly on account of the intrinsic importance of the informations already brought to light and secondly on account of

the excellent example which is being set and which it is hoped will kindle the interest and excite the emulation of other cultured men in other parts of the country " That the work of the Society has an important



Chandi



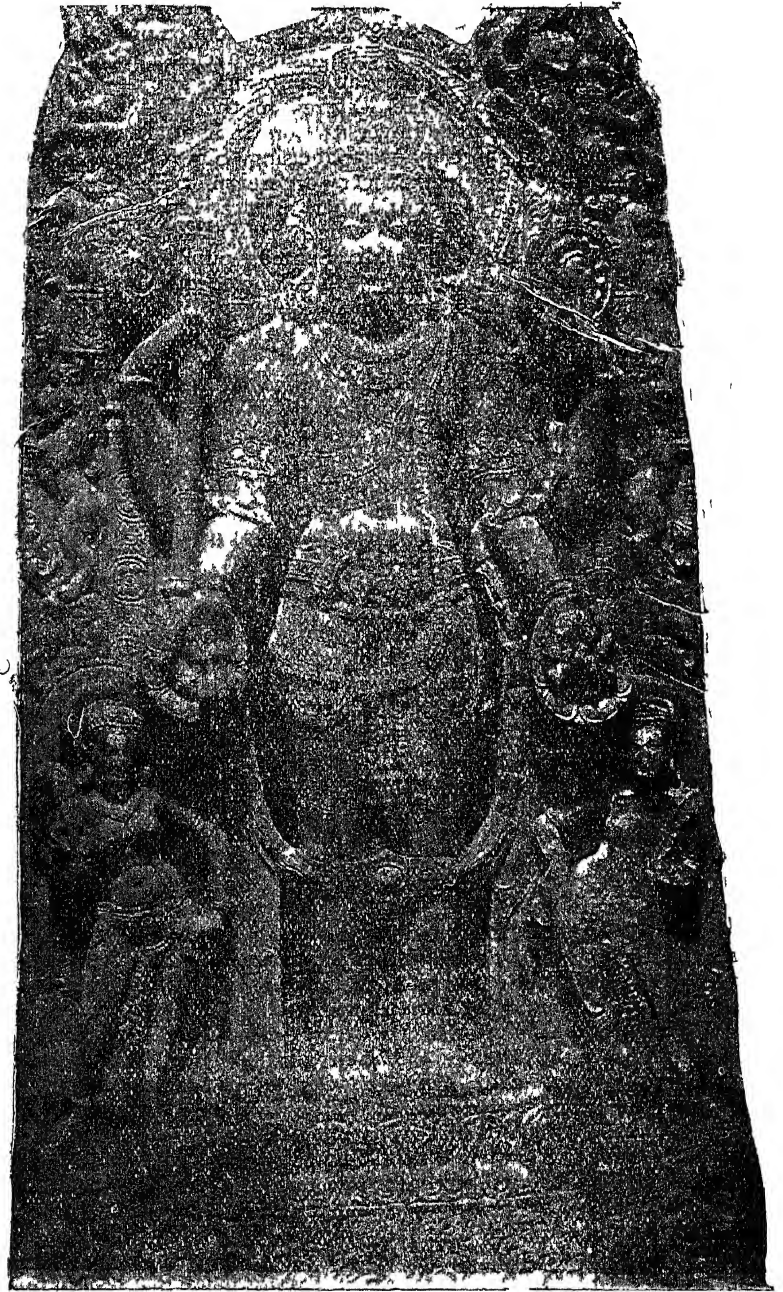
Vishnu



Navagraha

bearing on the future of education will be obvious to all. Research work of this kind has the sure effect of vitalising education and of broadening the culture of the educated by enlarging the boundaries of knowledge.

We have no doubt that the Society is destined to play a great part in realising the ideal of making our culture educated and our education cultivating. The rich treasures of the museum help us to link up the present generation with the glories of its past history and incidentally to educate us in a belief in our own capacities and to foster in us a sense of a dynamic faith in our power to shape our own future by picturing to us in tangible terms the records of our past achievements. From another point of view, namely the purely aesthetic pleasure that such a rich collection of sculptures and reliefs that is secured for even a casual visitor, not caring for their historical significance, the museum is worthy of a very high rank. For if the achievements of old Gaud are mere matters of past history, and if Old Gaud is *dead*, it nevertheless *lives* and lives gracefully in its carved and animated images.



Vishnu

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

M Foucher's Attack on "Nationalists"

A gentleman whose authority is recognised by both Indian and foreign scholars in historical matters sends us the following communication.

M Foucher has been a professor at Paris. He has specialised in Indo-Greek art. At present he is in

this country and this country has extended a warm welcome to him. Everywhere he has been requested to deliver lectures and Indians have been eager to meet him. The Calcutta University with its usual hospitality invited him to give a course of lectures on a subject to be selected by him. The learned professor lectured on Buddhist Art in Further India to the University in December last.

In the course of his lectures Professor Foucher has made caustic remarks against 'nationalists', mentioning Mr Arun Sen by name. Mr Arun Sen is a classical scholar, has received his training at Cambridge and is a barrister by profession. He lectures to the M A students of the Calcutta University on Indian art. He has published a short paper criticising Sir John Marshall's and Dr Spooner's theory of foreign origins of Mauryan art in a recent number of the *Indian Antiquary*. This seems to have been the cause of Mr Sen's condemnation. For Mr Sen has published nothing on Further Indian Art—the subject of M Foucher's lectures—or on any other topic of Indian art.

We take this occasion to protest publicly against the growing practice, of official archaeologists, of attacking their adversaries by calling them 'nationalists' and 'patriots'. Instead of meeting their arguments, shelter is sought under a term which has in certain quarters become disreputable. We must say, the method is highly unfair. Even "Agastya" who has more than once defended the administration of Sir John Marshall and Dr Spooner, writing last November in this Review has had to make remarks on this unfairness.

"Every student who desires to approach this study with an open and unbiased mind has to appraise critically the opinions of the so-called authorities whose works by lapse of time, rather than by the weight of their arguments, or by the value of their insight, have assumed a seat of false respect, to contest which means not only an act of sacrilege but an exhibition of one's so called 'national bias'."

M Foucher is our guest, and we would not like to refer to his lectures in a way not hospitable. We are grateful that he has given such long years to studies connected with India, we are grateful that he is amongst us, we are delighted at the prospect of his remaining longer as an additional superintendent of archaeology. Had it not been in the interest of Indian scholarship, we would not have referred to his belittling and contemptuous allusion to Mr Arun Sen's theories. The interest in the study of Indian art in the Calcutta University owes much to Mr Arun Sen. He should take the attack as an admission of the keenness of his arguments, which official archaeology finds difficult to meet by fair arguments. Official archaeology had begun to put forward a theory (before the King's Proclamation) that to question its pet theories was something like seditious. It had started calling such questionings 'patriotic' 'nationalistic' that was another term for 'disloyal'. It used to call itself the 'Government of India in the Archaeological Department'. How could one dare to question that 'Government'?

"Should Brahmos Call Themselves Hindus"

'A Hindu' in the December number of the *Modern Review* has again raised the old old question: "Should Brahmos call themselves Hindus?" To me the real question appears to be whether non-caste and non-idolatrous Brahmos could call themselves Hindus if they would, in spite of *A Hindu's* masterly treatment of the subject and his reply in the affirmative. It is well and good if the followers of every other religion in

India regard the Brahmos 'as the most advanced section of Hindus'. If it is a fact, they must have persuaded themselves to think in this way very recently and that not very logically. When at the early seventies of the last century, the Brahmos felt the paramount necessity of introducing a kind of non-idolatrous and non-caste marriage for themselves, 'the followers of every other religion in India' did not hold this liberal opinion. It is a matter of history that all opinions, both legal and scriptural, were arrayed against the Brahmos. Marriage and inheritance are institutions that can scarcely be left to chance and to the will of the individual. And the Brahmos were not *Sannyasis*. So they sought for some means to legalise their marriage system. And if that means took an undesirable shape it was not the Brahmos' own making. The worst enemies of the Brahmo Samaj cannot upbraid it with the responsibility. Yet the Brahmos of Hindu origin, in spite of their opponents outside have all along remained Hindus in reality if it may not be in form also. If the proof of the pudding is in the eating and the tree is known by its fruits, the Brahmos of India are 'Hindus and nothing else'. Judged by idolatry and caste—and one may be tempted to add widow-remarriage—the Brahmo Samaj is more Mussalman than Hindu, yet, as a rule, though surrounded by millions of Mussalmans all the Brahmos are recruits from the Hindu Samaj. And, therefore, man's life being not a dogma here or a practice there but ramifications of a trunk firmly rooted in the soil, in spite of their rejection of caste and idolatry, the Brahmos' life is bound to the parent stock by a thousand and one ties of associations—social, moral, religious and otherwise—more subtle than one can lay one's hand on. However, there has arisen this anomaly in the present circumstances of the country that the Brahmo is a Hindu, yet he is not a Hindu as the term is now interpreted in a narrow sense which it has acquired under the British administration. It is quite contrary to the connotation that obtained in the pre-British period or still obtains outside India. 'A Hindu' has fallen an easy victim to this mistake, nor is he cognisant of the modifications in the connotation of the term proposed from time to time even in British India. And the anomaly has, it is said, reached its acme at the marriage declaration. Is there no way out of it? Though the term Hindu excludes the declarer from its pale in one sense, it includes him in a better and wider sense. Jains and Sikhs are Hindus. Now if one declares that one is neither Hindu nor Jain, nor Sikh, then the declarer is not necessarily excluded from the wider application of the term Hindu, because Jains and Sikhs are Hindus. He would be excluded only in the narrower sense in which Sikhs and Jains are excluded. To include the Sikhs and Jains in and to exclude the declarer from the application of the term Hindu would give rise to the fallacy of cross division. A mistake to be corrected by school boys cannot be laid at the door of those who undertook to legislate for the whole of the Indian Empire and in whose hands hung the destiny of 30 crores of human beings. So if a man without caste and idolatry can be a Hindu, that Hindu the Brahmo is and will ever remain despite his marriage declaration. Now the question of questions is that the Hindu must know his mind and proclaim from the house-top that the Brahmos with their non-caste marriage are

not unwelcome guests. But all the signs point in quite the opposite direction. With his fellow-Hindus' resuscitated *Varnashram* propaganda and their tooth and nail opposition to Bose and Patel bills, *A Hindu's* contention may, in spite of his own sincere conviction and intention, turn out to be merely academic. But he has sounded his note of warning not a day too soon that his community is in danger of disruption, not on account of her rejection of caste, as is contended by the unreflecting portion of the community, but because of its retention of caste. In this connection it will not be out of place to refer to the momentous utterance of

Mr Justice Sadasiva Iyer, as President of the Social Service League, Madras. He said in an angry mood that he was seriously thinking of giving up the name Hindu if within 5 years from this date the rigidity of caste and this rigidity of so called Hindu religion which did not take other nations into its fold should not disappear. Here is much food for reflection for those who still think it worth their while to invite Brahmans to formally call themselves Hindus when such a prominent member of the community has threatened to discard the Hindu name.

DHIRENDRANATH CHOUDHURI.

HINDU COLONISATION OF JAVA

THE question of the date and the actual sources of the Hindu Colony of Java is of some importance having regard to the many intertwined and tangled problems of the ancient history of India. These dark mysteries of history still continue to elude the enquiry of students, there being very few authentic materials to verify the traditional stories on the subject. According to local Javanese tradition, a large body of Indian emigrants led by Ajī Saka, said to be a prince from Gujarat, landed in the first year of the local era corresponding to A D 75. No authentic confirmation of this tradition had been discovered before now. According to Vincent Smith, "the statement made in a late Chinese work that an Indian colony arrived in Java during the reign of the Han Emperor Kwang Wu-ti (A D 25-57) is credible, although the authority on which it is based has not been found" [*History of Fine Arts*, p 260]. There is no doubt that the earliest Indian colony was a Bramhanical expedition, and the Buddhist excursion into Java was not earlier than the fifth century when Guna-varman (A D 431), the Crown Prince of Kashmir, is supposed to have converted the island to Buddhism.

Monsieur Gabriel Ferrand (*Journal Asiatique*, Juillet-Aout 1916, Tome VIII, p 521-530), quoting Mr Berthold Laufer, has recently cited certain Chinese works which offer independent authentic corroboration of a Hindu Colony in Java during the early centuries of Christian era.

In a Chinese work, known as *Heou han chou*, which covers the period of the second Han dynasty, A D 25-220, occurs the following passage "In the 12th month of the sixth year of Young Kien (corresponding to A D 131-132), the Kingdom of Ye-tiao (Yava-dvipa), beyond the frontiers of Je-nan and of Chan, sent an ambassador to offer tribute." The commentary on this work, composed during the T'ang dynasty (A D 608-906), cites on this point the following passage from *Tong Kouan Ki* "The King of Ye-tiao sent an ambassador Che-houei who was the head of the city of Java and a violet ribbon was given to the prince." In the chapter of *Heou han chou* devoted to the inhabitants of the south, one finds, in slightly different terms, a reference to the same ambassador "In the 6th Yong-Kien year of the Emperor Chouen, Pien, the King of Ye-tiao, beyond the frontiers of Je-nan, sent an ambassador to offer tribute. The king accorded to Pien a golden seal and a violet ribbon." The work known as *Tong Kouan Ki* underwent considerable revision in the hands of successive authors, all of the time of the second Han dynasty, the work in its entirety has been lost long ago, but the surviving fragments have been collected and published in *Wou ying-tien* in the second half of the eighteenth century.

From the passage in *Heou han chou* it

is clear that the king who sent the embassy to the Chinese Emperor, reigned in Java about the end of 131 or the beginning of 132 of the Christian era. According to M. Sylvain Lévi, 'Pen' is the abbreviated Chinese rendering of the Sanskrit word *Varman*, so that it appears that some king with a name terminating in *Varman* reigned in Java in the early part of the second century A.D. The emigration of Hindu kings to Java must have preceded by at least a century before that, for the Hindu kingdom must have taken some time to establish itself in Java and to acquire sufficient importance to be able to enter into diplomatic relationship with the Chinese Empire. The earliest reference to the island of Java in Indian literature is found in the *Ramayana*, *Kishkindhya Kanda* (40th Sarga, 30th verse), where Sugriva in course of giving directions to his monkey leaders refers to various islands in the sea as possible places where Ravana might have concealed Sita. It is believed that the oldest portion of the *Ramayana* was composed before 500 B.C., while the more recent portions were probably not added till the second century B.C., and possibly later. There are evidences to shew that the portion relating to the expedition to Lanka was known to the authors of the *Dasaratha Jataka*, one of the Pali birth stories. The *Kishkindhya Kanda* must therefore be quite old. Assuming that it is part of the later additions, the references to *Yava-dwipa* may be taken with some amount of certainty to be as old as 50 B.C. The island must have been colonised or at least known by actual visits, by the time it came to be referred to in India, as '*Yava-dwipa*', a Sanskrit name given to it by Indian adventurers. The first Indian contact and intercourse with Java may therefore be attributed to the time before the birth of Christ.

As regards the sources of Indo-Javanese civilization *l'état de le problème* is this that the remains of Java speak in unmistakable terms of the arrival of ideas and institutions from different parts of India at different times. It is not a mere idle curiosity which demands the identity

and localisation of these different sources and the canals through which Indian civilization flowed into Java. A complete historical presentation of the development of Indian civilization imperatively calls for such indentifications,—for, the story of such development sometimes abruptly stops in the main continent, steps across the Bay of Bengal and then is continued and developed with a remarkable energy and vitality but in perfect and harmonious relation to its ancient and original context physically separated by a marine barrier which, apparently, though not actually, interrupts the continuity. The narrative is resumed beyond the seas not as a sequel—but as an organic and logical development of the main story recorded in the Indian continent where it *appears* to have received an unhappy termination. The recovery of this apparently mutilated picture by joining together its dismembered fragments and the terminating pieces is the foremost duty of the Indian student. It is not so much a difficult task to piece them together as to find and to recognise them,—for, having regard to their organic relationship, they will easily fit in and dovetail into one another, but until this is done, this inverted puzzle-picture will continue to baffle students in their vain attempt to explain many otherwise inexplicable mysteries of Indian History. To recognize and to recover these data, now surviving in many forms in Java and the neighbouring islands, Indian students seem to be peculiarly qualified. For although very valuable materials have been collected by eminent Dutch scholars, by reason of their lack of knowledge of the details of Indian history, they have been unable to appraise the significance of the data and to correlate them with the history of the main continent. It is eminently desirable that some group of Indian students should undertake a scientific study of these data and in our opinion the responsibility rests very heavily on the Carmichael Chair of Ancient Indian History and Culture at the Calcutta University to initiate, in right earnest, a course of such studies.

ORDHENDRA COOMAR GANGOLY

INDIAN NATIONALITY AND HINDUSTANI SPEECH

THE word *nation* is not always used in quite a definite sense. The following passages, those marked (1), (2), (3) (4) being from Prof Garner's *Introduction to Political Science*, and those marked (1) and (ii) being from Prof Raymond Garfield Gettelt's *Readings in Political Science*, are quoted here as bearing on the sense of the word *nation*.

(1) Community of race and language are undoubtedly the most usual and satisfactory tests for determining the existence of a nation" (p 46)

(2) "The ethnic origins of many modern nations are diverse and unknown and hence cannot be an infallible test" (p 47)

(3) "Switzerland embrace part of three nations, French, Germans and Italians" (p 48)

(4) "On the other hand the limits of the state may be narrower than those of the nation. Thus the French republic and the greater part of the kingdom of Belgium are embraced within the limits of the same nation" (p 48)

(i) "In Germany the word 'People' has primarily and prominently a political signification, as denoting a body of individuals organized under a single government, while the term 'Nation' is reserved for a collection of individuals united by ethnic or other bonds, irrespective of political combination. According to this use a Nation is an aggregate of men speaking the same language, having the same customs, and, endowed with certain moral qualities which distinguish them from other groups of the same nature" (p 18)

(ii) "Lastly a nation may be divided into two or more groups on account of territorial expansion,—as, for example, the English and the North American, the Spanish-Portuguese and the South American" (p 18).

The passage last quoted is against the long standing claim to nationhood maintained by the United States of America and the recent claim to nationhood set up by the self-governing British Dominions, as also against the claim to nationhood of the Spanish-American Republics and the Brazilian Republic. Argentina has its 'Banco de la nacion Argentina'. On the other hand Switzerland, divided between three nationalities as resting on the basis of language—German, French and Italian—claims to be a nation, as is clearly evidenced by its 'Nationalrath' (National Council).

To add to the confusion in the use of the word *nation*, Viceroy and Sovereign have

complimented the Sikhs of India as being a "nation". The Sikhs—a body of Hindu dissenters mainly with a sprinkling of Musalman converts—ruled indeed at one time a large territory, but it was a territory peopled by Musalmans, Hindus and Sikhs, the Musalmans being the most numerous and the Sikhs the least numerous of the three classes. Even at the present day, in the great Sikh centre, Amritsar, Hindus outnumber the Sikhs and the Musalmans outnumber the Hindus, as the last Census Returns declare.

Taking the example of Switzerland, which speaks three languages, and that of the United States and the Latin Republics of America, which speak European languages and call themselves nations, it would be safe to assume that the term *nation* is now applicable to a people inhabiting a country that has a particular name, whether the people speak more languages than one or speak a language that is spoken in one or more other countries, England, France, and Italy—each of which has a language of its own with only dialectic differences, Breton and Basque in corners of France being the only exceptions,—are the seats of nations of the best type, for community of language and territorial continuity are conditions most favourable to moral unity.

Indians can claim to be a nation only of the Swiss type. But while Switzerland has but three languages, India has a multitude, and these not of one family either, (as the Swiss languages are all of Aryan family), but mainly of two families, the Aryan and the Dravidian. Indians then are a nation in that they inhabit a country that has a particular name. The old historic native name, Bhāratvarsa or simply Bhārat has now been overlaid by the foreign names, now also historic, Hindustan, Hind, and India, all derived from the name of India's great western

river, Sindhu (the Indus) The idea of Indian nationality has been a result of English rule, and, however defective the idea may be on account of India's numerous and diverse languages, it deserves to be cherished as a bond of amity and union among its diverse populations—a bond that can be a powerful instrument for urging them unitedly on towards the attainment of desirable objects such as nations seek

With the idea of Indian nationality has arisen in many minds the desire of a common language as the national language of India. Naturally the most wide spread and vigorous Indian language, Hindustani, has been hit upon as the best fitted to be this desired national language. Mr. Gandhi has called this language Hindi, which is very objectionable, as the word Hindi, in its generally prevalent sense, signifies writing in the Devanagari character and highly Sanskritized diction and includes further the language of Tulsidas's *Rāmāyan*, which is a widely different language from the current Khari Bolī prose Hindi. The term Hindustani, which according to the practice followed by Anglo-Indian lexicographers down to Fallon, covers both Hindi and Urdu, may more appropriately be applied to the desired common national language for India.* Lala Lajpat Rai very properly uses the term Hindustani in the last October number of *The Modern Review*

One preliminary difficulty about the adoption of Hindustani as the national language of India is the discordance between the Hindi and Urdu phases of Hindustani. The grammar is indeed the same for both, but there is a world of difference as regards the higher vocables used. Without a reconciliation between the two, nationalization of Hindustani would hardly be realisable, but reconciliation is a most difficult matter. That Hindi is written in the Devanagari character and Urdu in the Persian, is a far less material point than that culture-words in Hindi are all from Sanskrit, and

culture-words in Urdu are all from Persian and Arabic. Lallulal's प्रेमसागर (Prem sagar), which is the very fountain of literary prose Hindi, is puristic in the extreme, while, on the other hand, Raja Sivaprasad's सैंडफोर्ड और मर्टन (Sandford and Merton) fully admits naturalized Persian and Arabic words. But the puristic spirit is still very active among Hindu writers, who would, for instances use सुर्थ instead of सुरज for *suz* and, समुद्र instead of समुंदर for *sea*. Some fifteen years ago I noticed the Nagri Pracharini Sabha's denunciation of Hindi like Sivaprasad's as “खिचुड़ी हिन्दी” (mongrel Hindi). As regards Urdu, on the other hand, Persianization is the order of the day. I annex below in Roman character two short sentences from Hindi Extract C and one short sentence from Urdu Extract C set for translation into English at the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University in the year 1917 (Vide Calendar for 1917, Part III, p. 5 and p. 11), to show how wide apart stands literary Hindi from literary Urdu.

Hindi—Vins nāmka ek manusya udyog aur dhairya ko kāryasiddhikā mūlmantra samajhta thā. Vah svayam mantra ka arādhana karayā thā aur dusro ko bhī uske anusar chalne ki summatī deta thā.

Urdu—Yah saf zāhir hai ki tum siyā-our safed mē tamiz karnā nahī jante warna tum jalī huī rotī hargiz nahī khāte.

With a view to ascertain the extent of agreement and disagreement between Hindi and Urdu in elementary text-books used in schools in the United Provinces, I have compared the latest Hindi and Urdu Readers (the years of publication being respectively 1918 and 1917) for Preparatory Class B of Vernacular Schools for Boys, United Provinces. The Readers are the same throughout, lesson by lesson, and each covers 44 pages. The differences I have found in them are the following—

1 Hindi 'pāth' and Urdu 'sabaq' for *lesson*. The 'word' sabaq is used, however, in some of the Hindi Lessons.

2 Hindi 'guruji ko pranām karo' and Urdu 'ustād ko salām karo'.

3 Hindi 'Īśvar' and Urdu 'Khudā' for *God*.

4 Hindi 'bhojan', and Urdu 'khānā' for *food*. Khānā is Hindi too.

* Urdu has often appropriated to itself the name of Hindustani.

5 Hindi 'dhanyavād de' and Urdu 'bandagī kiya kare' for *express thankfulness*

6 Hindi 'bandanā kiya kare' and Urdu 'bandagī kiya kare' for *making obeisance*

In the Hindi Reader there are the following Persian, Arabic, and Persi-Arabic words —

I Persian—kam, pul, dard, mard, gard, nirkh, surkh, zor, kamzor, khub, khabar, shahad, garam, tawā, sarad, sardi, chiz, chaku, jald, naukār, surat, roshan, chirag-h, darakh, shakkar, shīshī, dukan, shikār, safed, saresh, gardā, pasand, dost, dostī, post, khud, khush, khushi, rawwāb, khurāk, yād, shām, der, zabān, jānwar, paidā, roz, khudā, arām, rastā, āzmāo (from Hindustani verb āzmānā formed from Persian āzmā, *trying*), magar, yār, āwāz

II Arabic—umr, sair, g-halat madad, taraf, gharaz, dawā, qalam, fikr, waqt, rāzī, hāzīr, mālīk, khātir, sāf, aurat, makān, kitāb, hisāb, jawwāb, mizāj, zarur, kasur, māf, g-harur, saluk, amir, g-harib, fakir, subh, madrasā, adab, kitāb, nashihat, admī, kharāb, malūm, shakhṣ, jamā, tarah

III Persi-Arabic—be-shaur, be sabab *

The Hindi and Urdu Readers noticed above do not aim at widening the breach between Hindi and Urdu, but do aim at narrowing the breach between them as much as possible. But this is not the aim of many writers in Hindi and Urdu. I may instance here the Hindu author of *मिडिल क्लास भूगोल वा भूवैज्ञानिक परिचय*, published at प्रयाग (Allahabad) in the year 1916, who never uses सूरज for *sun* and चाँद for *moon*, but uses instead the Sanskrit words सूर्य and चन्द्रमा. I have no recent Urdu schoolbook by me except the Urdu Reader mentioned above. But Persianization is doubtless the path followed in Urdu. *Tawārīkh-i-Hind* is the stock Urdu term for "History of India," and *Araish-i Mahfil* is the title of a standard Urdu book. The new University that has been set up at Hyderabad, in which the medium of instruction is Urdu, in spite of the fact that this language is alien to the Hindus of the Hyderabad State, who form nine-tenths of its population, will inevitably widen the breach between Hindi and Urdu, for the Urdu books, translations and original works,

* The transliterations here are of the words as given in Devanagari character and are in some cases only phonetic transcriptions of words as they are given in the Urdu Reader in Persian character

used for instruction in the higher subjects must surely be largely inter-larded with Persian and Arabic terms, which Hindi cannot possibly accept. Hindi has a kindred source to draw from, when necessary, and that source is Sanskrit.

The only reconciliation between Hindi and Urdu that is possible at present is the creation of a recognized conversational Hindustani for both Hindus and Muslims, which shall be without the salient literary features of Hindi and Urdu and which shall concern itself only with the lower concerns of life. Knowledge of such lower grade Hindustani cannot enable men from Bengal, Maharashtra or Dravidian India to take part in Indians' national concerns, such as Congress addresses and the like. In *The Englishman* of December 18 appeared the Associated Indian Press notice that this year's Congress and Moslem League were going "to be more or less a Hindi and Urdu Congress and League", that "almost all the speeches except the Presidential address of the Congress" were to be "delivered either in Hindi or Urdu," that most of the deliberations and discussions" were to be "carried on in the vernaculars," and that the chairman of the Congress Reception Committee was to deliver his speech in Hindi. When I read the announcement of the Chairman of the Reception Committee's Hindi speech I wondered how this speech could be intelligible to the mass of the audience—particularly to the Musalman delegates and the delegates from Dravidian India. *The Englishman* of December 29 has the following —

"Swami Shraddhananda, Chairman of the Reception Committee, read welcome address in Hindi. The Swami has been so persistent in using Hindi that he even declined to do an English translation of the address for the press. Eventually the majority of the audience appreciated the Swami's address in Hindi and followed him closely."

I cannot believe that the majority of the audience understood the Swami's Hindi address. An English translation would have made his speech intelligible to all the delegates and visitors who could not understand Hindi, and to thousands of Indians outside Amritsar, who have no knowledge of Hindi. The installation

of Hindi as the language of the Chairman of the Reception Committee's speech has been a premature innovation at any rate, if not a blunder altogether, as tending to cause a split between Hindus and Muhammadans and as putting the domiciled European community out of the pale of the Indian nation. Under the influence of natural forces English has become the common *lingua franca* for all Indians, including domiciled Anglo-Indians and sojourning Anglo-Indians. I cannot regard it as a wise procedure to cast off domiciled Anglo-Indians from the class of Indians. A wiser course would be to seek to turn them into patriotic Indians. Their adhesion can only strengthen the national cause. On grounds of convenience English as a common *lingua franca* for India would certainly be more fitting than Hindi or any kind of Hindustani that can be set up. Our Nationalists at any rate cannot eliminate English from such affairs in the country as brings Indians of various vernacular forms of speech in contact with men of English speech.

I have long wished for the growth of a suitable Hindustani, acceptable to Hindus and Musalmans alike. But that is yet far to reach. The ideas of the Nationalist school for the spread of a knowledge of Hindustani throughout India require to be examined. Lala Lajpat Rai writes thus in his article, "An All-India Scheme and An All-India Language," in the last October number of the *Modern Review* :

"I may assume that the country will readily adopt Hindustani as the future national language of India, if the Hindus and the Mussalmans could come to an agreement on the question of script. The adoption of Hindustani as a national language does not in any way affect the Provincial vernaculars. The Provincial vernaculars must be the medium of instruction in the Primary schools of each province, with the addition of Hindustani as an all-India language, the Hindus learning it in Deva Nagri and the Mussalmans in Urdu characters. For the first four years of a child's life no other language should be thrust upon him."

Two Bengali correspondents in *The Englishman* have lately put forth the very large order that the Calcutta University should make Hindi or Urdu a compulsory subject for the Matriculation Examination.

It was Musalman political supremacy

that caused Hindustani speech to spread itself widely in India. Some sort of Hindustani is now the town *lingua franca* throughout Upper India from the Punjab down to Bihar, and it is in a way the national language of Indian Musalmans, for though it is not the home-language of Musalmans everywhere, all well-educated Musalmans have to learn to speak it. Those who seek to have it taught to all children outside the Hindustani area appear to me to be most unreasonable. Prominent individuals of the outside area who are capable of taking any part in India's national concerns may be required to equip themselves with a knowledge of Hindustani in both its present phases, Hindi and Urdu. But what can a Bengali peasant's or fisherman's son gain by learning Hindustani of even an elementary character? What can even the bulk of the children in the upper grades of life gain by learning Hindustani? What are called our provincial vernaculars are national languages according to the European standard. The 45 millions of Bengalis equal in number the population of the British Isles, and exceed the population of France by about 5 millions. At the primary stage no other language should be thrust upon a Bengali, Marhati, or Dravid child than his vernacular, any more than an English, a French or a German child is pestered at the primary stage with any language but his own. Useful knowledge as far as possible should be taught through the medium of the vernacular. To children who proceed to a higher stage of education than the primary, English should be the first language taught, as it would open out a vast field of knowledge and be also a vocational help in many walks of life. Sanskrit for Hindus and Persian for Musalmans whose vernacular is Urdu and Urdu for Musalmans whose vernacular is not Urdu, should be the languages that would next claim attention, and then may come Hindustani (where it is not the vernacular) and French, German, and Arabic—all optionally. Those who want to teach children a number of languages forget that the learning of a language costs expenditure of brain-power which in most

cases would be far better employed in acquiring a knowledge of things. They forget also the immense advantage of learning by means of translations into one's vernacular tongue things of value in foreign literatures.

Enforcement of the teaching of Hindustani, of what sort it is by no means clear, in primary schools in Bengal and other non-Hindustani language-areas, can be effected only by State agency. Can State agency be secured for such a despotic procedure? Switzerland with its three languages and Belgium with its two, French and Flemish, can teach us a good lesson in this matter. In Switzerland, Germans form a majority of about two-thirds of the entire population of the country. This is not made a ground for the teaching of German in the primary schools in the French-speaking and Italian-speaking portion of the country, though politically French appears to be accorded equal rank with German, as the Swiss Federal Executive Council is called in German *Bundesrath* and in French *Conseil Federal*. In Belgium, Flemish has been in a rather subordinate position in comparison with French, but there has been no attempt to enforce the teaching of French in the primary schools of the Flemish part of Belgium. When the late eminent Belgian economist, M. Emile de Laveleye, wrote his book, *System of Land-tenure in various Countries*, the Flemish-speakers of the western provinces of Belgium found their ignorance of French a bar to their getting work in the manufacturing centres in the Walloon portion of the country, as is stated in the book (2nd Edition, p. 269). Since then no attempt has been made to coerce the Flemings into learning French. As stated in the *Statesman's Year-Book* for 1913 (the year before the War), p. 661, in the year 1900, in Belgium, 2,574,805 spoke French only, 2822,005 spoke Flemish only, and 801,587 spoke French and Flemish. Since after the German invasion and attempt to split the country up into two sections Flemish universities have come into existence.

The idea that Hindustani should be

made the national language of all India arose in my mind about sixty-two years ago, when I was a 3rd year student in the Presidency College of Calcutta and learnt from Elphinstone's *History of India* the relation between Hindi and Urdu. Some four years later, under patriotic impulse, I taught myself a little of Hindi from a Hindi schoolbook entitled *विद्याङ्कुर* (*Vidyānkur*), and the elements of Hindustani grammar and a little of romanized Urdu from Monier Williams's excellent *Hindustani Primer*, long since out of print. Afterwards I added to my knowledge of Hindi and Urdu—enough to my knowledge of Hindi to be able to understand any Hindi oration of a Malaviya or a Shraddhananda, but not enough to my knowledge of Urdu to be able to understand anybody's Urdu oration. In my *Calcutta Review* article, "Hindi, Hindustani and the Behar dialects", of July 1882, I put forward suggestions for a reconciliation between Hindi and Urdu, and these suggestions I quoted in my *Modern Review* article, "Hindi or Hindustani?", of June 1918. The essence of the suggestions was that the puristic spirit should be cast aside, that there should be no unnecessary borrowing from Sanskrit or Persian and Arabic, while words from these two languages that have been naturalized in Hindustani should hold their places, and that culture-words should be drawn exclusively from Sanskrit, because of the close kinship of such words to existing words in Hindustani, as that of *ganit* (mathematics) to *ginnā* and of *kriyā* (verb) to *karnā*, and also because of the Hindus speaking Hindustani being far more numerous than the Musalmans speaking Hindustani in India. I should confess here that I was at one time unwise enough to think it possible for the progress of Bengali, Marathi and Gujrati literature, outside the sphere of schoolbooks, poetry and fiction, being arrested, and Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati writers being induced to write in other spheres in Hindustani instead. I cannot be accused, therefore, of lacking love for Hindustani. But much as I wish it to become ultimately a common medium of communication between Indians speaking different vernaculars who have to con-

sort together on national or individual concerns, I can wish it to be learnt only by this class of people, and not by the mass of the people throughout the non-Hindustani portion of Aryan India and the whole of non-Aryan India

A manual giving in English the elements of Hindustani grammar and containing lessons of a conversational character as much as possible, in Roman character and a few specimen lessons in both Devanagari and Persian character, with a glossary, Hindustani-English, at the end,

would suffice to enable any English-knowing man outside the Hindustani area to acquire for himself an elementary knowledge of Hindustani. This knowledge might be added to afterwards by reading and conversation. A general school or college instruction in Hindustani for students (mostly Mussalmans) whose vernacular is not Hindustani can be needed only where the guardians of such students do actually desire such instruction

SYAMACHARAN GANGULI,

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Two Pre-Mauryan Statues.

To the *Modern Review* for October, 1919, Mr O C Ganguly contributed "A Note on Mr K P Jayaswal's Discovery of Two Saisunaga Statues", in which he commented on Mr Jayaswal's announcement in the March (1919) number of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* that two pieces of sculpture in the Bharhut Gallery of the Indian Museum in Calcutta were portrait statues of two early Saisunaga emperors named Udayin and Varta-Nandi of the pre-Mauryan period of Indian history. Mr Ganguly did not agree with Mr Jayaswal. In the November number of the *Modern Review*, 1919, Professor Surendranath Sen summed up the views of Mr Arun Sen (who thought the sculptures were pre-Mauryan), of Mr R. D. Banerji, who accepted Mr Jayaswal's identification but held that the inscription could not be earlier than the 1st century B C, and of Messrs R C Majumdar and R P Chanda, who, for different reasons, did not accept Mr Jayaswal's views as correct.

The importance and significance of Mr Jayaswal's announcement lay in the fact that in the opinion of European Indologists, no Indian sculptures of a pre-Mauryan period has yet been discovered, that, in their opinion, the sculptor's art was, therefore, unknown or not practised in India before the reign of the Mauryas, and that as, according to Dr Spooner and his supporters, the Mauryas

were of Persian extraction, sculpture in ancient India was a foreign importation. So much for Mauryan art. All or most ancient Indian sculptures which are considered to be of a later date than Alexander's invasion are held by most European Indologists to be the products either of Greek craftsmanship or at least of Greek influence.

[This is a lay man's hurried summary, in which, it is hoped, professional and expert antiquarians will be able, if they care to, to pick as many holes as there are letters in it.]

Such being the case, the discovery which Mr Jayaswal claims to have made, would upset the conclusions of the Indologists who had hitherto considered the ancient Hindus to be incapable of evolving any school of sculpture of their own. These conclusions do not affect our forefathers' sculptural and artistic capacity alone, they are, in fact, links in a chain of reasonings calculated to keep our ancestors, in the world's opinion, indebted to foreigners in all the elements of culture and civilisation. It is for this reason that whenever any Indian student of the ancient history of his country ventures to differ from European savants, he is snubbed as a "nationalist" and, therefore, as undoubtedly carried away to the regions of error by his patriotic bias. But may not "imperialistic bias," "race-superiority bias," &c, be also sources of error, and often of more serious errors?

Let us, however, see what some Indologists

of repute, both European and Indian, other than those named before, say on the subject. The December (1919) number of the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* devotes 52 pages to this subject. At a joint meeting of the Asiatic Societies held in England on September 5, 1919, Dr Vincent A Smith said that the statues "undoubtedly are extremely ancient and probably pre-Maurya." His opinion is thus further summarised:

"Both the scholars named [K P Jayaswal and R D Banerji], who had the advantage of examining the statues at leisure, have published their results in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for 1919, Vol V. Both agree that the statues are pre-Maurya, the oldest known in India, and that they are portraits of the two Kings, Aja or Udaya, and his son, Varta, Namdi or Nandi, (Nanda) Vardhana, who reigned in the fifth century B C. That result, if established, revolutionizes the history of Indian art. Hitherto the assumption that stone sculpture began with Asoka has been generally accepted. If the Patna statues and their inscriptions are as old as supposed, it must be admitted that the art of sculpture in stone was well matured two centuries before Asoka. The execution of the images is such that it presupposes a long prior development of plastic art."

"Dr Smith, while unwilling to dogmatize, was and is of opinion that the statues are pre-Maurya, that probably they were executed not later than 400 B C, that the inscriptions are contemporary with the statues, and that the appearance of comparative modernity in the script is not conclusive. For the present the problem must be regarded as not yet definitely solved."

The summary of Dr Smith's views is followed by three pages of observations contributed by Dr Barnett. They are unfavourable, and are of too technical a character to be capable of being summarised for the general reader. Mr Jayaswal's reply, which follows, meets every point in Dr Barnett's observations. Mr Jayaswal's contention that the finishing touch to the statues was given after the letters had been engraved, is supported by what Mr F Green, the stone-expert in charge of the construction of the Calcutta Victoria Memorial, has said after examining the statues and the words engraved thereupon. This disposes of Mr R D Banerji's opinion that the words engraved are of much later date than the statues. Mr Arun Sen gives reasons from the point of view of an art critic for supposing that the statues are pre-Mauryan. Mahamahopadhyaya

Haraprasad Shastri, while disagreeing with Mr Jayaswal in some details, thinks that the statues are certainly not images of *yakshas* and that they are pre-Mauryan.

Discovery of a Statue of Ajatasatru.

In the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for December, 1919, pp



STATUE OF KING AJATASATRU
(Circa 515 B. C.)
Mathura Museum.

550-51, Mr K P Jayaswal announces his discovery of a statue of King Ajatasatru, the son of Bimbisara, in the Mathura Museum. He writes

It bears an inscription round the statue on the pedestal. I examined it carefully and came to the conclusion that there was no trace of a yaksha and that the whole inscription is readable except one letter. The left side, which was exposed to light, gave me the reading—

Kunika Sevasinago

Maga[]nam

“Kunika Sevasinago—of the Magadhas”

This made me pray His Honour Sir Edward Gait to kindly obtain impressions and casts of the inscription for leisurely study. In response to His Honour's request Sir Harcourt Butler had casts and impressions prepared by Mr Dikshit. I have now utilized these. Their facsimiles will be published in the next number. In the meantime I give my reading of the inscription—

(Right) *nibhadapra-Seni Aj [a] satru rajo*
[s]i[r]i

(Front) symbols for 4, 20 (*tha*), 10 (*d*),
Fullstop 8 (*hi* or *hri*)

(Left) *Kunika sevasi-nago Magadhanam raja*
The meaning is—

“The Passed-away one (dead), the descendant of Sreni, the Ajata-satru (enemy-less) king, Sri Kunika Sevasi-naga, king of the Magadhan people.”

Seni, the title of Bimbisara, is repeated. The king's both names, Ajatasatru and Kunika, appear as well as the dynastic name *Sevasi* is the original and *Sisu* sanskritized. Some Puranas give his reign as 35 years. The statue will be dated circa 515 B C, Ajatasatru having died c. 518 B.C.

Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri writes on this discovery in the same journal, p 563 :—

“When I was just finishing this paper [on Mr Jayaswal's discovery of the two pre-Mauryan statues in the Indian Museum, Calcutta] I learnt from Mr Jayaswal that Sir Edward Gait has caused casts to be prepared of the inscription on the Parkham statue. Mr Jayaswal has kindly shown these to me. They show unmistakably that the statue belongs, as Mr Jayaswal reads, to Kunika Ajatasatru, the son of Bimbisara, the King of the Sisunaga family. The letters there form an official inscription and are mostly distinct. The discovery of this inscription sets all controversy about the statues in question at rest and destroys altogether the yaksha theory which had taken such a deep root in archaeological scholarship.”

Rammohun Roy.

The following beautiful address, delivered by Mr K T. Paul of the Young Men's Chris-

tian Association at the grave of Raja Rammohun Roy at Bristol on the occasion of the anniversary of his death, is taken from the *Young Men of India*, published by the National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations of India and Ceylon —

When an Indian sets sail from his native land he puts down Bristol as one of the places which he should not on any account fail to visit. Here lie the remains of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, one of India's greatest sons, it may truly be said, the Father of Modern India. He is one of the heroes of India's boyhood, and his career is the pattern for our youth.

India is grateful to Bristol for the hospitality extended to this one of our first visitors to the country, and more especially to Bristol's great citizen, Mary Carpenter, whose friendship meant so much to our great countryman.

Ram Mohan Roy was in the line of the great prophets of India, who in the different ages led her in the onward path of her great world-destiny. The times produced them as truly as they directed the times, for in reality the Infinite Father in His Love is the Origin and the intimate Guide of them all. It were long to recount the glorious line of seers, founders of great religions, schools of thought, great statesmen and lawgivers, masters of literature, art, music, and architecture, all spirits who comfort and ennoble millions of human beings to this day, each contributing his or her share to that heritage of India which stands apart and unique in the world to-day, the more marvellous the more it is studied. In this line came Ram Mohan Roy.

In the inscrutable wisdom of God there has come about a thorough-going impact of Western culture on India. Britain, which is so essentially non-interfering in its discipline of sportsmanship, is the chosen agent for this impact. The results issuing from it are infinite, most perplexing in some ways, and capable of weal or woe according as they are directed. It was the mission of Ram Mohan Roy to point to the New India which will be brought about by the harmonising of the essential features of the two cultures. True to the heritage of India and at the same time incorporating the heritage of the West, New India shall arise from the Old. Rabindranath Tagore, in this day, has sung of the Cycle in which hoary Winter himself rejuvenates into youthful Spring. So, also, Sarojini Naidu calls for a “Practical Mysticism.” It was this secret which Ram Mohan Roy indicated by his teaching and his life, by his suffering at the hands of his own people and at the hands of his foreign friends. The measure of his success immediately, and far more after his departure, indicates the truth of this secret.

And so New India is being wrought like one of those great Oriental carpets which you

so admire The artist never starts with a design mapped out before him He begins as he would a poem His feeling of beauty leads him on from flower to leaf, from star to sun, line on line, border on border, until the whole thing when finished tells you unmistakably that a loving soul has been there all the time So, also, is India being worked on by the Master Craftsman, and his agency is great souls Among them Ram Mohan Roy will be ever reckoned as one who at the stage of a new departure set the strands in a new combination of truth and beauty, such as will bring about a great blossom of rare life and liberty

Greatest Benefaction for the Well-being of Mankind

By way of noticing the "Review for 1918" of the work done by "The Rockefeller Foundation" of U S A in the *Young Men of India*, Dr D N Maitra gives us some idea of the immensity and methods of work of what is perhaps the greatest benefaction for "the well-being of mankind throughout the world"

Some idea of the magnitude of the work may be formed from the fact that a sum of what corresponds to over seven crores of rupees was spent on appropriations to various societies and its own direct efforts during the five years of war (1914-18) and over 4½ crores in the year 1918 alone, on camp and community welfare, medical education, research and relief, humanitarian aid, public health, etc

It is a regrettable fact that there is rivalry and jealousy even in philanthropy It is, therefore, worth noting with pleasure and admiration that while working in France during the War the Commission of the Rockefeller Foundation for the prevention of Tuberculosis, instead of seeking by offering higher salaries to draw French nurses away from the service of other institutions, used its good offices with the various French agencies which employ nurses to increase the salary scale for all In India,

The methods and record of its anti-malarial campaigns "to test the possibilities of ridding a community of malaria" would be found instructive and encouraging. "By draining or filling of pools, by ditching streams and by oiling surface water which cannot be otherwise dealt with, the breeding of the anopheles mosquito was almost wholly prevented The reduction of cases was as high as 80 to 97·4 per cent, and the economic gain was no less remarkable, the cost per head fell from 145 to only 44 cents In regions where the above programme could not be successfully carried out on account of the difficulty of controlling

the surface waters, the demonstrators adopted another method of attack This aimed at curing the carriers of malaria, in this way giving the mosquito no opportunity to receive the infective organism and therefore no opportunity to transmit it to others In this way, a malarial control of 80 per cent was obtained in the rural area, at a cost of only 1·08 per caput, in place of 5, spent on doctor's bills alone And the review very aptly remarks, "Malaria elimination is feasible, scientifically, and economically, it represents a striking contribution to community progress and human happiness,"—a remark which we, in India, may well lay to heart The above processes were reinforced by the "enlarged plans" for the anti-malarial demonstration, viz, striking posters, popular illustrated pamphlets, newspaper articles, instruction in the schools, public lectures and the sale of standardized quinine at low rates by all druggists, even "button badges" were given to those who were found to be free from malaria germs

The Foundation accepted the invitation of the Madras Government to begin new Co-operative work and did some anti-hookworm demonstration work

Swami Vivekananda on Women's Education and Capacity.

The Prabuddha Bharata has given another instalment of Swami Vivekananda's conversation with a disciple on his project of a "Math" for women, which he did not live to give a concrete shape We make the following extract from it —

In the beginning they [the girls] are to be given education and left to themselves After that they will act as they think best After marriage and entering the world they will inspire their husbands with noble ideals and be the mothers of heroic sons But the guardians of the students in the female Math will not be allowed to even mention the name of the marriage of their daughters before they attain the age of fifteen—this rule must be observed

Disciple—Sir, then those girl students will not command reputation in society Nobody would like to marry them

Swami—Why will not they be wanted in marriage? You have not understood the course of society even now Such learned and accomplished girls will not stand in want of bridegrooms Society now-a-days does not follow the practice of child-marriage,—nor will follow in future. Even now, don't you see?

Disciple—But whatever you say, there will be violent opposition and protest against this in the beginning

Swami—Let it be, what is there to fear

in that? Righteous work initiated with moral earnestness and courage, if confronted with obstruction, will awaken the moral power of the initiators the more (to bear down the opposition and carry it to success) That which has no obstruction, no opposition, only takes men to the path of moral death Struggle is the sign of life

As regards woman's capacity for the highest spiritual achievement, Vivekananda said —

We, in the relative plane of "I" and "thou", notice this difference of sex The more the mind becomes introspective and inward, the more that idea of difference vanishes Ultimately when the mind is merged and is one with the homogeneous and undifferentiated *Brahman*, then such idea as that this is a man, or that a woman, does not remain at all Therefore do I say that though outwardly there may be difference between men and women, in their real nature there is no difference Therefore, if a man can be a knower of *Brahman*, why cannot a woman attain to the same knowledge? Therefore, I was saying, if one amongst women becomes a knower of *Brahman*, then by the radiance of her personality, thousands of women will be inspired, awakened to truth, and great well-being of the country and society will ensue

The Swami praised the early advocates and workers for the education of girls by saying,

"Those who in the beginning have strenuously endeavoured for even the little of female education that now obtains, is there any doubt of the greatness of their heart?"

Milch and Agricultural Cattle.

Writing on the vital subject of "Milch and Agricultural Cattle" in the *Indian Humanitarian*, Mr K M Khandwala says —

In India the chief agricultural cattle are bulls, cows, and buffaloes In 1913-14 in British India the number of bulls was 4,80,00,000 Out of these almost two-thirds, that is, 3,20,00,000 were decrepit and not fit for agricultural purposes The number of bulls which can be used for agricultural purposes was only about 1,16,00,000 This number is quite insufficient for the cultivation of land About 22,00,00,000 acres of land are being cultivated in India every year Thus a pair of bulls is available for every 27 acres of land But it has been estimated that for every two acres of cultivable land a pair of bulls is necessary Thus it is quite clear that there is not a sufficient number of bulls for proper cultivation of land in India The shortage of bulls is quite out of proportion to the needs of agriculture The statistics given above are appalling enough to show under what conditions land is being cultivated in India But this is not all Even the bulls

which are available are not in good and healthy condition And what is the reason? The chief reason is that they do not get sufficient fodder to eat

Owing to the insufficient number and inferiority of milch cattle, there is a great shortage in the milk supply

Milk which was obtainable a few years back —not even a generation back but about a decade ago, at 6 pies per seer is now hardly obtainable for 18 pies per seer even in villages So milk and butter, which formed part of the frugal food of Indians, are not available to them now The result is that the vitality of the nation is being deteriorated, and deterioration in physique leads to chronic diseases like cholera, malaria, influenza, etc The problem of milch and agricultural cattle is thus such that its neglect will mean national suicide

The writer suggests the following remedies —

As in many states of America and Canada there is a special live stock branch of the agricultural department, so in India the Department of Agriculture should have a live stock branch whose work should be directed towards the improvement of the stock-raising industry

The next thing to be provided is to keep open forest tracts as grazing grounds But even here the farmers have their own difficulties The transport facilities being not available on account of bad roads and the long distances at which forests are situated, they are not able to make use of such pasture ground It is therefore necessary that grazing grounds should be thrown open to farmers near their villages What is called "commons" should be acquired by Government and its use should be allowed without any rental

There is another difficulty—meagre supply of drinking water in summer—which should not be lost sight of This difficulty is specially felt in times of famine and distress It is not unoften that hundreds and hundreds of cattle die in times of distress because they cannot obtain sufficient drinking water In the famine of last year it is reported that millions of cattle have died because of want of fodder and water. This difficulty can be met to some extent by private charity The old practice of dedicating tanks to villages was wholesome and should be encouraged The Government, i.e., district boards and local boards, should also provide for digging more and more wells and tanks in villages

Besides, the slaughter of healthy calves at slaughter-houses should be checked by providing for a prohibitive license fee

Much can be achieved also by spreading scientific knowledge about breeding and rearing of cattle among agriculturists The agricultural department should freely distribute broad-

cast pamphlets and leaflets giving all information about it. More veterinary hospitals should also be started in various towns because the loss of cattle from preventable diseases is not small in India. At present there are 353 such hospitals for the whole of India. The total number of cattle in India is about 147,335,852, for which such a small number of dispensaries cannot be considered adequate.

As Indians in general and peasants and farmers in particular are woefully illiterate, there must be universal free education for boys and girls and adults to make pamphlets and leaflets appreciably useful.

Use of Bamboo for Paper-making.

As India and Burma contain large areas where the bamboo grows and as the supply of paper in India from indigenous and foreign sources is utterly inadequate, the following extract from the *Society of Arts Journal* given in the *Mysore Economic Journal* will be found useful —

An important project for manufacturing paper from bamboo in Trinidad is being carried out by an Edinburgh firm of publishers. About 1,000 acres of land near St. Joseph (seven miles from the Capital at Port of Spain) have been planted in bamboo, and a concession has been obtained giving the firm the right to cut bamboo from the Government forests.

According to report by the United States Consul in Trinidad, the firm in question, foreseeing a paper famine throughout the world within the next few years, have been giving serious consideration to the problem of providing adequate paper reserves for themselves for the future, and although realizing that paper can be produced from any vegetable material containing cellulose, nevertheless came to the conclusion that bamboo was most suitable for the purpose. They selected Trinidad for their bamboo paper project, as the bamboo grows there very quickly, having sufficient development within three or four years for making paper.

Experts have been employed to study the question of easily getting rid of the knots in the bamboo, and also of the yellowish-green colour that has hitherto been considered a drawback for the manufacture of paper from bamboo. The first experiments in Trinidad with the bamboo consisted of putting the reeds through sugar-cane presses. While this rather crudely accomplished the purpose, nevertheless, it was found to be desirable that the bamboo should be shredded as well as mashed, and the knots removed. It is said that a machine has been designed which accomplishes all this work, and that a bleach or a dye has been

discovered which makes the wood pulp and paper perfectly white. It is understood that the machinery for the bamboo plant, to cost about £30,000, has been ordered from the United States.

Political Organisation in Ancient India.

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society (Bangalore) for January contains an article of great historical importance on "The Brahman Hierocracy and the Body Politic" by Mr R. Shama Sastri, the editor of Chanakya's *Arthashastra*. His conclusions are based on ancient Vedic and other texts, from which he gives copious quotations with translations. Some of his conclusions were anticipated by Mr K. P. Jayaswal in his "Introduction to Hindu Polity", published seven years ago in the *Modern Review*. Mr Sastri says —

There is reason to believe that while immigrating into India, the Aryans carried with them those social, religious and political sentiments and customs which they had in common with their brethren, the Greeks, the Romans, and other branches of the Indo-European family.

It appears that when they entered India, they had no monarchical form of government and that the political tie which knit them together into a body for peace and war was the same as that of the Greeks and Romans, tribal or patriarchal form of government.

When the monarchical form of government originated in India, the King was elected. The functions of the King are thus described —

At first, the political functions of the king, thus elected, seem to have been limited to collection of revenue and maintenance of a standing army to put down and drive out enemies and robbers.

It is evident that kings during the Vedic period levied and collected tax from the people (Visas) in kind and perhaps in cash also (A. V. IV. 22, 2 & 3) and distributed among their subjects whatever they plundered from their enemies (A. V. XIX. 24, 6).

Regarding the election of Kings we have the following —

The word, 'Rajakritah', 'makers of the kings,' (in A. V. III. 5, 7) is a significant phrase and implies that there was during those days a distinct body of people whose duty it was to elect kings and anoint them to be rulers of the ordinary people as distinguished from themselves. Election of a king seems to have been an usual custom during the Vedic period, as corroborated by the following hymn of the Rigveda —

Rig V. X. 773.

The function of electing and anointing a king seems to have been the exclusive privilege of the priestly class

The writer brings together Vedic hymns from which one can gather what power the priestly class had to injure Kings, or restore exiled ones, &c He writes —

While the prerogative of the priestly class to elect and anoint a king was unquestioned, its power for mischief also seems to have been equally great, as set forth in the hymn of the Atharvaveda in which a priest calls upon the thunderbolt to fall upon a king for his tyranny fancied or real

The priests' voice regarding the restoration of an exiled king seems to have been also supreme

The cause or causes which seem to have led to the banishment of an elected king are thus described in the hymns of the Atharvaveda, in which a king in distress attempts to reconcile his kinsmen and people by means of sacrifice

Regarding the *Samiti* or Popular Assembly, we have the following —

The questions of electing, banishing, and restoring a king, besides other affairs, seem to have been settled in an open assembly of the people, where the priest's voice seems to have been supreme

There is no doubt that since such important questions as the election, banishment, and restoration of even the king were discussed and settled in the assembly of the people, the authority of the assembly (*Samiti*) was supreme and that the priestly class had an important place in it It is also clear that the king had a secondary place in the body politic and had to obey the mandates of the assembly It is probable that questions of war and peace and of taxes and tolls were also discussed and settled in the same assembly

Mr Shama Sastri holds that the King had power only over the agricultural and trading people, not over the Brahmans

It is to be noted that the one significant epithet which is found applied to the king throughout the Rigveda, the Atharvaveda, and the Yajurveda is "*Vispati*" or "*Visampati*", lord of the agricultural and trading people, as contrasted with "*Brahmanaspati*", lord of the Brahmans or priests The word "*Vis*" in all the Vedas invariably denotes agricultural and trading people and the later word "*Vaisya*" is a cognate of the same word It follows therefore that the king, in virtue of his being only a *Vispati*, lord of the people, as distinguished from *Brahmanaspati*, lord of the Brahmans or priests, had no power over the Brahmans That the Brahmans did not acknowledge the elected chief as their king, is clearly stated in the following passage of the Yajurveda —

"This is your king, O Bharatas, Soma is the king of us Brahmans"

There is also evidence to believe that this political, social, and religious independence of the priestly class, peculiar to the Indian soil, seems to be Indo-European in origin, for both among the Romans and the Greeks a distinct priestly class seems to have been exercising some authority both over the kings and the common people

Mr Sastri also traces some of the causes which led to the establishment of absolute monarchies in the place of republics or limited monarchies We have no space to follow him We shall content ourselves with quoting the following passage

Though he (Chanakya) was well aware of the elective monarchy and also the hereditary monarchy of the Vedic period and though he thought the republican form of government as the most invincible and powerful enough to last long, still he attached importance to the above form of absolute monarchy with Brahman ministers as the only type best adapted for the preservation of Brahmanic learning and religion. As already stated, the elective monarchy with a preponderance of Brahmanic element or power in the State Assembly was repulsive to the kings themselves, the republican form of government, though conducive to the preservation and progress of the principles of equality and brotherhood of men as taught by the Buddhists, was apparently not well suited for the preference of Brahmanic interests to those of the other classes Hence an absolute monarchy with divine sanctity attached to the king's person and with Brahman politicians as ministers was the only form of government which Brahmans following the views of Chanakya considered as best fitted for the preservation of their own interests, which being mainly spiritual, was in their view conducive to the prosperity of other classes also

Two Classes of Brahmans.

In the same article from which we have quoted above the writer says that the ancient Brahmans seem to have been divided into two classes those that lived in cities for the service of their King, and those that lived in hermitages in forests on the banks of a perennial river, which are thus described —

The hermitages of ancient Brahmans were invariably situated in an extensive forest tract on the banks of one or other perennial river, congenial to growth of flowers, fruits, roots and wild rice They were a sort of University full of professors ready to teach and students eager to learn They were each an asylum for the afflicted, either in body or mind or in both, who,

for the alleviation of their physical or mental infirmities, sought remedies at the hands of the sages in the hermitages. They were a safe retreat for kings defeated in the battle-fields and chased by their bloodthirsty conquerors. Once within the boundaries of the hermitage, the runaway kings were safe, as their terrible enemies dreaded the power of the penance of the hermits. The hermitages may be termed as cities without walls or police for protection, in fact they needed no such things, for the hermits had neither gold nor granaries of grain in their possession. They had no worldly things to lose and had therefore no fear from worldly enemies. Their food was simple and consisted of wild rice, fruits, and roots, as stated by the sage.

There is evidence to believe that there were hermits for whom even flesh was one of the articles of diet.

The True Economic Map of the Land.

Mr C S Srinivasachari points out in the *Educational Review* of Madras that an

economic map of the land should serve the following main purposes —

(1) It should attempt to explain the present uses to which the land is put. (2) It should indicate the possibilities and prospects of future development. (3) It should suggest better, more effective and economical uses to which the land can be devoted than at present.

He describes in detail how land and its utilisation may be best represented graphically by a method which is largely developed in America and which distinguishes between barren land, forest areas, woodland or smaller forest slips, permanent pastures and meadows, cultivated land (dry and wet), areas giving indications of containing minerals, town and village sites, &c.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

A Patriotic English Professor on Bolsheviks.

Bolshevism has been so persistently painted in the blackest colours that it is but fair that we should be enabled to see the other side of the shield. *The Manchester Guardian* has given the public that opportunity. It sent Prof W T Goode to Moscow to see things for himself and write what he saw. He spent the month of August last there and his story appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* in successive issues in October last, from which we shall make a few extracts. Mr Goode is a graduate of London University in 1882, an accomplished linguist, and a distinguished educational authority, to whom it is said several generations of teachers have come under his influence as director first of the University Day Training College in England and later of the London City Council Training College. If there is any such thing as a true report of present conditions in Soviet Russia the findings of this honest professor, recorded with almost painful accuracy, are true. He was an ardent patriot during the war and has no connection with Bolshevism, except that

according to all who know him he is "an honest man with an open mind and a warm heart." Here are the extracts.

MOSCOW, A PEACEFUL CITY

"Theatre and concert-halls are fuller than ever, the workers now having the best chance in the distribution of tickets. Concerts of excellent music are maintained, and the cost of entrance is small, and theatres for children are run gratuitously in seven different parts of the city every Sunday afternoon.

"It may be imagined that as I took in all this my astonishment grew. But one thing made that even greater. I mean the order and security which reigned in Moscow. I have crossed the town on foot at midnight without fear of molestation, accompanied only by a lady with whom I had been to a concert. And again and again I was told by those whose work took them out at all hours of day and night that the security is also absolute. And there is no street lighting at night. There are police and armed military in the streets but they are not greatly in evidence, and only twice in a month did I see them arresting anyone—once for an infringement of the laws relating to street selling and in the other case for creating a disturbance.

THE COMMISSARIES

"The stories of orgies and of self-seeking are

quite false. A London clerk lives better than they do. Their lives are very simple, their habits and dress equally so. They bear marks of the strain under which they live. I do not know what is the average number of hours worked daily by the Commissaries, but one of them works regularly from lunch time to 3 or 4 o'clock a.m., and has never been known to go out to breathe fresh air, another takes only five hours' sleep, still another takes less.

"I mention this only to show the character of the men who are in the forefront of Bolshevism, and to put down coldly my own experience of them. Instead of being raging monsters whose only quality is ruthlessness, they are men of ability, clear in thought, subtle, direct and swift to act. Their power of work is immense, and they are fanatically devoted to the principles they profess."

FAMILY LIFE

"Women are freely employed in the commissariats and Government departments, and their position is improved, leisure time and pay are increased."

"The nationalization story, at any rate, can be nailed to the counter, and with it goes the free-love 'canard'. But the hardest blow is dealt against this 'free love' belief by the following fact—there is, to all appearance, no open prostitution in Moscow."

It may have become secret, that I do not know, what I state about the cleanliness of Moscow streets is the experience of myself and others. In fact the position of woman under Bolshevism has not deteriorated, it has improved.

CHILDREN.

Nowhere have I seen such families, so many very young children, as in Moscow and the surrounding country. What is more to my thinking, there is no country in the world where more care, money and thought are bestowed on the children by the Government than in Russia today. To the age of seventeen their wants in the way of food are supplied gratis on the level of the highest category of rations. Their schools, theatres, and amusements are a special care, and colonies had been formed in the country to which great numbers were drafted in the summer for reasons at once educational and physiological. The care begins before they are born.

Prof. Goode's interview with Lenin.

The *Manchester Guardian* has also published an account of Prof. Goode's interview with Lenin, the Bolshevist leader. Two of his answers to questions are quoted below. Asked what was the attitude of the Soviet Republic to the small nations who had split off the Russian Empire and had proclaimed their independence,

He replied that Finland's independence had been recognized in November, 1917, that he (Lenin) had personally handed to Swinhufvud, then head of the Finnish Republic, the paper on which this recognition was officially stated that the Soviet Republic had announced some time previously that no soldiers of the Soviet Republic would cross the frontier with arms in their hands, that the Soviet Republic had decided to create a neutral strip or zone between their territory and Esthonia, and would declare this publicly, that it was one of their principles to recognize the independence of all small nations, and that finally they had just recognized the independence of the Bashkir Republic—and, he added, the Bashkirs are a weak and backward people.

When the interview was about to close,

I asked if he had any general statement to make, upon which he replied that the most important thing for him to say was that the Soviet system is the best and that English workers and agricultural laborers would accept it if they knew it. He hoped that after peace the British Government would not prohibit the publication of the Soviet Constitution. That, morally, the Soviet system is even now victorious, and that the proof of the statement is seen in the persecution of Soviet literature in free, democratic countries.

Women in Politics.

In an article published in *Munsey's Magazine*, Mr. William S. Bridgman says that

The following States have now granted full suffrage to women—Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Michigan, Montana, Nevada, New York, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming, and that in the following States women are given suffrage with various limitations, they being allowed to vote for Presidential elections—Illinois, Indiana, Maine, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Rhode Island, Tennessee, and Wisconsin. He predicts that fifteen million American women will vote in the Presidential contest of 1920, under "organized politics on a really national scale."

"What issues will most interest and move them?" This, says the author, is an important inquiry, but their activities in the past will show that they will be greatly engrossed in "those aspects of affairs which concern the feminine side of life—the home, its economics, its sanitation, its children, its relation to the educational system." The author adds

"Even without political power, women have been leaders in compelling attention to the problems of municipal house-keeping and public health, slums, they have everywhere pressed to the front the issue of Americanization: the

child-labor issue would hardly have been a real one but for the tremendous campaign carried on by the women's organizations. Playgrounds and parks in cities, better homes and schools in the country, better milk for babies, control of the factors that make the cost of living a nightmare to the housewife—these and others of like human sort are the matters in which women will be most concerned, and which they will press upon municipal, state, and national movements."

The next question is, what proportion of women will vote as husband, father, or brother votes? This is answered by Mrs. Meredith, of Colorado, "a veteran of real politics," newspaper woman, poet, political expert, and public speaker. She says

"The great majority of young married women when they first get the vote, don't vote as

their husbands do. They tend to follow the lead of their fathers, just as sons do. Most boys borrow their politics at first from their fathers, and a considerable proportion tend to continue in that faith. The same is true of women. Hubby doesn't count much in a young wife's political arrangements, as against father.

"Later, husband and wife tend to develop political individuality independent of each other. The young woman may break away from loyalty to her father's politics, but that doesn't imply that she will take up her husband's affiliations. Women are more particular about the candidates they support. A man who is bad, but a good fellow, may get the men's votes, he doesn't get the women's. I should say that in seventy-five per cent of cases the votes of husband and wife will not be identical."

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION

REFORM OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

THE principal changes which the Commission recommended for a radical reform of secondary education are as follows —

(i) The stage of admission to the University should be (approximately) that of the present intermediate instead of that of the present matriculation.

(ii) The duty of providing training at the intermediate stage should be transferred from the Universities to new Institutions to be known as 'Intermediate Colleges', some of which should be attached to selected high schools, while others should be organised as distinct institutions. There should be at least one Intermediate College in each District of the Presidency besides a certain number in Calcutta and Dacca, and the courses of the Intermediate College should be so framed as to afford preparation not only for the ordinary degree courses of the University in arts and science, but also for the medical, engineering and teaching professions and for careers in agriculture, commerce and industry.

(iii) The Intermediate Colleges for men should in all cases be separate from degree colleges, and even where they are provided or managed by closely-linked authorities, should be organised under a distinct educational and financial control.

(iv) There should be two secondary school examinations, the first, approximately corresponding to the present matriculation, to be

taken at the end of the high school stage, at the normal age of 16, or in special cases, at the age of 15, and to be known as the high school examination, the second, approximately corresponding to the present intermediate, but much more varied in its range, to be taken at the end of the intermediate college course, at the normal age of 18, and to be known as the intermediate college examination. Success in this examination should constitute the normal test of admission to University courses. The range and standards of both of these examinations should be carefully reconsidered. Detailed recommendations on these heads will be found in Chapter XXXI, paragraphs 31-70 and in Chapter XXXII.

(v) The existing Department of Public Instruction is not so organised as to be able to regulate and supervise the new system, more than half of the high English schools are at present entirely outside its jurisdiction. And though the University is entitled to a large voice in their affairs, its governing bodies cannot be so organised as to be able to deal effectively with them, especially as they lack the necessary funds. We therefore recommend that there should be established a Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education, to consist of from fifteen to eighteen members, with power to appoint advisory and other committees including outside members. Among the statutory committees of the Board should be included a committee on the education of girls and a committee on madrasahs, the latter to conduct the examination of the reformed madrasah course. The

Board should also have the power to constitute provincial and divisional advisory councils

(vi) It should be provided that a majority of the Board should consist of non-official members, and that the Board should always include at least three representatives of Hindu and at least three of Muslim interests. Subject to these provisos, the Board should include (a) a salaried President, appointed by Government, (b) the Director of Public Instruction, ex-officio, (c) a member elected by the non-official members of the Bengal Legislative Council, (d) five representatives appointed by the University of Calcutta and two by the University of Dacca, (e) from five to eight members appointed by Government among whom should be included (if not otherwise provided for) representatives of the needs of industry, commerce, agriculture, medicine and public health, secondary and intermediate education, the educational needs of girls and those of the domiciled community

(vii) The powers of the Board should be (a) to define the various curricula to be followed in high schools and intermediate colleges, (b) to conduct the two secondary school examinations described above, subject to the proviso that the Universities should in each case have the power to determine what forms of the intermediate college examination they would accept, and under what conditions, as qualifying for admission to their courses in various faculties, (c) to grant, after inspection, formal recognition to high schools and intermediate colleges as qualified to present candidates for high school or intermediate college examinations, and as adequately organised and equipped places of instruction, (d) to advise Government as to the needs of these grades of education, and as the best modes of expending the available funds for these purposes. In the opinion of the majority of the Commission it is essential for the adequate performance of the functions of the Board that it should have an inspectorial staff of its own and that it should exercise substantial executive powers, especially in regard to the distribution of grants to schools and intermediate colleges (within the limits of the allotment made for these purposes by Government in its annual budget), and in regard to the exercise of control over such high schools and intermediate colleges as may be maintained out of public funds

(viii) The Board thus organised with its President, should not be wholly separated from the department of Public Instruction, but should be regarded as an important branch and aspect of the whole system of educational organisation, closely linked with the other branches, especially through the Director of Public Instruction. The character of the Director's Office would thus be materially changed. He would be relieved of much detailed work, but he would become the chief of the staff and expert adviser to the Member or Minister in charge of education

and would himself be in touch with all the aspects of educational work. To express this important change in the functions of the Director we recommend that he should be given the position of a secretary to Government

(ix) In order to give unity to the educational system by reducing the existing cleavage between government schools and colleges and privately managed schools, and by facilitating an interchange of teachers among these institutions, the main body of the teaching staff of the Government schools and intermediate colleges should be gradually recognised upon a professional rather than a service basis, the fullest safeguards being taken to protect the actual and prospective rights of members of existing services and to ensure an adequate salary scale and reasonable security of tenure under the new system. At the same time a superannuation fund for teachers should be organised to replace the existing pension system for future recruits to the profession. To this superannuation fund all aided schools should be required, and all organised but unaided schools should be encouraged, to contribute

(x) In view of the need of enlisting the services of a number of western-trained teachers in the reorganisation of secondary and intermediate work in Bengal, a special corps of western-trained teachers should be organised, the members of which should be enlisted not on uniform graded rates of pay, but on such terms and conditions as might be necessary to secure the right type of men and women in each case. Their services should be available, under the direction of the Board, either in Government institutions, or in private institutions which expressed a desire for their services

The changes recommended are of such a far-reaching character, that each section of the summary given above deserves careful and detailed examination. Our space being limited, we shall confine ourselves on the present occasion to the consideration only of some of the recommendations relating to secondary education

(I) BOARD OF SECONDARY AND INTER-MEDIATE EDUCATION

The grounds on which the Commissioners recommend the creation of a Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education are that "the whole system" of secondary education "are suffering from anaemia", that "satisfactory progress is impossible without a complete reorganisation of the existing administrative conditions", that this reorganisation which should be far-reaching "must have behind it a strong movement of public opinion, and be accompanied by greatly increased expenditure from public funds"

We are in complete accord with these views of the Commission, but fail to understand how they justify the setting up of a new machinery separate from the University. If "there is a fundamental unity in national education which should be recognised and strengthened," it is the University alone which can best conserve that unity. Its past history has proved that it is the only educational organisation in the country, which, though largely officialised by the Universities Act of 1904, has "a movement of public opinion behind it." It will not, therefore, be unreasonable to expect, that under the new conditions which will be inaugurated by the Reform Act, the Calcutta University will be backed by an ever-widening volume of public opinion, provided that in the contemplated reconstruction of it, the different interests of the community find adequate representation, and the policy underlying it be more liberal and comprehensive than that of the Act of 1904. Nobody will feel disposed to contend that secondary education should be in the sole charge of the Syndicate. The burden of work imposed upon it is so heavy and engrossing—not unoften as many as one hundred items of business coming up for disposal at a single meeting—that the proposal to relieve it of the administration of secondary education is perfectly sound. But it cannot be said that the Senate is an over-worked body. The agenda of business at any of its meetings seldom contains more than ten items. Why cannot "the duty of remodelling this grade of education and of raising it to a state of efficiency be entrusted" to a committee of the Senate on the same terms as are recommended for the Board? One grave objection to the contemplated reorganisation is that there will be no appeal against the decree of the new authority, whereas the decisions of the Syndicate are liable to revision and modification by the Senate. It is not desirable that secondary and intermediate education should be made over to a composite body whose verdict must in all cases be accepted as final.

Drs Zia-ud-din Ahmad and J. W. Gregory, in their note of dissent, while agreeing with their colleagues as to the need for a Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education, "doubt the advisability of conferring on this Board such extensive additional executive and administrative powers as are proposed for it," and observe in paragraph 19

"There seems to be no precedent for the administrative adventure of delegating the conduct of secondary education in a great country to a small board of the kind proposed."

There is much force in their objections, but we are not prepared to accept their conclusion that the Director of Public Instruction should be made Chairman of the Board.

We reserve our remarks on the proposed composition of the new authority for the next issue.

(II) THE CONDUCT OF THE HIGH SCHOOL EXAMINATION

The Commission recommend that a limited number of schools in recognition of their special excellence as places of education should be granted the privilege of having the high school examination (the name to be given to the present Matriculation examination under the new scheme) partly oral, partly written.

"The school would be visited, at some time during the three months preceding the examination by a group of visiting examiners, sufficiently large to conduct with expert knowledge an oral examination of the candidates in each group of studies—languages, Mathematics, History, Geography and Science."

The Commission observe that "the bestowal of the privilege of this distinctive form of examination would be a suitable acknowledgment of the special excellence of the schools," but they admit that as there are more than seven hundred high schools now recognised in Bengal, for the vast majority of them "the plan of holding a general written examination as the sole test should be continued." This recommendation is open to serious objection on various grounds. We state some of them below.

(1) The plan will introduce a system of preferential treatment for a small number of favoured schools. This is most undesirable in the sphere of education.

(2) An oral examination, where desirable and practicable, should not come alongside of the written examination. It should be held on the basis of the candidates' written answers.

(3) If the recommendation of the Commission were adopted the oral examination of a high school even in non-linguistic subjects would be converted into an examination in spoken English. It would be extremely detrimental to candidates at the stage of adolescence, most of whom are boys of fifteen or sixteen, and for whom the language of the

oral examination ought to be their own vernacular

(4) The time that is proposed to be allotted to the oral examination in addition to inspection and practical examination will make it impossible for the examiners to do the work thoroughly and satisfactorily. The results obtained would not therefore command public confidence.

(5) As different groups of examiners will necessarily have to be sent to different centres, the oral examination will be reduced to a game of chance, for, the Commissioners do not suggest how the personal idiosyncrasies of the examiners will be equated. Besides, as they are of opinion that "the work must be done by persons holding an independent position," it will be difficult to secure the services of a sufficient number of examiners of the requisite type.

(6) A written examination, with all its drawbacks, assures to some extent standardisation of the medium of value, which an oral examination can hardly do. The system is, therefore, likely to produce a deleterious effect on the work of a school by introducing into the oral examination a personal factor not always of a desirable kind.

(III) THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE HIGH SCHOOL EXAMINATION

The Commission recommend that the plan of the examination should be as follows —

(1) The head master should be required to certify that each candidate whom he presents for the examination has received during his training at school a course of instruction of a kind and at a stage approved by the Board, in each of the following subjects and in any subject not mentioned in this list in which the candidate submits himself for examination —

(a) Introduction to natural science, including the teaching of elementary hygiene

(b) History of India, History of the British Empire

(c) Drawing and manual training

(2) Every candidate should be required to present himself for examination in at least five subjects

(3) The following four subjects should be compulsory for all candidates —

(a) Vernacular

(b) English

(c) Elementary mathematics

(d) Geography, including physical geography

(4) The candidate should also be required to offer himself for examination in one of the following subjects, and should be allowed in

addition to this to offer a sixth subject also drawn from the following list —

(e) A classical language (Bengali-speaking Musalmans being allowed to offer Urdu in lieu of one of the languages ordinarily enumerated as classical)

(f) An approved scientific subject (a number of alternative courses being allowed for his choice, one of these being of the nature of a general introduction to science)

(g) Additional mathematics

(h) History of India, History of the British Empire

The above plan is no doubt an improvement upon the present curriculum of the Matriculation Examination, but one of its defects is that it makes history and classical languages optional subjects. The reason assigned by the Commissioners for leaving history where it was is that "this subject is in a great number of cases ill-taught, and the result of this inferior teaching is to deaden interest in history instead of quickening it." The reason does not seem to be convincing. If the recommendation of the Commission about the training of teachers be carried out in full, "the mechanical and uninspiring methods of teaching the subject" will slowly but steadily be replaced by real improvement. And we do not find in the pages of the Report any valid grounds on which the languages of the sacred books of the land should be relegated to a subordinate position. In our humble opinion the following subjects should be compulsory for all candidates: (1) Vernacular, (2) English, (3) Elementary Mathematics, (4) A classical language, (5) History of India and of England, (6) Geography, General and Physical.

(IV) THE RECRUITMENT AND POSITION OF TEACHERS

We cordially support the recommendations of the Commission about raising the status of the teacher. Their idea that the teachers in the seven hundred or more high schools of Bengal should be interchangeable among them, though novel, has much to commend it to all thoughtful men, but we have doubts about its feasibility. Besides, bringing all the secondary schools in the province under one central authority may help to standardise them, but the experiment is fraught with grave risks. The following alluring picture, depicted by the Commissioners of the future career of a Bengalee graduate, will raise a smile by its lack of humour in those who are acquainted with the story of the Bengalee

gentleman who was bracketed first with Lord Haldane in the highest examination in Philosophy of the Edinburgh University, and who was not confirmed as Principal of the Presidency College, and could never rise to the position of the Director of Public Instruction, and also with the story of how Sir P. C. Ray was promoted to the Indian Educational Service a few hours before his retirement from Government service

"Thus, a young graduate might begin his work in a privately managed school, encouraged to accept a low salary and a small contribution to his superannuation fund by the knowledge that various openings would offer later. He does good work, on the strength of which he is appointed to a post in one of the Board's schools with a better salary and a consequent increase in the rate at which his superannuation fund grows. If he feels tempted to leave scholastic work, he can take with him a paid-up policy which will mature at a future date or he can withdraw his own superannuation contribution with compound interest—a useful nest egg. But if he goes on with educational work, he may possibly be invited to accept the head mastership of a private school which needs reorganisation, at a higher salary. His superannuation fund therefore grows more rapidly. With his varied experience he may be able to bring about a great improvement of his school, an improvement so marked that he may be asked (for example) to take charge of the training of teachers in a state intermediate college. From that he may pass to be an inspector or examiner of schools, if he has done scholarly work, he may be elected to a chair in one of the universities, if his strength is on the administrative side, he may rise to be Director of Public Instruction. A career is open to him, a career such as is now quite impossible for a Bengali youth of ambition and ability who undertakes educational work. The lack of the stimulus afforded by the prospect of such a career reacts unhappily on all his work, and is one of the main reasons why men of ability and ambition avoid school work."

Educated public opinion in Bengal will take the strongest exception to the last recommendation of the Commission, viz., that for the reorganisation of secondary and intermediate work a special corps of western-trained teachers should be organised.

"They must be paid more than it would be necessary to offer to qualified residents, if such were available, for the same kind of work." Many of them would be employed in teaching English. They might, in special cases, be called upon to act as head masters or principals, though this would not be a matter of right."

And they must not "be encouraged to regard themselves as in any way the superiors of their colleagues in the ordinary teaching service whom they are brought out to supplement and assist." It is a problem in psychology how a man belonging to the ruling caste and drawing a higher grade salary can be prevented from regarding himself as superior to his less fortunate colleagues. The Report furnishes us with no clue to its solution. But the objection to the proposal goes deeper. The Commissioners observe that

"Bengal needs better teaching of English, and for that purpose English-speaking men and women who are trained teachers are required in larger numbers, especially for work at the intermediate stage."

This statement calls for scrutiny. Are English-speaking men and women necessarily good teachers of English? Is no discount to be made on the score of dialectical, provincial or racial diversities? European teachers may prove of invaluable assistance in a training college to give to its students practical training in spoken English, elocution, and in educational Methodology, but even here the utmost care will have to be taken to secure the right type of men and women. The employment of Western-trained teachers in secondary schools should be discountenanced by all who have the real well-being of the country at heart. It is well to point out some of its disadvantages. If the object of the scheme be the teaching of English pronunciation, reading and speaking, the work must begin in the lowest classes, and be continued to the highest, but if the western-trained teachers be Europeans or Indians other than Bengalees, their ignorance of the Bengalee children's ways, accent-system and idiom will render them unfit for the work undertaken by them. Then again, it is a *sine qua non* of successful teaching in a school where the majority of the pupils are children of immature minds, that the teacher should have an intimate understanding of their social traditions, manners and customs, be able to enter into their sentiments, and sympathise with them in their joys and sorrows. Few European teachers can be expected to have the requisite measure of these indispensable qualifications. If a defective imagination, which is said to be the predominant note of the English character, has occasionally created an embarrassing situation even in the colleges, it will prove

simply disastrous in our high schools. Lastly, the organisation of a special corps in secondary schools will be a bad reproduction of the colour-bar in the educational service, which is responsible for the distinction in status and pay between the I E S and the P E S, giving rise to endless troubles and incurable sores of which we have not heard the last yet.

One word more, and we have done. One may easily make a fetish of the command of spoken English. We wish to emphasise the view that the mastery of the English language is not the be-all and the end-all of existence, for India needs something else than linguistic purism. Most Indians learn English more for the purpose of being able to utilise the contents of the books written in that language than for accurate scholarship. Lawyers, physicians, engineers—to name only a few of the professions—do not care so much for proper accents or delicious elocution, as for the truths that they can garner only from the science and literature of the West. There are Indians who have attained to pre-eminent success in law, medicine, business, and the public service, without being able to speak English like an Englishman. No sensible man will maintain that bad pronunciation and conspicuous ability in the practical affairs of life go ill together. Even for literary men faultlessness of accent and intonation is not of as much importance as facility of correct expression. The latter is a difficult quality to acquire, and it is not common even among Europeans, and in the use of their own vernacular. Distinguished British authors of Scotch and Irish descent were known not to possess correct English accent and the correct pronunciation of many English words. We have known District Officers, Commissioners of Divisions, nay, Rulers of Provinces, who could not address a

public meeting with ease and fluency for ten minutes together. Every impartial observer will admit that in the matter of wielding English prose, educated Bengalees do not suffer in comparison with French or German scholars, in fact, they speak and write it much better than most Englishmen do. Bangalee or any other foreign tongue French and German are now systematically taught in English Public Schools, and it is a notorious fact that few educated Englishmen can talk French like a Frenchman, but this is not considered by the educational authorities of England as a sufficient reason for the importation into that country of a battalion of French teachers. Do improve the teaching of English in the high schools of Bengal by all means, but do not sacrifice larger and more enduring interests to a mere shibboleth. We have had enough of cant in the sphere of politics, let us take care that it may not invade the vital concern of national education. After all is said and done, a people must tackle its difficulties in its own way, and seek for their solution in the last resort in their own resources. English education is still an exotic in India, and one of its most deep-rooted defects is its foreignness and unreality. The infusion of a large dose of foreign element into the personnel of the profession of teaching will, instead of curing, only accentuate that defect. The educational salvation of Bengal does not depend on the perfection of the machinery for the teaching of English, particularly of spoken English, if it ever comes, it must be looked forward to in the nationalisation of the system of education in fact and spirit by the gradual adoption of the vernacular of the province as the medium of instruction from the lowest to the topmost grade.

RAJANIKANTA GUHA

MIRACULA

So far away the secrets lie
Within ourselves, so deep they go
In catacombs of memory,
Ten thousand years below

And life is as an hour's Sun
Upon a lonely island peak
Whose mighty base leviathan
Scarce roundeth in a week

Yet every tiny flower and shell,
And every flash of human thought,
Are worlds as wide as heaven and hell,
As wonderfully wrought

E E SPEIGHT

NOTES

The Year-end Gatherings.

The Gujarati of Bombay has compiled the following list of the various gatherings which were held in different parts of the country between 19th and 31st December, 1919 —

- 1 The All-India Music Conference at Benares—19th Dec
- 2 The First District Co-operative Conference of South Canara at Mangalore—20th Dec
- 3 The Third Andhra Ayurvedic Conference at Vizianagram—20th Dec
- 4 The Rajput Mahasabha, Aligarh—23rd Dec
- 5 The 36th session of the Theosophical Conference
- 6 The anniversary of Gurukul, Brindaban, at Brindaban—24th Dec
- 7 The Anti-Caste Conference at Brindaban
8. The Mahila Parishad at Brindaban
- 9 The second session of the Saryuparin Brahman Mahasabha at Benares—24th Dec
- 10 The third session of the Vishanagar Bania Caste, Ahmedabad—26th Dec.
11. The seventh Bhandari Educational Conference at Tarapur, District Thana—25th Dec
- 12 The Maratha Conference at Karad, District Satara
- 13, The Arya Conference at Brindaban Gurukul—26th Dec
- 14 The ninth session of the All-India Kadwa Patidar Parishad at Mokhasan—27th Dec
- 15 The fifth Lohana Conference, Cutch, Mandvi—27th Dec
- 16 The first session of the Sikh League, Amritsar—17th Dec
- 17 The 34th Indian National Congress at Amritsar—27th Dec
- 18 The second Conference of the Backward Classes in the Bombay Presidency at Sholapur—29th Dec
- 19 The 33rd All-India Mahomedan Educational Conference at Khairpur, Sindh—27th Dec
- 20 The Burma Moslem Educational Conference, Rangoon—27 Dec
- 21 The Indian National Social Conference at Amritsar—28th Dec
- 22 The sixteenth All-India Temperance Conference—28th Dec
- 23 The All-India Audich Brahmin Conference, Bombay—28th Dec
- 24 The All-India Theistic Conference, Amritsar—28th Dec
- 25 The fourth All-India Humanitarian Conference, Amritsar—28th Dec
- 26 The Provincial Urdu Conference, Khairpur, Sind—28th Dec
- 27 The sixth All-India Conference of Indian Christians at Cuttack—29th Dec
- 28 The third South Indian Non-Brahmin Confederation, Madras—29th Dec
- 29 The eighth session of the Madras Provincial Co-operative Conference, Madras—29th Dec
- 30 The ninth All-India Veershiva Mahasabha at Birar—29th Dec
- 31 The 12th All-India Moslem League, Amritsar—20th Dec
- 32 The third session of the Ben-Israel Conference, Bombay—30th Dec
- 33 The annual Conference of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, Allahabad—30th Dec
- 34 The Moderates' Conference at Calcutta—30th Dec
- 35 The first Village Officers' Provincial Conference, Madras—31st Dec
- 36 The third annual Conference organized by the Indian Economic Association, Madras—31st Dec
- 37 The All-India Lohana Parishad, Cutch, Mandvi—31st Dec

And even this long list is not exhaustive. We do not find the All-India Ladies' Conference and the All-India Medical Conference held at Amritsar mentioned in it and there may be other omissions. As there were so many gatherings, naturally even the daily papers have been able to report the proceedings of only a few of them, and it is out of the question for any monthly publication even to think of doing the barest justice to them. An annual volume giving at least the presidential addresses delivered and the resolutions passed in these gatherings may give an idea of what the different classes and sections of the people of India were thinking of as their goal in matters religious, social, political, educational, economic, medical, etc. Though the awakening of the Indian people is, one is glad to note, not confined to politics—yet politics being the greatest common factor in the forces stirring the Indian mind, the political gatherings were the biggest and absorbed the greatest share of the public attention. Therefore, the other gatherings held at Amritsar could not do their work properly. The Industrial Conference and Commercial Congress were therefore well advised when they decided to hold a joint

session in Bombay in the latter part of January last. There is also a proposal under consideration to hold the annual session of the Indian National Social Conference at a time and place different from those of the Congress.

Most gatherings show that there are sections and units of the people who have not yet begun to think and aspire nationally. With the gradual unification and nationalisation of the people many sectional gatherings will cease to be held and others will be held at such times and places as not to clash with the national gatherings. The Hindu-Moslem rapprochement and unity have been the most gladdening and encouraging signs of the times in the year that is past. This unity would be understood to be complete in the field of politics when the Musalmans voluntarily gave up the separate communal representation given to them in the legislative bodies by the new Government of India Act.

Cow-killing and Hindu-Moslem Unity

No more important observation was made by Haziq-ul-Mulk Hakim Ajmal Khan as President of the Amritsar session of the Muslim League than when he said —

“The secret of the success, not merely of the Reform scheme, but of all work which is being done by Indians in India and abroad, lies in Hindu-Moslem unity. There is no need to look back, as both these communities have fully realised it now that unity alone can be the firm foundation of India's real improvement and future progress.”

Naturally, the consideration of how this unity can be strengthened and made lasting occupied a considerable portion of his address. He observed —

“Those who are inspired by a genuine desire to serve their country cannot be affected by any differences of race or creed, which are the same to-day as they were before. The question of Government appointments is no longer capable of engaging our attention to any appreciable degree, and although political rights were the subject of much controversy between them before, the Congress-League compact of 1916 went a very long way to settle that matter. Such other matters as the League and the Congress may still require to have an understanding about, will, I am sure, be easily settled between them, on some appropriate occasion. I shall, therefore, address myself to the one question which has an importance quite its own, and which is none other than the problem of the preservation of cows.”

The following passage from Hakim Ajmal Khan's speech shows that he, the chosen spokesman of his community, fully appreciates the Hindu attitude.

“Our Hindu compatriots have, for some time past, been making genuine efforts to meet us more than half way, and deserve our sincerest gratitude for their good will. It is indeed a testimony to their keen realisation of the needs of nation-building. It, therefore, behoves us, as inheritors of a noble creed, to reciprocate their amicable regard with greater warmth and goodwill, to demonstrate that our faith teaches us that every good act deserves a better return. Our Hindu brethren enthusiastically and spontaneously observed the Khilafat day with us, and in closing their business to share our sorrow they evinced remarkably large sympathies. They cheerfully bore great commercial loss, only to prove their sincere regard for our sentiments in regard to a matter which was exclusively religious, and could claim their interest in no other way. Can those sincere demonstrations of friendly regard and goodwill go for nothing? Most certainly not, nor can they possibly fail to evoke the deserving responses from a people not dead to all noble feelings. Again, what but the promotion of a commendable reciprocity and co-operation in exclusively religious matters can be a surer guarantee of India's future welfare and progress? The matter which is entirely for Muslims to decide, is what practical step they are going to take to demonstrate their appreciation of this principle, to reassure Hindu brethren. They [Musalmans] should in so far as it lies in their power refrain from acts calculated to wound the susceptibilities of their compatriots. We are and should be fully cognisant of the fact that cow-killing seriously annoys our fellow-countrymen.”

Then the speaker proceeded to show that Islam does not make it obligatory to sacrifice cows, other animals, as sheep, goats and camels, may be substituted. So he suggested that sheep and goats may be sacrificed.

“If I am asked to specify the practical step to be taken in this direction, I would recommend that the residents of Kashi, Ajudhia, Muthra and Brundaban (the sacred places of the Hindus) should begin the operation of the principle enunciated above, and efforts should be simultaneously directed to the propagation of the same idea in other places.”

The Moslem League passed a resolution embodying the views and suggestion of its President.

The Social Conference.

At the Amritsar session of the Indian National Social Conference, the President,

Lala Hansraj, one of the founders and the retired first Principal of the Lahore D A -V College, delivered a comprehensive and eloquent



Lala Hansraj



Lord Sinha

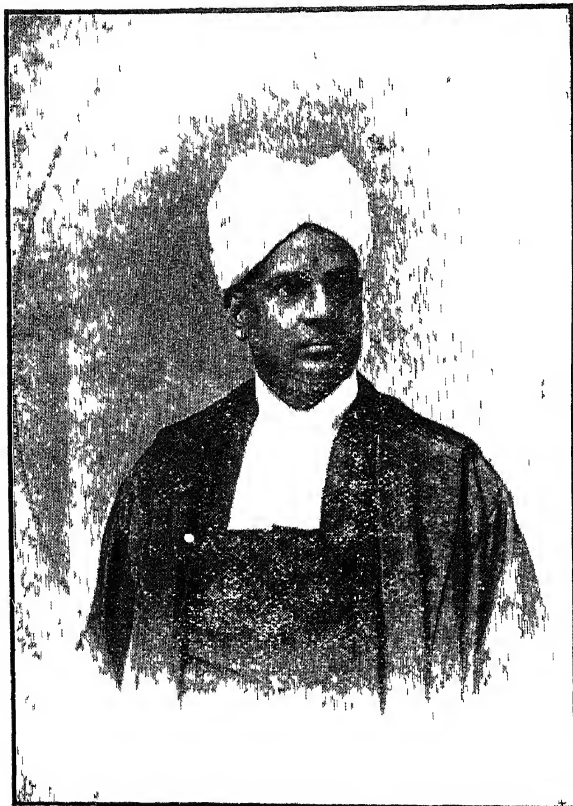


Hazik-ul-Mulk Hakim Ajmal Khan,

28—13



Sir Chittur Sankaran Nair,



Sir Sivaswami Iyer

address in urdu dealing with several aspects of the social reform movement. The chief feature of the conference proceedings was the widening of the scope of the conference on the lines suggested by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar in a message which was read at the conference and in which he said in part —

There is an awakened conscience and awakened consciousness of higher life in the country. The fact is, after nearly a century of political and social work, we have arrived at that stage in the line of our progress when we are able to perceive most clearly that our social reform is the whole of which political, educational, industrial and other reforms are but parts and that these parts are interactive and interdependent. The time has come for us, social reformers and workers, to enlarge the meaning and scope of social reform and extend our activity and the outlook to the questions of the education of the masses, sanitation of the country, housing of the poor, care of the sick and feeble, employment of labour on rational lines, provision of healthy recreation and amusement for the masses, village sanitation and rural education, instead of confining social reform as hitherto to female education, widow-remarriage, removal of caste restrictions, and such other items. By so enlarging

the scope of social reform, we shall not be trenching upon the sphere of political bodies or purely industrial and economic organisations or sanitary institutions, provided we adhere faithfully to and keep prominently before us the distinguishing aim of the Conference, which is to touch, purify, elevate and invigorate the political, industrial and municipal life of the country by developing its domestic and social forces, which are feeders and makers of that life. "We live in times of democracy when the age calls for equality of opportunity for all, high, low, rich and poor. Democracy is more a social than a political force and must find, to be healthy, its life first in our home life and social life to make our political and industrial life wholesome."

A resolution based on Sir Narayan's message was adopted at the Conference, of which the full text is quoted below

"That this Social Conference, recognizing the fresh life opened out to the country by the new era upon which it is entering and the urgent call that fresh life makes for the social reconstruction of India's national life, is of opinion that the term social reform should be widened so as to comprehend, besides the items of reform hitherto advocated by the conference, those additional measures which are necessary for the development of the industrial, economic, sanitary and educational interests of the Indian people in rural and urban areas and towards that the Conference resolves that an All-India Council of the Social Conference, consisting of about 100 willing workers all over the country, be formed and the General Secretary in Bombay and other secretaries of the National Social Conference with the help of the Provincial Secretaries newly appointed be empowered to move in that matter to concert measures for propagandist and practical work all over the country in that behalf, collect the necessary funds and take such steps as may be deemed useful in furtherance of the specific object."

The Temperance Conference

At the sixteenth session of the All-India Temperance Conference held at Amritsar Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya delivered his presidential speech in Hindi. He said in part

"Practically most of the victims of drink were poor people. Compassion for the poor people themselves whose families were left in perpetual poverty and starvation was a stimulus sufficient to awaken them to take bold steps to eradicate the drink evil from the country. People in Europe and America had been considered to be lovers of drinking, but the war had taught a lesson even to them, so much so that they now called the drink evil an enemy worse than even Germany. The United States had recently decreed total prohibition. In view of

all these, Indians, whose very religions denounced and forbade drinking, ought to give it up. It was a difficult task, but he believed an earnest endeavour would certainly succeed. I am sorry to hear there is enormous consumption of liquor at Amritsar. India ought to follow the example of America and enforce prohibition."

As Pandit Malaviya had urgent work at the Congress Subjects Committee he had to leave the meeting after delivering his brief presidential address. The gentleman who took the chair after him said in the course of his address that the Government contention that taxation amounted to prohibition was not correct, taxation was not prohibition but permission. Now that excise was becoming a transferred subject, he had every hope that if Indians would unanimously ask for total prohibition, Ministers in charge would listen to their demands and put an end to the worst enemy of society. Miss Price, President, Women's Temperance Union, India, said, she fully agreed that taxation was not prohibition but permission. In her own country after sixty years' taxation consumption had increased five times. The only remedy for the evil was total prohibition.

We must undoubtedly press for total prohibition and at the same time devise means for meeting the deficit which may result from the disappearance of the excise revenue. There are only two means, retrenchment of expenditure or increased taxation. In view of the scandalous haste and disregard of the present economic condition of the people of



Sir Rashbehari Ghosh

India with which the salaries and other emoluments of the imperial services have been enormously increased, considering the swelling of the police budget, and, finally, in view of the military expenditure (which nobody can forecast) which the cry of Bolshevist peril in the East is sure to entail, there is little hope of retrenchment, though we must press for it. The only means left is to increase the tax-bearing capacity of the country, and that can be done by industrial development. This would mean a large addition to our factories, which



Mr Bhupendranath Basu

would employ thousands of labourers. Unless there be total prohibition a large increase of population in the labour centres would mean increased drunkenness, which would impair not only the morals but the productive capacity also of the labourers. This is only one example to show how all methods and means of improvement are interdependent.

Sir Sankaran Nair's New Appointment

Indians have little reason to favour the continuance of the Secretary of State's Council in London. But as it has been given a new lease of life, it is essentially necessary that its Indian members should be of the best stamp which India can furnish. Sir Sankaran Nair,

who has been recently appointed a member, is such a man,—well-informed, fearless, statesmanlike, patriotic and able to hold his own against a whole host of adversaries. That he has been appointed in spite of his resignation of membership of the Viceroy's executive council owing to his disagreement with his colleagues on their Panjab policy, and in spite of his publicly characterising Sir Michael O'Dwyer's departure from the Panjab as like that of a thief in the night, does not discourage the hope that Mr Montagu may be disposed to deal out justice to wrong-doers in the Panjab. But as in what is called practical politics many factors other than considerations of justice, humanity and righteousness are unfortunately allowed to influence the conduct of statesmen, one must not be sanguine. We feel that after the expiatory resolution, condemning mob excesses, passed unanimously at the Congress, our moral position

is sound and strong. That ought to satisfy us, even if guilty officials be not punished.

The appointment of an eminent Indian who has only recently written such strong, outspoken and uncompromising minutes of dissent and who has still more recently published a convincing article on the increasing poverty of the people under British rule, may be an indication of Mr Montagu's attitude in relation to Indian economics and politics. But, again, one must not build any hopes on such conjectures.

Social Reform and "Moderates" and "Extremists"

It is some times asserted that "Extremists" hold radical views only in politics, but that

they are reactionary stand-patters in social matters and play to the gallery, and it is also said, and suggested by implication, that the "Moderates" are social reformers. Without considering the case of those who never in the past took any interest in any public affair but spent their time in either pleasure-seeking or money making or in both and who now find it safe and advantageous to pose as "Moderate", it would not be at all difficult to mention the names of many "Moderates" who have long figured in public life of a sort who are far from being social reformers. It is also said that Brahmos are "Moderates". That also is not a universally true proposition, and there is good reason to doubt whether the majority of Brahmos are "Moderates". As regards "Extremists", it is undoubtedly that there are a good many social reactionaries among them, but it is equally undoubted that there are social reformers among them, too. And as nobody has ever defined what exactly makes one an Extremist and what a Moderate, as there is no clear line of demarkation between the two, and as no census has been taken of the two varieties of politically-minded Indians, there are practical difficulties in the way of determining what proportions of these two sections are in favour of or opposed to social reform.



Jamshedji N. Tata

We are in theory disposed to be thoroughly radical in the eradication of evils and in all endeavours after reconstruction in the spheres of religion, politics, social rules and practices, economics, education, &c. In practice we are for pushing forward as circumstances allow and sometimes in spite of them. But we are not disposed to quarrel with anybody in any sphere of reform on the ground that he has



Dr M N Ohdedar

advanced or thinks that it is proper or practicable to advance only a foot and not a mile, though at the same time we shall persist in the endeavour to advance a mile and to prove that it is proper and practicable to do so. For instance, in civic and political affairs, while we have never concealed our opinion that, neither provincial autonomy nor pan-Indian internal autonomy or home rule, but absolute freedom in all internal and

external affairs and relations can alone be the ultimate national goal of any self-respecting and self-confident people, a world-wide federation of independent national units being the international goal, we have not failed either to consider even the elective chairmanship of municipalities a gain, however small. In social reform, while the total abolition of caste is our goal, we welcome even the introduction of intermarriage among sub-castes.

The annual sessions of the Congress and the Moderates' Conference have practically illustrated the fact that even all prominent "Moderates" are not social reformers and all prominent "Extremists" social reactionaries. The presidential address of Sir Sivaswami Aiyar, able as it is, does not furnish any indication to show that the true enfranchisement of India depends on anything else in addition to political reform and things of that sort.

The presidential address of Pandit Motilal Nehru, on the other hand, shows that he knows the true place and value of politics and understands how India can be truly free. For says he —

"What is our ultimate goal? We want freedom of thought, freedom of action, freedom to fashion our own destiny and build upon India suited to the genius of her people. We do not wish to make of India a cheap and

slavish imitation of the West. We have so far sought to liberate our Government on the Western model. Whether that will satisfy us in the future I cannot say. But let us bear in mind that Western democracy has not proved a panacea for all ills, it has not yet solved the problems which surround us. Europe is torn asunder by the conflict between labour and capital, and the proletariat is raising its head against the rule of the classes. It may be that when we get the power to mould our own institutions we shall evolve a system of government which will blend all that is best in the East and the West. Meanwhile, let us beware of the errors of the West and at the same time cast out the evil customs and traditions which have clung to us. We must aim at an India where all are free and have the fullest opportunities of development, where women have ceased to be in bondage and the rigours of the caste system have disappeared, where there are no privileged classes or communities, where education is free and open to all, where the capitalist and the landlord do not oppress the laborer and the raiyat, where labour is respected and well paid, and poverty, the nightmare of the present generation, is a thing of the past." [The italics are ours]



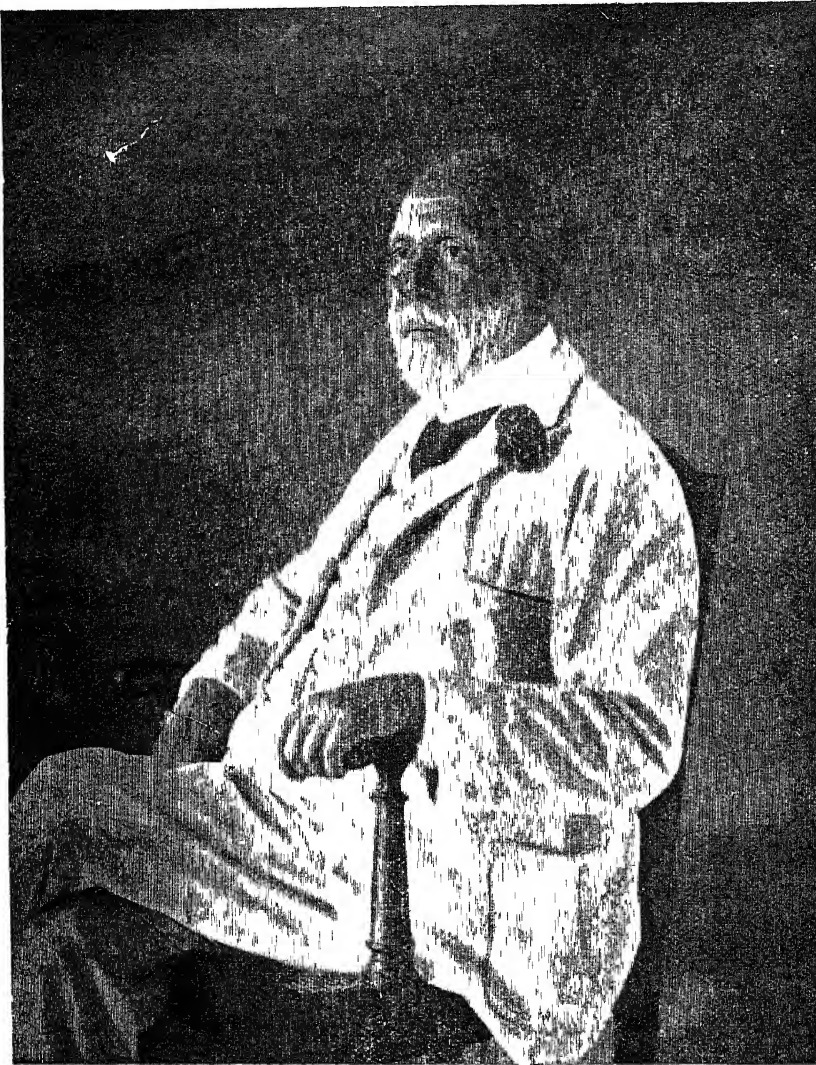
Hon'ble Pandit Madanmohan Malaviya

It may be added in conclusion that Mr V J Patel, who has introduced the Hindu intercaste marriage validating bill in the Viceroy's Council, has been styled an Extremist, and that among the supporters and opponents of the bill there were both Extremists and Moderates.

All-India Medical Conference.

At the third All-India Medical Conference, held at Amritsar, and presided over by Dr M N Ohdedar of Lucknow, a resolution was passed, recognising it as necessary that an All-India Medical Conference Committee should immediately start propagandist work, having for its object the reduction of infant mortality, promotion of child-welfare, and

diffusion of knowledge of domestic sanitation and hygiene. Another resolution urged that the All-India Medical Conference Committee should press upon the newly created Sanitary Board the urgent necessity of improving village sanitation and obtaining special grants for investigating and combating preventible diseases. Most of the other resolutions directly concerned the interests of medical men and indirectly those of the people of India at large. Dr Ohdedar, the president, devoted the greater portion of his able and outspoken address to matters dealt with in these latter resolutions. He also referred to research work done by Indian medical men, and urged that there should be greater facilities for research work.



Sir Taraknath Palit

obtainable by our countrymen. The following observations of his apply to other services also than the I M S —

You must have heard that a new scheme of pay for the I M S officers is under contemplation. As far as I have been able to understand, the idea is that the European I M S officers will get better pay under the name of "overseas" allowance. This has reference to those men who have joined the Department after 1918. To justify this preferential treatment it is said that those Indians who are employed in the United Kingdom will be given a similar allowance. But when we remember that only three or four Indians are employed in the United Kingdom against hundreds of Britishers in India, the arrangement seems to be nothing better than a camouflage.

It is generally asserted that unless the Britishers are given higher pay as compared

to the Indians, the best products of the British Universities would not be attracted to this country. This appears to me to be an assertion not worth much consideration. The best products of the British Universities hardly ever come out to this country, and there is no reason why they should. A man who is able to make enough for his bread and butter in his own country does not care to go abroad, and it would be absurd to say that the vast majority of I M S officers come out to India with an altruistic motive. If they did, they would not hanker after increase of pay in the way they do.

I am sure I am not far from right when I say that there are very few I M S officers of outstanding ability. The vast majority of them are neither better nor wiser than the products of the Indian Universities.

A Great Educational Benefactor

The late Mr. Jamshedji N. Tata's endowment for the foundation and upkeep of the Research Institute at Bangalore amounted to about 30 lakhs of rupees. Owing to the manipulation of Lord Curzon and bureaucrats of his way of thinking the Institute took an unconscionably long time to come into being, and its direction and management have been such that the hopes of its founder cannot be said to have been realised or to be on the way to realisation. Next to the Tata endowment, the largest educational benefactions for the benefit of Indians were those of the late Sir Taraknath Palit and of Sir Rashbehari Ghosh. The close of the year 1919 saw a bigger endowment yet than his former gift of 10 lakhs from Sir Rashbehari Ghosh, aptly styled "the prince of Calcutta Graduates" by Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee in moving grateful acceptance of Sir Rashbehari's donation of Rupees 11 lakhs and 43 thousands. In the course of the appropriate speech which Sir Ashutosh made on the occasion he observed —

Logic and eloquence are equally superfluous to justify the acceptance of this truly munificent offer. It would be inappropriate in the highest degree if I, his pupil, were to use language with regard to my revered Master, which might bear the semblance even of patronising commendation of his great achievement as the foremost benefactor of our University. I need only say that in all humility I feel it a real privilege to be called upon to associate myself with the adoption of the motion which the Syndicate has recommended on this historic occasion. To us all it is a source of infinite joy that by the liberality of Sir Rashbehari Ghose we are placed in a position to take one decisive step forward towards the accomplishment of what has been our avowed purpose for many years past, viz., the establishment of a University College of Science and Technology.

The greater portion of his speech was an exposure of the niggardliness of the Government of India as proved by their "steady and persistent refusal" to help the University Science College "conveyed to us in letters all emanating from Mr Sharp." Government or the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy have for years decried our Universities as mere examining bodies. But when the Calcutta University resolved to and did undertake teaching duties, what help did it receive from its mentors? The answer will be found in the following dispassionate statement to be found in the second Convocation Address delivered on the 5th January by Sir Nilratan Sircar, M A, M D, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University —

"The Universities Act of 1904 was only a permissive Act so far as the teaching function was concerned. But with what alacrity the University and the public in Bengal took advantage of the opportunity thus given for the first time to build up a Temple of Learning and Research will appear from the fact that the largest benefactions in the history of any Indian University, I mean the princely donations of the late Sir Taraknath Palit and of Sir Rashbehari Ghosh, were called forth by the project of a College of Science, pure as well as applied, which was thus established and is being maintained *without State aid or sub-vention*, and the equally significant fact that by husbanding our resources, *eked out by an annual grant of Rs 63,000 from the State*, we have been able, *with an annual expenditure of about four lacs and a quarter*, to lay the foundation of a sister department of Post-graduate Teaching in Arts, " [The italics are ours.]

Sir Ashutosh Mukherji's speech gives in chronological order a narrative of Mr Sharp's "attitude of determined hostility

towards the University." As Mr Sharp is Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, the latter cannot be freed from blame. One passage from Mr Sharp's letter to the University, dated 14th October, 1915, which was quoted by Sir Ashutosh in his speech, may be inferred to disclose the cause of the "attitude of determined hostility towards the University."

On the 14th October, 1915, Mr Sharp replied and the substance was refusal. The financial stringency created by the War was mentioned, but Mr Sharp could not resist the temptation to taunt the University in a sentence which will bear quotation here.

"As regards the College of Science it appears that two public-spirited citizens came to the assistance of the University with endowments to which certain conditions were attached, the University accepted these endowments and now finds that it is unable without assistance to comply with the terms involved in them."

Among the "conditions" attached to the Palit and (first) Ghosh endowments is one which lays down that the occupants of the chairs created by them are to be exclusively Indians of pure blood. This may be conjectured to have roused the ire of the Delhi-Simla gods. They and their kindred have hitherto enjoyed a practical monopoly of all high offices and shut out Indians from them, there was and is nothing wrong in that. But how could Indians dare and be allowed to protect their highest interests and for that purpose to exclude non-Indians from any office, even though the endowments for the maintenance thereof came from their own pockets? That was intolerable. And over and above that, was it not the height of audacity on their part to ask for State-help in furtherance of the objects of these endowments? However, Sir Rashbehari knows both how to lay down a condition as well as to make it operative. So, though he has given for the cause of education, not caring for the mean taunt of Mr Sharp (who ought to know that the money asked for by the University comes from the pockets of Indian taxpayers), yet Sir Rashbehari's second endowment may be taken as an answer to the taunt. Bengal contains many other rich men, a few richer

than Sir Rashbehari. They should come forward with donations to fully equip the College of Technology. Europe and America and Japan are far in advance of us in technological education and research. Yet they are making gigantic efforts to make still greater progress. Manchester University has appealed for a sum equivalent to 22½ lakhs of rupees, of which nearly half has been already subscribed, for the extension of its technological side. Harvard University has spent since the war a sum equivalent to 67½ lakhs of rupees on its Institute of Technology and general equipment. So, considering that the Calcutta University is at present going only to make a beginning in technology, we require a good many princely givers like Sir Rashbehari and many more to give smaller amounts. For the present,

The gift of Sir Rashbehari Ghosh will enable us to create a Chair of Applied Chemistry and a chair of Applied Physics. But we require a great many more of such chairs. Imagine the vast field to be covered—Commercial Organic Analysis, Paint, Polish and Varnish, Oils and Fats, Leather, Textiles, Colour Chemistry, Coal, Tar products, Ceramics, Foods and Drugs, Fuel, Metallurgy, Electro-plating, Paper, Glass, Manures and a host of others. Let us therefore not be over-elated by the munificence of Sir Rashbehari Ghosh. The field of our activities is boundless. Let Bengal realise this and let every citizen follow in the footsteps of our great leader, though at a respectful distance.

Kumar Guru Prasad Singh of Khaira had made a gift to the University subject to the life interest of his wife. On behalf of the Rani an offer was made to the University to transfer to her the reversionary interest of the University for a sum of six and a half lakhs of rupees. Steps have been sanctioned to be taken to effect this transfer. The donor had not stated how that money was to be spent, but left the matter to the discretion of Sir Ashutosh, who thought that it should be applied to promote technological research and study. So, the University is practically in possession of about 18 lakhs of rupees for this purpose.

**Welcome to Mr. Bhupendranath
Basu and Lord Sinha.**

If any persons make sacrifices and

honest endeavours, according to their lights, to serve their country during their sojourn in a foreign land, they deserve to be welcomed back to their country, irrespective of their political opinions. Holding this view, we join in the welcome to Mr. Basu and Lord Sinha, without associating ourselves with or dissociating ourselves from all or any of their political opinions. For our present purpose it is unnecessary to summarise or discuss these opinions. It is unnecessary to recount Mr. Basu's past services to the country, particularly in connection with the Swadeshi-Boycott and Anti-partition agitations in Bengal, with what he did in England years ago to get the "settled fact" of the Bengal partition unsettled, with his manly stand against the Press legislation in which he had with him (not even Mr. Gokhale but) Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya alone, and as the introducer of the Basu intercaste marriage bill. Here we are concerned with his work as a member of the council of the Secretary of State for India and of the Crew committee. He did good work in the latter capacity. We noticed his minute last year at some length. As regards the Reform Act, he has been all along associated with Mr. Montagu, beginning with the latter's tour in India. So if the Act contains anything good, and it is generally admitted that it does, in however great or small a proportion, it is only just and fair that Mr. Basu should have his due meed of praise for his share of the work as "the power behind the throne." As in the case of Mr. Basu, so in that of Lord Sinha, the welcome given was meant, if we understand aright, to be in reference to the work done by him in his recent official capacities as member of the Imperial War Cabinet and Conference, and of the Peace Conference, and as Under-secretary of State for India. Without in the least giving up our right to criticise any of the things that he did, said or wrote in these capacities, we may and do say that he has amply vindicated the ability of Indians to hold their own amongst the foremost statesmen of the British Empire and its Allied countries. This is no small achievement or service to the motherland. For this alone, he

deserved to be welcomed. But, as in the case of Mr Basu, so in his, we ought also to give him his share of praise for whatever of good there may be in the Reform Act. Those who think that the Act is bad from beginning to end—and this is different from considering the Act unsatisfactory, inadequate or disappointing—would, of course, be justified in not expressing appreciation of what both Mr Basu and Lord Sinha have done in connection with the Act. But, as we have said, the proof of Indian political capacity given by Lord Sinha would still remain to his credit. We speak of *Indian* political capacity, for Lord Sinha and his countrymen know that he is not the solitary swallow which does not make a summer.

Those whose views do not coincide with most of the opinions of Mr Basu and Lord Sinha and who do not think that they deserved a welcome for the non-party reasons stated above, had, of course, every right to hold a meeting, conducted in a dignified manner, to dissociate themselves from the demonstration of welcome. Whether the College Square protest meeting was in every respect in conformity with our ideal, we cannot say, as we did not attend it, nor were we among those in the streets who welcomed Mr Basu and Lord Sinha. The resolution passed at the meeting, one version of which is printed below, was neither undignified nor insulting.

"That this meeting of the citizens of Calcutta is emphatically of opinion that Lord Sinha's expressed opinions on the Reform Act in no way represent the views of the majority of our countrymen, that the reception accorded to him to-day is not a reception accorded on behalf of the public of Calcutta and that it would be disingenuous to represent it in any other light."

Most of the mottoes exhibited in the Square and along College Street were unexceptionable, whether one's opinions harmonise with them or not. They are printed below.

"Not the mustard seed but the full grown tree," "India is fit for autonomy," "Remember Jallianwalla Bagh," "Did India deserve no better government?", "Liberties for the people and not offices for the few," "Rise above slave-psychology," "Voice Indian demands like a true

Indian," "Bondage though gilded is no partnership."

Another motto was, "Autonomy for all and not peerages for the few." As, so far, only one Indian has been made a peer, and he was being ovated, the possibility of this motto being construed as insinuating why he gave his support to the Reform Act, makes us think that it was inappropriate to the occasion. In the absence of clear proof, such an insinuation, if it was meant, must be considered unworthy and insulting, though quite in keeping with the coarse political partisanship not unoften displayed in the West. "Co-operate with General Dyer?" was another motto. Should the report that General Dyer has been promoted turn out to be true and should Government not punish him adequately after the publication of the Hunter Committee's report, this motto would prove to have been eminently justified, for no decent man can co-operate with the supporters of a self-confessed fool and criminal like General Dyer.

It has been reported in the Calcutta dailies that some of those who attended the protest meeting went out of the Square and, standing on the College Street footpath opposite the Senate House, kept crying "Shame," "Shame." This was quite a wrong thing to do. Neither Lord Sinha nor Mr Basu deserved this insult. Some have tried directly or indirectly to justify this insult by reminding the public that it was Lord Sinha who as Law Member drafted the Press Act and that the safeguards which he then spoke of have proved quite illusory. But the ovation was not meant to have reference to the entire career of the two gentlemen. And if Lord Sinha is to be denounced and shamed for the Press Act, why, in the name of logic and fairness, did not the crowd also cry "*Bhupen Babu Ki Jai*" again and again, for the patriotic and courageous stand that he made against that very measure in the Indian Legislative Council? But consistency is not a part of crowd logic and mentality.

It was unfortunate that the welcome was organised, though not expressly but in fact, as a party affair, and Lord Sinha has also made the mistake of identifying

himself with a party, which, if not in public interests, at least having regard to his official position, he ought not to have done. Mr. Basu has conducted himself more correctly and discreetly. However, though Lord Sinha and the organisers of the welcome have behaved as party men, there is nothing to prevent anybody else from rising above party considerations and appreciating worth in whomsoever found. No Indians should on any account imitate the vicious Western habit of thinking in terms of party and therefore being blind to the merit of men belonging to a party to which they do not belong.

Lord Sinha's Views on the Reforms.

In the course of an interview accorded to an Associated Press representative in Bombay, Lord Sinha said:

I am glad to find that all shades of opinion in India are agreed as to the necessity of working the Reform Act which is just passed in a spirit of harmony and co-operation. I cannot help thinking that in view of this it was unwise and, to my mind, unjust, first to say that the Act does not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of India and second to threaten further agitation. To my mind the best agitation for the purpose of increasing the sphere of our responsibility would be to try and discharge in a manner most satisfactory to the people of India the responsibilities which are now proposed to be devolved upon us.

As it is perfectly true that the Reform Act does not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of India, we do not see where the injustice comes in. Telling the truth cannot be unjust in any circumstance. Even Lord Sinha's friends of the Moderate Conference prefaced their resolution on the Reforms with the words "while regretting the omission to introduce some measure of responsibility in the central Government." So they were of the opinion that the introduction of some measure of responsibility in the central Government was a legitimate aspiration, else why did they regret its omission? And this legitimate aspiration has not been satisfied. As for the Congress resolution being unwise, we do not think it was. The Congress delegates were not diplomats whose duty it was to conceal their thoughts. Their duty was to voice public opinion to the best of

their knowledge. It can not do any harm and may possibly do good if "the civilised world", the British people and the British Parliament know the truth that India is not satisfied and the Reform Act is a defective measure. As for "further agitation", why should it be construed as a threat? After the Morley-Minto reforms, the Congress party (then including the Moderates) continued to agitate for more reforms. Was that a threat? The Congress party both "co-operated" to make the Morley-Minto reforms a success and also agitated for further reforms, and as Congress President one year Lord Sinha himself was for a time the formal leader of the agitators. If co-operation and agitation could go together then, why can not they go together now?

Lord Sinha asked, "How are we going to find the finance for them?" [local self-government, education, and sanitation]? It was in one sense a rather funny question for an official and a thorough-going supporter of the Reform Act to ask. For these subjects can be financed either by re-allotment of the revenues to all the different subjects according to their importance as understood by the people, which may lead to retrenchment in some directions and increase of expenditure in others, or by fresh or increased taxation. The first method has been practically made impossible by the Reform Act, nay, the bureaucracy have displayed such indecent haste in increasing their own salaries, pensions, &c., that well may India exclaim, "save me from my super-excellent and super-efficient servants!" Instead of retrenchment, there has been during these times of dire economic distress a very heavy addition to the burden borne by the tax-payers. As for fresh or increased taxation, no humane legislator can propose it under present circumstances. The tax-bearing capacity of the people has first to be increased. That can be done by the improvement and expansion of agriculture and the manufacturing industries. Our contention has been that all the subjects or "sub-subjects" which required to be transferred for the effective development of agriculture and industries have not been transferred. The

official assertion has been the reverse. Only by working the Act can it be proved which party is right. Even if the official view be right, it would take some time to develop the resources of the country, and for the people to get rich thereby. You cannot tax them in view of a prospective and problematic increase of income. So one may ask Lord Sinha himself, "What means and methods do you suggest for financing local self-government, education and sanitation?"

Not that we do not support his appeal for co-operation, though we are not in love with that word in the sense in which officials use it. We are for helping and working with all, be they officials or non-officials, who will work for India's good, to the extent that they may do so. We and other Indians should be equally resolved to oppose and thwart all men and measures whose tendency is in the opposite direction.

As it is only by working the Act in a thorough-going manner that its supporters can prove to demonstration that it is a substantial measure of self-rule and its critics that it is not, it is, therefore, incumbent upon both parties to give it a fair trial.

"Man's Estate" in Politics.

While moving the second reading of the India Bill in the House of Lords, Lord Sinha said "No reasonable Indian claimed that Indians had to-day reached politically man's estate. But I claim that they had reached the age of adolescence." To give knock-down proofs either for differing or for agreeing with the speaker, it is equally difficult. Is there any definite test by means of which it can be ascertained whether a people has arrived at man's estate politically or not? We find that many countries in Asia, Africa, Europe and America were independent and self-ruling before the war and independent and self-ruling now, though they are not equally civilized, or in the same stage of political development. Do the leaders and the mass of the people in every one of these countries possess greater political capacity than the people of India and

their leaders? Is there greater political unity and less factiousness and party or class strife (due to sectarian, political, economic, racial, social, or other causes) in every one of these countries than in India? He who would say "yes", must give proofs. A mere presumption or assumption will not do. Fighting capacity is considered a proof of attainment of political majority. Indians can fight as well as the soldiers of any other nation, and if the officers of the Indian army are not Indians, that is not the fault of India. That India cannot, as at present circumstanced, defend herself unaided against foreign aggression, cannot be urged as an argument for considering her politically a minor. Belgium could not defend herself unaided, France could not defend herself unaided, Great Britain could not defend herself unaided, the Allied European powers could not defend themselves without the help of America, but all these powers have reached man's estate.

It may be urged that the very fact of India being a dependent country is a proof that she has not reached man's estate. Now, before the war many European peoples were in bondage and their countries were dependencies. At present they are independent. Those of them, if any, who have gained their independence by defeating their oppressors in war, may, *ipso facto*, be accepted to have reached man's estate. But many have become free not by their own valour but owing to circumstances for which they cannot claim any credit. But all the same, "the civilised world" recognises that they have reached political manhood. Why then are Indians denied that recognition? Well, one cause is that India is not European. Another cause is that the foremost power in that civilised world is an interested party. But we cannot but be ashamed that an Indian should assert that his country is politically inferior to all the savage, semi-savage and civilised countries in the world which are independent. Even within the British Empire, the naked savages of the Gilbert and Ellice islands have Home Rule, and the Negroes of Uganda have a parliament and are therefore an articulate and self-governing body.

We think we are fit for complete Home Rule. It is no argument against our claim that we sometimes mismanage even municipal affairs. Don't they do so even in the U S A and in Great Britain? Are not British and other Western statesmen often guilty of gigantic blunders? On the whole and in the long run it would be for the good of the world and of its units that each country should be free. It ought to be the function of a civilised League of Nations to help even weak countries to defend themselves against foreign foes. The surviving predatory instincts of many nations ought not to be allowed to perpetuate or justify the enslaved condition of vast areas of the globe. The enslavement of the inoffensive householders in a country by its robbers would be equally justifiable.

Political Parties in India.

Party politics in India would be less futile, and more dignified in appearance, if the parties had their respective constructive policies and schemes of service to the country, and if there were material differences in them. But there do not seem to be any. At present, a humorist might say that the main substantial differences between the parties consisted in one praying and the other demanding—the use of both the words being attended with equal results—and in one professing to be quite satisfied with and profusely thankful for the alms or dole of reforms obtained and the other professing to be dissatisfied and clamouring for more. We should like the parties to seek to out rival each other in service to the country.

Sir Nilratan Sircar's Two Convocation Speeches.

The two addresses which Sir Nilratan Sircar delivered as Vice-chancellor on the two days of the Calcutta University Convocation were models of their kind, in matter, manner, diction, lucidity, methodical presentation of facts and ideals, and conciseness. They were also characterised in some passages by depth of thought. In the first he said that the University had been "for sometime past living in a state of suspended animation, at least we have been living in an interregnum, in which we

have been expected to mark and not make time," and he rightly observed, "none is so bold as to predict whether the new ventures and experiments in University reconstruction will give as good an account of themselves as those they are going to supersede."

Dr Sircar proceeded to observe and show that the University has not sat still. For example, he referred to the development of vernacular studies, to the efforts made to found a school of Indian culture history, to the opening of new courses in Indian anthropology and anthropometry and sociology, to taking in hand the reorganisation of the D P H course to promote the supply of a properly trained body of health officers to assist in the campaign against insanitary conditions in Bengal, to the institution of a system of periodical medical examinations of college students in Calcutta, and to the introduction of elementary hygiene as a subject of optional study for the matriculation examination. He also called attention to the work of teaching and research done in the Post-graduate Arts and Science Departments. The original work done in both is not inconsiderable and is encouraging. As regards teaching, we must say we have heard persistent complaints of taking life easy on the part of some professors. This requires immediate looking into.

The advice which the Vice-chancellor gave to the new graduates was comprehensive, and not of the hackneyed type. Though his references to the results likely to follow from the Reform Act are a little too optimistic, yet he did well to suggest that the graduates should take advantage of whatever opportunities of service, facilities, and avenues of employment it might offer. His reference to the opportunities in the expanding industrial field was far more in harmony with actual conditions than the expectations that he held out of "larger opportunities of employment in the higher military services." But the most important part of his advice was in relation to the graduates' duties in the fields of social reform and social service and the need of that "higher knowledge which alone can give you a right conception of life and enable you to fulfil its purposes."

This is the knowledge which regards the Supreme Being as the highest object of knowledge. This knowledge, on which is based the religious systems of the world, is the mortar that binds society together. It forms the strongest bulwark of the social system. So long as you neglect the lessons that this higher knowledge imparts, there is no hope of your efforts being successful in any of the various fields of national activity."

As regards social reconstruction, he said —

In order that you may be able to prepare and equip yourselves for your new opportunities properly and well, it is imperative that you should, above all, direct your attention to the many problems of social reform that await solution. This reform should amount to a radical reconstruction of our social fabric. The entire social machinery must be readjusted to meet the new and altered conditions. Alike for the successful working of the Constitutional Reforms, for the much-needed development of industries, for the improvement of public health and the mental and physical efficiency of the people, for the elevation of the so-called depressed classes and the uplift of the womanhood of India, it is demanded that we should at once launch on a bold and comprehensive scheme of social reconstruction.

The second address was devoted in great part to a consideration of some salient aspects of the University Commission's review of the past history and present position of the University. Some passages from this address may be quoted.

UNDERGRADUATE TEACHING

We are ready to undertake undergraduate teaching with the same force of determination as soon as the necessary changes in the Universities Act are effected by fresh legislation and as soon as the necessary financial provisions are made for such an undertaking. But a progressive and expanding vista and the freedom and the responsibility of shaping our own course in response to the living needs of the people are the prime requisites of success in this national undertaking.

OVERCROWDING IN COLLEGES

Overcrowding in a densely populated country is a standing argument not for a reduction of our numbers, but for a more liberal and just recognition of the claims of Higher Education on the National purse to enable the national system of education to meet the demands of quantity and quality alike. And it is not necessary that quantity should be sacrificed to quality or quality to quantity.

DOMINANCE OF LITERARY OR LEGAL STUDIES

For the last ten years it would be correct to say that it is the dearth or absence of opportunity for studying technological and agricultural courses in the University that has maintained the dominance of the purely literary or legal studies therein, rather than the absence of a disposition on the part of our young men to avail themselves of such opportunities.

A CRY EXPOSED

A third aspect of the congestion is familiar to us from the cry now and then raised in certain quarters that there are too many students going in for University or higher secondary education. That there is too little primary education in the country does not usually cause any acute anxiety or alarm. The serious evil is that there should be so much secondary and University education!

The Vice-chancellor's plea for agricultural and technological education was very convincing, and deserves to be widely read, though it is too long for us to quote. After describing the University Commission's meagre proposal in relation to agricultural education, he observed:

This will never do! Those who have an inside knowledge of the facts know very well that there is or would be plenty of land, of capital, and of employment, in this Province, in connection with agricultural operations in the widest sense of the term. I do not speak merely of the Sundarbans, of unreclaimed tracts of jungle or marsh, I speak also of thousands of plots of cultivated land available for agricultural developments.

The address concludes with a splendid peroration, which must be quoted.

The best resource of a country, as has been said, is the capacity of its people, the best way of developing its resources is to develop that capacity, and the best place for the development of that capacity is the University.

My plea for the exploitation of capabilities and resources by the University must not, however, be misunderstood as ignoring the basis of a liberal, humanistic and cultural development, which must always form the basis of Indian Education, and this industrial regeneration of which I speak to-day must be one which is in tune with India's age-long culture and aspiration. We must never forget that the soul of India has sought a synthesis of all her activities, industrial and social, ethical and political, in the life of the Atman, the revelation of the Self. Synthesis has been India's watchword through the ages. It is that same synthesis which we must seek to-day in all our plans of national reconstruction and renaissance. It is this larger synthesis which should

be the motto of the coming University of the post-war reconstruction, so that all knowledge may be as the kindly light leading to the sanctum of the knowledge of the Self (Atman), and all science be but a handmaid to the Science of God (Brahma-Vidya), the instrument of peace, not of death and destruction. But there is a greater synthesis still to which all these partial syntheses point, the synthesis between the East and the West,—the East developing personal liberty and individual rights and responsibilities on the one hand, and the rights and responsibilities of the Central State on the other,—the West developing the group-life, as well as communal rights, against individual rights and State rights in the spheres of the economic unions and other similar groupings. And in this great human synthesis of the future, well may India, with the University at her side as the meeting ground of so many races and nationalities, of so many cultures and civilizations, of so many laws and systems of polity, of so many ethical and spiritual constructions, officiate as the High Priest of this Cult of Synthetic Unity in the Temple of Humanity.

Main Effort and Supplementary Effort in Education.

There is one passage in Sir Nilratan Sircar's first convocation address which calls for a definite word of criticism. He said, "unless the efforts of Government are materially seconded and supplemented by the people no substantial and speedy improvement is possible." That Government and people must both work earnestly in the field of education is obvious and essentially necessary. But the question is, whose effort is the main effort and whose the secondary and supplementary? Dr Sircar's address itself contains the information that in the effort of the University to teach science it has received no "aid or sub-vention" from the State, and that out of the "annual expenditure of about four lakhs and a quarter" for post-graduate teaching in Arts, the State gives only Rs 63,000. So in the University the people's effort, in the shape of endowments and the different kinds of fees paid by examinees and students, is the main and almost the sole effort. Let us now turn to the lower stages of education. We take our figures from the recently published Report on Public Instructions in Bengal for 1918-19 and the Government Resolution thereon. The total expenditure on all grades and

kinds of public instruction in Bengal incurred from different sources during the years 1917-18 and 1918-19 is shown below

| | Head | 1918-19 | 1917-18 |
|-------|-----------------------|------------|------------|
| | | Rs | Rs |
| 1 | Provincial revenues | 8,627,261 | 8,246,905 |
| 2 | District funds | 1,336,207 | 1,249,821 |
| 3 | Municipal funds | 194,703 | 187,082 |
| 4 | Fees | 12,664,883 | 11,395,876 |
| 5 | Other private sources | 4,934,581 | 4,413,855 |
| Total | | 27,757,635 | 25,493,539 |

In the above the people's effort is represented by heads 4 and 5, namely, "Fees" and "Other private sources". They show that the people spent much more than the Government. So our conclusion is that Sir Nilratan Sircar ought to have said "Unless the efforts of the people are materially seconded and supplemented by Government, no substantial and speedy improvement is possible." We do not, of course, mean to say that the people have done their best. By no means. The people ought to do far more, and Government far far more.

Resolutions and Speeches at the Last Congress.

As we were not present at the sessions of the Amritsar Congress and as we have not read the reports, defective as they are, of even all those speeches which have been reported in the papers, it would be presumption on our part to sit in judgment on the speakers at the Congress. Some speeches we have read, and from what we have read it seems to us that Swami Shradhdhananda and Mr M K Gandhi struck the right note. Some of the speeches were undignified and characterised by want of self-restraint, and one which we have read was marked by a flippant tone.

Among the resolutions, the one deeply regretting and condemning the mob excesses was, in our opinion, the most important. It did something which it was entirely in our power to do, it did not embody any prayer or demand, both equally unavailing. It was meant to set ourselves right with God and our conscience. The sceptre of justice is not in our hands. We can only invoke the aid of the moral laws of the

universe, and that we can do only when we have ourselves conformed to them

As regards the resolutions relating to General Dyer, Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Lord Chelmsford, our opinion is that the Congress ought to have contented itself merely with an expression of its opinion of their conduct and that they are unworthy of the offices they hold or held. One can demand that a thing be done by another man only when one has the making or the un-making of the latter in his hands, otherwise the demand is hollow, unmeaning and pseudoheroic, as all political demands are in our present political condition. The other form which the expression of a desire, addressed to another and to be gratified by him, can take, is entreaty or prayer. Both literally and in spirit we can pray to God, for we are his children, and he is perfectly just, perfectly loving, and omnipotent. When a prayer is addressed to a sovereign, the use of the word "pray" or some synonym of it is not in itself objectionable in all cases, as, for example, when a national king reigns tacitly by the consent of the people, derives his power from the people, and is the embodiment of the sovereign will of the people. In other cases, seeming to do something heroic and at the same time praying even to a king should be taken exception to, as being unmanly and equivalent to the impotent whining of helpless creatures. In our present political condition, the demand, request, urgent appeal, or prayer, regarding the three persons, was unreal and hollow, and "insincere", if we may use the word, because when the request, demand, or prayer was voiced, no one of those who did so really had any hope that it had the remotest chance of being acceded to. We hope also to be pardoned for making one other remark in this connection. The Congress urged the recall of Lord Chelmsford, thus showing that it had no confidence in him and in his sense of duty. Yet it is to the same Lord Chelmsford that the Congress, through its president, has addressed the request to relieve General Dyer of his command. We do not call in question the constitutional correctness of this procedure

But a thing may be formally correct without being "commonsensible". You consider a man so unfit that you urge his recall, yet by your request to him you seem to expect that he would be equal to the discharge of a rather difficult piece of duty. Do you really expect or do you not? If the expectation be not real, why all this hollow acting? We do not like unrealities.

One or two of the speeches relating to the resolutions we have been considering were full of the fury of impotent rage. Are such things worthy of a tragic occasion? Suffered we have. If we had the power to punish the wrong-doers, we should have forgiven them in our hearts while at the same time depriving them of the power of fresh wrong-doing. As we have not that power, are we to indulge in impotent rage? To do so not only degrades our souls, but loses us the respect of the world public (if it at all cares for us) and exposes us to the derisive taunts of our enemies.

Sir P C Ray's Address at the Science Congress.

Sir Praphulla Chandra Ray's presidential address at the Nagpur session of the Indian Science Congress was very rightly devoted to the consideration of how the causes of scientific education and scientific research might be best promoted in India and, therefore, also to a review of why hitherto India has not been able to contribute her adequate share of original scientific work. He began by observing —

Our age is pre-eminently an age of science. It has been rightly observed by a great English writer, "Modern civilisation rests upon physical science, take away her gifts to our country, and our position among the leading nations of the world is gone tomorrow, for it is physical science only that makes intelligence and moral energy stronger than brute force." The recent war has amply demonstrated the truth of these observations. While Europe, America and Japan have taken to the field of science with singular vigour and activity, how does the land lie about us in India? The situation fills our mind with sorrow and shame and you will excuse me if I enter into a short history of the subject.

After referring briefly to the cultivation of physical science in ancient India, he dwelt upon the earlier attempts made in the British period of Indian history to teach Indians science and after thus referring to

the preparatory and assimilative stage, thus described the real dawn of science in modern India —

What may be termed the period of reproduction or original contribution began in 1895, for, it was in that memorable year that Mr (now Sir) J C Rose read at the meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal a paper entitled, "The Polarization of Electric Waves" There was activity also in other departments of science In other provinces, too, there has now sprung up a general enthusiasm for the study of science, and instances are not wanting where our countrymen have been able to distinguish themselves in the field I need not refer to this movement in detail, which is within the living memory of all Suffice it to say that the last quarter of a century has witnessed the dawn of a new spirit in the pursuit of science throughout the country

Though Prof Ray was naturally silent on his own pre-eminent part in bringing about "the dawn of a new spirit in the pursuit of science throughout the country," every educated Indian knows it

In describing the very important part which scientific research must play in the reconstructive work which all nations must, now that the most destructive War in history is over, undertake, he prefaced his observations and suggestions by referring briefly to what Germany, America and Japan have done during and after the war

Where does India stand in this formidable world-competition? My answer is, *nowhere* It is sad to reflect that nothing short of the cataclysm of the late Armageddon could rouse us from our stupor and make us realise that, like so many other countries, India must be not only self-contained in the production of her own requirements, but learn to convert vast supplies of raw materials into manufactured products India has now an enormous amount of lee-way to make up We must now put forth all our energies and make vigorous and sustained efforts so as to be able to stand a fierce world-competition

But unfortunately want of general education is a formidable bar to our scientific progress, and "educational progress cannot be effected piecemeal and at a moment's notice" "Our people are sunk in abysmal ignorance and their illiteracy is simply colossal—barely 3 per cent of the population are under instruction in all types of educational institutions" "A widespread diffusion of primary and secondary education among the dumb millions is the only means of making them rely on their own resources"

In order that science may be an object of devotion to Indians, they must have

facilities for the pursuit of scientific research. One thing more is also needed They must also have the honours and the rewards which fall to the lot of those who are devoted to this pursuit The *nishkam* pursuit of knowledge, of knowledge for its own sake without hope of reward, is a great and commendable ideal But it is not an ideal arrangement that some are only to be expected to go on with research without facilities and opportunities or honors and rewards and others are to have both the facilities and opportunities as well as the honours and rewards Therefore, Sir P C Ray was perfectly justified in suggesting the Indianisation of all the Scientific Departments

The scientific services of the Government are posts of great value, prospect, and security, they afford to their holders unique opportunities, rare and valuable materials, for study and investigation But with what studied care the Indians are excluded from these services will appear from the following table compiled from a recent Government report

Table showing the composition of the existing Scientific Services

| NAME OF THE SERVICE— | OFFICERS (IMPERIAL GRADE) | | Average Pay of | |
|--|--------------------------------|---------|-------------------|--------|
| | Europeans | Indians | European | Indian |
| Botanical Survey | 2 | 0 | 1600 | |
| Geological Survey | 16 | 0 | 1010 | |
| Zoological Survey | 3 | 1 | 970 | 700 |
| Agricultural Service | 38 | 5 | 1000 | 460 |
| Forest Service | 9 | 1 | 1040 | 660 |
| Medical and Bacteriological Service (on Civil Employment) | 24 | 5 | 1220 | 520 |
| Indian Munitions Board | 11 | 1 | 780 | 300 |
| Meteorological Department | 10 | 2 | 970 | 770 |
| Veterinary Department (Civil) | 2 | 0 | 1100 | |
| Educational Service* | 34 | 3 | 910 | 490 |
| Indian Trigonometrical Survey † | 46 | 0 | | |

Prof Ray had the fairness and generosity to add "Among the occupiers of these posts, there have been many distinguished European savants of great

* The Indian personnel has been recently strengthened by certain fresh appointments

† All of these officers except 1 are Royal Engineers, and hold military rank The provincial service, which is also highly paid, consists of 112 officers, of which nearly 80 per cent are Europeans and Anglo-Indians, without any academic distinction

name and fame I do not for a moment wish to minimise their achievements " But nevertheless what has to be said from our point of view was also said by our spokesman

The credit of their [the European savants'] work, however belongs to their own native countries, and the results of their experience are enjoyed by their own countrymen I shall try to make my point a bit clearer The Indian lives and moves and has his being in the midst of his own people, the European, somehow or other, lives in a world apart, and from his exalted position of aloofness and isolation fails to inspire those who may happen to come into contact with him Moreover, the European, when he attains the age limit, retires to his own native land, and the accumulated experiences gained at the expense of India are lost to the country for good In a word, the present system arrests Indian intellectual growth and inflicts a cruel wrong on India

Japan being independent was able to follow a different policy with great advantage to herself

In Japan, on the other hand, western experts were at first imported for the organisation of the scientific services, but they have gradually been replaced by the Japanese scholars Japan can thus show an Omori in seismology, a Kitasato in bacteriology and a Takamine in biological chemistry, not to mention a host of other eminent names

Dr Ray was, therefore, quite justified in suggesting that the utilisation of Indian brains in the proposed Chemical Service and in other possible departments, e g, of aerial navigation, marine engineering, including naval architecture, should be regarded as pivotal The filling of professorial chairs in Government Colleges in India according to the service system has been responsible for the absence of scientific achievement in the colleges The exceptions need not be trotted out The state of things in other countries is different

Take the method of selection of college and university professors in Italy as described by Dr Young — "The committee of the most famous professors in the subject in which the chair is vacant, appointed by the Government *ad hoc* to report on the various candidates is only allowed to consider the *work done by the candidates* during the five years immediately preceding the election And it is only in the case of candidates of world-wide reputation that work anterior to this period is even tacitly assumed The excellence of this procedure has secured for Italy a succession of brilliant professors, who more than hold their own, when the resources of the country are considered "

This method of appointment ought to be followed in our country But—

The authorities in this country are never tired of singing the praises of men trained in the West In practice, however, even a third class man of London, or a poll graduate of Oxford or Cambridge, is preferred to the best Calcutta graduates, including Premchand Roychand Scholars, or Doctors of Science and Philosophy,—men who have proved their merit by publishing original works in the pages of the journals of learned societies of the West

Even under such discouraging circumstances, indigenous talent has shown great potentiality Referring to the work done in the Calcutta University College of Science in the year 1918-19, Dr Ray said that there were 17 original contributions from the department of Applied Mathematics, 24 from the Physics department, and 21 from the Chemistry department, to the leading scientific journals of England and America

It is not for our material advancement alone that the study of science is needed

While the study of Science is essential to our material advancement, it has a special need and significance for the culture of Indian youth A long period of intellectual stagnation had produced in us a habit of dependence on the authority of the *shāstras* Reason was bound to the wheel of faith and all reasoning proceeded on assumptions and premises which it was not open to anybody to call in question or criticise Intellectual progress was handicapped under these conditions Reason has thus to be set free from its shackles and the function of science in achieving this end is indisputable Science takes nothing on trust but applies to them all the methods of investigation and criticism I look forward to the growth of this scientific spirit in our country to liberalise our intellect There is no lack of capacity amongst our young men what are wanted are patience and tenacity of purpose The attitude of a scientific mind has been very aptly described by Faraday "The philosopher," says he, "should be a man willing to listen to every suggestion, but determined to judge for himself He should not be biased by appearances, have no favourite hypotheses, be of no school, and in doctrine have no master He should not be a respecter of persons but of things Truth should be his primary object If to these qualities be added industry, he may indeed hope to walk within the veil of the temple of nature" It should be the aim of our young men to develop these qualities and nothing is more helpful to their development than the study of science itself,

The Industrial Conference and Commercial Congress

By holding a joint session of the Industrial Conference and Commercial Congress in Bombay in the last week of January, instead of in the last week of December in Amritsar, those who are

interested in commerce and industry have been able to devote undivided attention to the subjects for consideration and more time also to the work before them. There has been, therefore, a perceptible improvement in the quality and quantity of work done. Both Mr. Jehangir Bomanji Petit, chairman of the reception committee, and Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, the president, made able and workmanlike speeches. And the movers and seconders of resolutions made well-informed, reasoned and informing speeches.

The eulogists and thorough-going supporters of the Reform Act have been proclaiming aloud that that measure has practically, though not in so many words, conferred fiscal autonomy on India. Let us see what opinions were pronounced on this subject by the industrialists, merchants and economists who attended the conference. Mr. Jehangir Bomanji Petit, chairman of the reception committee, said — "What has been vouchsafed to them in the Reform Act was not the real fiscal autonomy. It was only a step in the direction and he hoped complete transfer of it to the people would not be withheld from the people longer than necessary." Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, the President said —

It is a matter of no small gratification to us that the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for India, whose love and sympathy for us are so well known, has been able to secure the first step towards fiscal autonomy for us by providing in the Reform Act recognition of the contention that the Secretary of State should, so far as possible, abstain from intervention in fiscal matters when the Government of India and the Indian Legislature agree, and should only intervene to safeguard the international obligations of the Empire or any fiscal arrangement within the Empire to which His Majesty's Government is a party. I honestly believe that this is a real first step towards securing to India her just demand, though I wish that we had secured the same full fiscal freedom which the British Dominions enjoyed.

More important than these individual opinions is the resolution of the conference on the subject, which ran as follows —

"(a) This Conference, while appreciating the assurances given by the Secretary of State regarding the grant of fiscal freedom and the recommendation made in that behalf by the

Joint Committee, apprehends that in view of the proposed constitution of the Central Government the just demands of the Indian industrial and commercial community may not be satisfied and even the real objects underlying Reform measures may be defeated, and therefore respectfully urges that the working of the Act should ensure the effective exercise by this country of its powers to devise and to carry into effect such tariff arrangements as may be best fitted to India's needs as fully and freely as the self-governing Dominions of the Empire.

(b) The Conference further demands that pending the attainment of such autonomous powers the Government of India should impose retaliatory duties against such Dominions and colonial possessions of the Empire as have imposed differential tariffs against this country.

It was moved by Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, D. Sc. (Lond.), Minto Professor of Economics to the Calcutta University.

Dr. Banerjee said he was not slow to realise the satisfactory nature of the proposed convention re the Indian Fiscal Policy and the constitutional difficulty in the way of the Joint Committee to recommend the statutory grant of fiscal powers to India, but he said he could not also forget that the long and continuous record of the British policy in India had been one of subordinating Indian industrial and commercial interests to the interests of English manufacturers and the duty on the export of hides and rebate to the British Empire were the latest instances of such policy and when they found that the constitution of the Central Government was not altered so as to make it amenable to Indian public opinion (and the agreement of the Central Government with the Legislature was an essential condition to the shaping of the Indian fiscal policy to suit Indian needs), they naturally had misgivings as to the actual working of the convention. India should be able to shape Indian tariffs to suit her special needs and even England, which favoured a free trade policy, was slowly turning to the consideration of the need to revive protective tariffs to foster English industries which were now unsettled owing to the aftermath of the war. The speaker then urged the necessity of taking retaliatory measures against British possessions that meted out differentiating treatment to Indians.

The convention spoken of by the Secretary of State for India has, no doubt, grown up in the case of the self-governing Dominions. But the Dominions are not India, their constitutions are not like that of India, and their inhabitants are not non-white, non-European, non-Christian Indians. India is the land of broken pledges, promises and proclamations. To crown all, *The Times* of London in its *Trade*

Supplement has already come out with an article pointing out how in practice the provision in the Reform Act will be or can be made as good as non-existent. *The Hindu*, in giving a useful summary of the article, writes that the London paper "relies on four weapons with which successfully to thwart the attempts to build up a well-regulated scheme of protection for her infant industries." Says the *Hindu* —

In the first place, those whose cause it [*The Times*] advocates can always work up the Indian voters against protective legislation by raising the bogey that tariffs "would work to the injury of the masses of India." If this propaganda among the masses proves ineffective, it says that they [its clients] can depend on influencing the Legislature through "many of the most influential and progressive of Indian public men" who, it suggests, will not overlook considerations of 'sweet reasonableness'. The third weapon which the *Times* relies on to safeguard unimpaired the interests of British commerce and industries and to make the provision practically a dead-letter is the influence that British interests could exert on the Government of India. If it is doubtful that the Legislature would display so much independence as to look to purely Indian interests, "it is still less conceivable that the Viceroy's Executive Council would give to any proposal of the kind the concurrence which will be necessary for limiting by convention the Secretary of State's power of speaking, with the authority of Parliament, the final word." At the top of all, and supposing the Government of India agrees with a Legislature firm as regards a protective measure—"even assuming this agreement to be reached, White Hall's acceptance of such a plan would be inconsistent with the intentions of Parliament. The Joint Select Committee recommend that the intervention of the Secretary of State should be limited to safeguarding the international obligations of the Empire or any fiscal arrangements within the Empire to which His Majesty's Government is a party. Obviously under this formula he would be justified in disallowing any proposal having the effect of placing the United Kingdom or other parts of the Empire at a disadvantage in comparison with non-British countries. Though a changed convention will grow up, the power of disallowance in any such case remains unquestionable. As Mr Montagu pointed out, all measures connected with fiscal questions will be Bills, and all Bills will have to receive the sanction of the Crown."

"Manly Spirit" and "Scope of Mind."

When on the 24th February, 1815, the

Marquess of Hastings, Governor-General of India, visited Agra Fort, he wrote in his *Private Journal*, referring to the lower orders of the people of that part of the country,

"the constant call for military service, to which they thought themselves born, has kept them from generation to generation individually martial. This is what has occasioned the manly spirit observed by me as so prevalent in these upper provinces. It is, luckily for us, a spirit unsustained by scope of mind, so that for an enterprise of magnitude in any line these people require our guidance."

Possibly it is this view of what is lucky for the British and what not, which led in the past to the adoption of a policy which discouraged and practically tabooed the combination of "manly spirit" and "scope of mind" in the same individuals or classes of Indians. In fact that policy is not yet entirely extinct. May it be hoped that after the King's Proclamation it will be entirely given up for good?

Archaeological Departments of British and Indian India.

The Athenaeum (London) of September 26, 1919, p. 947, contains a review of "Annual Reports Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle Mysore Archaeological Department." The first two publications are from British India. The reviewer writes —

At all events, as one reads these Reports, one does miss the high consecrated fervour that inspires similar publications about Egypt and Greece. The Anglo-Indian officials seem to set their teeth and get through the mirrors and limes in Nanjappa's backyard as quick as they can. It's a job that's got to be done, like any other job. And their Indian collaborators, though more leisurely, have likewise the air of pursuing a profession instead of a passion.

In justice to the Mysore Director of Archaeology it is added —

One ought perhaps to except Mr Narsimha-char, Director of Archaeology for the State of Mysore. His Report—which is much more interesting than either of those that come from British India—is lightened by flashes of enthusiasm. He describes terrible climbs and tremendous views, and alludes to an inscription about a European lady named Ellen, who died of cholera in 1846 in Sira, and to a Fakir who did penance until he became an ant-hill. But the

other writers, even when they are describing buildings as interesting as the Buddhist monasteries at Nalanda and the Jain temples in the Deogarh Fort, work doggedly and almost unsympathetically. One can scarcely blame them for this, for, as already indicated, the general deportment of the Temple is odious. It is unaccommodating, it rejects every human grace, its jokes are ill-bred, its fair ladies are fat, it ministers neither to the sense of beauty nor to the sense of time, and it is discontented with its own material. No one could love such a building.

To show the business efficiency and helpfulness to the public of the Department, the concluding paragraph of the review is quoted below.

At the end of each Report is a long list of photographs for sale. But is one allowed to buy them? The question is less idle than it sounds. Some years ago the present reviewer was in India and tried to buy photographs. Down many a jungle path he tracked them, but in vain, and only after several weeks was the appropriate Anglo-Indian official found and a meeting arranged by a mutual friend. "Yes," said the official bleakly. "The negatives are certainly there. But it is scarcely the Government of India's business to cater for the stray globe-trotter." It was rather rude of him, but it was something else besides—he was expressing, though unintentionally, the wishes of the Temple itself. What does it matter if everything is known provided nobody knows it? The Temple has never resented the omniscience of God. An infinite number of negatives locked up for eternity in a box belonging to the Government of India—the conception appeals to the religious sense, it renders even archaeology bearable, and it is significant that this particular Anglo-Indian should still figure as a prominent official in one of the publications under review—there is no occasion to specify in which.

Nothing need be added to the reviewer's strictures. One may, nevertheless, ask, what then is the main business of the British Indian Archaeological Department? Is it to bring to light or imagine and invent foreign influence in India's past?

The Lying and Hypocrisy of Europeans in East Africa.

The Europeans in East Africa pretend to be concerned for the welfare of the Africans and pretend that they want to exclude Indians from that region only for that reason. But the Africans themselves give the lie to these hypocrites, as the following letter, written to Mr C. F. Andrews by

two most prominent Africans and sent to us by him, will show —

Lukiko,
Nonge, Uganda
22nd December, 1919

Dear Sir,

With reference to our meeting with you in our Native Parliament this morning, we beg to confirm in writing our opinion we expressed on the following two points which came out, namely —

(a) We do want the Indian to remain in our Country, as we consider that their being here would improve our country, and would do us a lot of good, and would do no harm to the country. Besides, we find them moral people. We would of course like better Indians.

(b) We do not want our country to be united to any other Protectorate, for we consider that if this was done it would greatly interfere with our Uganda Treaty, 1900, and our customs. We have other reasons, besides. Therefore, we would very much like this Protectorate to remain as it is.

We thank you for your coming to see us and our Native Parliament, and we wish you a pleasant voyage.

Yours truly,

Apolo Kagwa, Prime Minister,
Staislos Enganya, Chief Justice,
Ministers of the Native Parliament

Lectures on Indian Art and Culture at Harvard and in England

Harvard University Gazette informs us that under the auspices of the Division of Fine Arts, Dr Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Keeper of the Section of Indian Art in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, was to have given a course of ten lectures on "Indian Art and Culture," on Wednesday and Friday afternoons at 4.30 o'clock, beginning November 19th last. The titles of the separate lectures are as follows —

Rig Veda, Upanishads, Vedanta, Yoga
Buddhism, Jainism
Vaishnava, Saiva and Sakta Theology
Epics, Drama, Music and Dancing,
Theory of Art, Silpa Sastras. Caste Status
of Craftsmen
Buddhist Sculpture
Brahmanical Sculpture
Buddhist and Jana Painting
Rajput and Mughal Painting
Architecture

While America has already taken practical steps, the India Society of London only is appealing for £4500 to endow a

yearly course of lectures on Indian Art at the London School of Oriental Studies England has greater reason to be interested in things Indian than any other country But hitherto she has lagged behind some other countries in this study

It is amusing to find that in India papers which never cared a straw for Indian art have begun to write about it, because Lord Ronaldshay has spoken on it and there is a movement concerning it in London This is snobbery

Distribution of Seats for the Indian Legislative Assembly

The different distributions of seats made for the constitution of the Indian Legislative Assembly by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, Southborough Franchise Committee and Parliamentary Committee, are indicated below —

| Communities | M-C | Franchise Committee | Parliamentary Committee |
|---|-------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 General or non-Muslim | | 36+4 | 49 |
| 2 Muslim | | 19 | 29 |
| 3 Sikh | | 1 | 2 |
| 4 Landowners | | 10 | 7 |
| 5 (a) Commerce European | | 6 | 9 |
| 5 (b) Commerce Indian | | 4 | 4 |
| Total | 67 | 80 | 100 |
| 6 Nominated (official and non-official) | 33 | 40 | 40 |
| Percentage | 33 per cent | 33 per cent | 28 6 per cent |

By the Lucknow compact between the Moslem League and the National Congress, one-third of the Indian-elected members should be Mussalmans This condition was satisfied by the Franchise Committee, and has been observed by the Parliamentary Committee Leaving out the members to represent commerce, we shall have 58 (49+7+2) members for the non-Muslim communities and 29 members to represent the Muslim community I have no doubt that when nominating non-officials for the Indian Assembly the same proportion will be observed by the Government of India and trust that the nominations will be made mainly from the past and present presidents of the

Moslem League, National Congress and Moderates' Conference

It seems to me that there will be some reasonable disappointment if the proportion of elected seats be not raised to three-fourths of the total number of seats for the Indian assembly, and that the august Assembly for all British India will be wanting in dignity and high character unless there be representatives in it of the University fellows and graduates. When I remember how Mr Gladstone, Member for the Oxford University, raised the character of the British Parliament for over the 35 years, until he went to South Lancashire, I have no doubt that the University members will contribute to raising the high position of the Indian Assembly in the same way If three-fourths of 140 seats of the Assembly be elected, there will be 5 seats available, two to be elected by the Universities of Madras, Bombay, Central Provinces, Mysore and Secundarabad and 3 by the Universities of Bengal, Bihar-Orissa, United Provinces Punjab, Assam and Burmah

In the case of Provincial Councils the vote has been given to graduates of 7 years' standing In the case of the Indian Assembly votes may be given either to graduates of 15 or 20 years' standing or to the ordinary fellows of the Universities and the principals of affiliated colleges and professors engaged in the work of education therein.

The distribution of seats according to the Provinces is shewn below —

| Province | M C report | Franchise Committee | Parliamentary Committee |
|--------------|------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| Madras | 11 | 12 | 16 |
| Bombay | 11 | 12 | 16 |
| Bengal | 11 | 13 | 17 |
| United Prov | 10 | 12 | 16 |
| Punjab | 7 | 9 | 11½ |
| Bihar-Orissa | 7 | 9 | 10½ |
| Central Prov | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Assam | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Burmah | 3 | 4 | 4 |
| Delhi | nil | 1 | nil |
| Total | 67 | 80 | 100 |

So Delhi shall have no direct representation in the Indian Legislative Assembly Shall she then be put under the Provincial Legislative Assembly of the Panjab, as

she is under the High Court and the University of Lahore. This looks to be probable, because to the Panjab with 19½ millions of people have been allotted 11½ seats against 16 seats of the United Provinces with 47 millions of people. According to population the Panjab should have got only 7 seats for 16 seats of the United Provinces.

The 29 seats of the Mussalmans have been thus distributed — 3 to Madras, 4 to Bombay, 6 to Bengal, 6 to the United Provinces, 5 to the Panjab, 3 to Bihar-Orissa, 1 to the Central Provinces and 1 to Assam. There is no sharp social distinction between the landowners and the rest of the Mussalman and the Sikh community. So the 4 seats proposed for the Muslim Zemindars and one for the Sikh Zemindars have been amalgamated with the seats allotted to the Mussalman and Sikh communities by the Franchise Committee. The Mussalmans have got now 29 seats against 19 and the Sikhs 2 against one proposed by the Southborough Committee. It was the earnest pleading of the Maharajahdiraj Bahadur of Burdwan that "for the present the special electorate for the landowners should be retained, in order to encourage the big landholders to take part in public life," that has evidently led the Parliamentary Committee to allow this in the case of the Hindus, although the landlords' representatives will be elected one for each of the 7 major provinces by combined electorates of all communities.

The combination of all the communities to elect a representative of the landlords or Zemindars for a whole province without distinction of creed or race may lead to the abolition of racial distinction when electing representatives of commerce to the Indian Legislative assembly twelve years hence, by which time the fight between capital and labor will develop, while the jealousy between the English and the Indian merchants will considerably abate. I am glad the representatives of commerce to the Indian Assembly has been increased from 10 to 13, although all the increase has gone to non-Indian merchants for 12 years.

SRINATH DUTT.

The Proposed Exclusion of Indians from East Africa.

We have been permitted to publish the following extracts from two letters, written by Mr C F Andrews to Dr Rabindranath Tagore, on the proposed exclusion of Indians from East Africa —

I cannot tell you how serious the situation here has grown and how critical matters have become. Things were going on quite peaceably between European and Indian until a large body of Europeans came up from South Africa as new settlers. From that very day the poison of race hatred was sown, and it has spread everywhere, till the bitterness has become intense. It is all the work of the last five or six years, and has been chiefly accelerated by the war fever and lust of dominion which the war has caused. The missionaries have entered into the affair wholly on the side of the Europeans and a clergyman named Mr Bennett appears to be a ringleader. The person most often quoted when Indian moral depravity is described is the Bishop of Zanzibar. It is a perfect hornet's nest for any one, who is a European, who speaks a word on the other side, and the whole Government civil service seems to have weakly yielded to the clamour of the settlers. I am not sure even if they have, not merely yielded, but gone over in a body, heart and soul.

There is an annual gathering of Europeans here at which representatives from every association in the country meet in session. It is called the "British Parliament" of East Africa. For two years they have been discussing their 'Indian Policy'. They sent out a Draft Resolution to each association and discussed at length each word of it. It was a most deliberate affair. Then at the annual convention this year they passed unanimously the final Declaration. They made it a solemn affair, as if they were deliberately taking their stand for righteousness before God and in His Presence. I will quote a small part of it so that you may understand what it means —

"The convention asks the Government to forward a copy thereof at once to the Imperial Conference.

That during the Petition *re* Indians, they had the assistance of four missionaries, one being a Roman Catholic and three being from the Missionary Conference which was sitting at Nairobi at the time of the convention.

THAT WHEREAS our Nation has assumed responsibility for the future of the indigenous East African peoples and of the countries they inhabit

AND WHEREAS our national ideals of enlightenment and progress are crystallised in our Christian Western Civilisation and it is our duty to make sure that the best contained therein is

readily available for the needs of awakening Africa

AND WHEREAS the maintenance of this country depends entirely on the prestige and force of character of the white man

AND WHEREAS certain Indians have entered this country as traders, clerks and artisans

AND WHEREAS these people follow in all things a civilisation which is Eastern and in many respects repugnant to ours

AND WHEREAS their social status brings them more frequently into contact with the African and thus subjects him to intimate personal influences antagonistic to the ideals of the West

AND WHEREAS the African has shown that he possesses latent qualities which under Western guidance hold promise of material development

AND WHEREAS Indian competition denies him all incentives to ambition and opportunities of advancement

AND WHEREAS the Indian community in this country are agitating for adult suffrage and by this means seek to gain control over the destinies of this country

WE, THEREFORE, representing the white community, ask the Secretary of State to rule that no system of franchise be given to the Asiatics, nor should they be allowed to acquire land except in townships on short leases, nor be employed in Government works, and that steps be taken at once to restrict Asiatic Immigration in order that this stronghold of European Colonisation in Central Africa may stand beside her sister colonies in their Asiatic policy "

A still more serious matter is this, that the B E A Government have issued a Report of their own Economic Commission (which was largely in the hands of Government officials) in which the same attitude was taken up This is the conclusion —

"If we further complicate the task by the exposure of the African to the antagonistic influence of Asiatic, as distinct from European philosophy, we shall be guilty of a breach of Trust "

The same Report has the following sentence —

"The moral depravity of the Indian is equally damaging to the African, who, in his natural state, is at least innocent of the worst vices of the East "

The Chairman of this Report was one of the highest Government officials in the land This will show you more clearly than anything else how impossible the situation has become I cannot tell you the misery this situation means to the Indians who have settled here Many of them have settled for generations and were here long before the Europeans They are practically told now that they are to clear bag and baggage out of the country And all the while the truth is as plain as can be that it is their *moral* qualities themselves of thrift and sobriety which are the cause of offence in a large number of cases and this cry of 'Christian'

western civilisation is a hypocrisy which is as base as it is cowardly and mean The distress goes deeper than the Punjab

In the next letter Mr Andrews writes —

I told you, in my last letter, the disgraceful charges which were being authoritatively brought against the Indians in this country,—that they were immoral persons who were not fit to live in close contact with the Africans It was also said, that the African did not wish to have the Indian in the country, and that the European was standing up for the Africans' rights as against the Indians There was never grosser hypocrisy than this, for, all along, it has been the Europeans themselves who have been scandalously to blame in this very matter and it is really their own guilty consciences which have made them frame this charge against the Indians One of the leading members of the Economic Commission (which brought forward this accusation) was guilty of causing an African to be flogged, till he died under the lash You know what an experience W and I both had in South Africa,—if anything the full record here in East Africa is worse—The greed and rapacity and cruelty of which I have heard is simply atrocious And these very Europeans, who do these things, are now laying the blame on the Indians and attempting to drive them out of the country! My whole heart is sick out here with it all, and I long to get away from it I have found it, sooner or later, the same every time I have come out to these foreign countries The truth is, that the greed for gold has eaten like cancer into the heart of my own nation and what you have warned me about—that it would grow worse instead of better, after the War, has surely already come to pass It is palpably so out here We seem to be able to do great wonders of mechanical organisation and transport, but the heart of things is unsound and so the evil grows like a malignant disease On the surface, things seem so marvellous, and men say,—'What miracles have been wrought' (And it is truly wonderful what has taken place, mechanically) but below the surface, deep down, there is such a terrible breaking up of things sacred, that nothing now can stay the deadly plague These African people, whom I have learnt to love, are slowly dying I will write down the words of a Government official in East Africa who *knows* —

"There is no surer sign of social disintegration than for the marriage tie to become unstable among the mass of the people In the mixture of men of different tribes in European employment in British East Africa the customary union is by the month—the men and women arrange such a union by themselves, the woman receiving clothing, food and money and serving her master, the man, at bed and board. These unions in East Africa may last for months at a time indefinitely They do not exist at all

among ordinary African labourers. These need their money to pay the tax. For them there is provided an immense class of prostitutes, a totally new feature in African life. But most of the men who are monthly wage-earners have women of their own. Their industrial life being precarious, then liabilities to their women are correspondingly restricted. They have no wives as they have no homes. They get their wage as the end of the month, they change their masters at the end of the month, (to travel perhaps for days to other masters) and so they marry—for a month! These unions have no sanction in native law, or our own. As is inevitable, children are rare and diseases are common. But such unions are not felt to be disgraceful, as by many prostitution is still felt to be disgraceful. The system fits the labourer's life. The State may awake some day to the fact that it is manufacturing disease faster than any conceivable means of prevention can overtake it."

This is the plain record of one, who states that he has lived more than half a generation closely in touch with the people and has watched the process going on. I have seen the Africans whom he has thus described, and I can fully believe that what he has stated is the bare fact. There is a look about them, in East Africa, especially round Nairobi—which is due to a joyless and sadly degenerate life. And yet, it is these very same Europeans, (whose demands for 'labour' and whose recruiting of 'labour' are reducing the African only too often to this level) who are now declaring, that the Indians are contaminating the African and exploiting him till he becomes a mere 'hewer of wood and drawer of water'. The truth is, that the exploitation and the permanent inferior status of the African would be far, far more pronounced, if the Indian were out of the way and the European had to deal with the African alone.

But here, in Uganda, I have seen something different and it has cheered me, while East Africa only depressed me. The African people here are simple-hearted Christians, deeply attached to their religion, and they had a start of fully thirty years before the European traders and settlers came, with their 'civilisation'. Indeed the Europeans (except the missionaries) here had altogether a secondary part to play in Uganda. There are a large number of Indians, and they are respected. When I was under treatment in the Hospital, I asked the Doctor his own opinion. He is the greatest Doctor in the whole of Central Africa,—of the same standing in his profession as Sir Leonard Rogers in Calcutta. He has done more than any other man living to stamp out sleeping sickness. His name is Doctor Albert Cook. He told me that he had patients from all over East Africa belonging to all races. When I mentioned to him the charge of moral depravity, which had been brought against the Indians, he was most

indignant, and he said to me at once '*They are the most moral people I have to deal with*'. —He then wrote to me the following letter, to use publicly as I might think fit —

C M S Hospital
Kampala
Uganda

December 22nd, 1919,

Having been in charge of the largest Hospital in Uganda for over 20 years I give it as my deliberate opinion that there is less venereal disease among the Indians resident in Kampala than in any other section of the community.

This Hospital has over 200 beds and we have a large In-patient and Out-patient practice among the Indians.

Albert R Cook,
O B E, M D, B Sc (Lond),
B A (CAMB)

This is not all. Yesterday I was invited by the Prime Minister of Uganda, who is practically ruling the country, as the king is very junior, to attend a session of the Uganda Council, where all the great Uganda chiefs were assembled. I asked them the question,—If they wanted the Indians to leave the country,—and they unanimously answered that they did *not*. I asked them if they thought the Indians were immoral people and they said, "Certainly not, they respect our women and we have no complaint against them." The Chief Justice said to me, "If the Indians were to go all our trade would vanish and we should all have to wear bark-cloth again!" These chiefs are magnificent men. They are the most enlightened in the whole of Africa and they have had close contact with Indians for generations. Sir Apollo Kagwa and the Chief Justice have signed a letter and handed it to me, on behalf of the whole Uganda Chiefs' Council. It completely destroys the argument of the Europeans in East Africa that they are 'speaking on behalf of the voiceless Africans'. That argument is very similar to that of the Anglo-Indian official who speaks of representing the 'voiceless millions in India'. We have known it of old!

These African people win one's heart very quickly. They are absolutely simple in their affection and devotion. Since I came to Uganda and they saw how the Indians received me, they have come to me also. The young Baganda students have been with me every day and I have been telling them about you and how you would have loved them and how great was your love for students in every part of the world and how young men always flocked to you instinctively as soon as ever they saw you. I have promised them a copy of your English translations in the Indian Edition for their library and they cheered like anything when I announced it. They are brimming over with patriotism and are determined to uphold to the last their treaty with the British Government of 1900 A.D. and

not to allow their rights to be encroached upon. They have just come to the full flood tide of their own National Movement and they have everything yet to learn which our Indian students have been learning. They have been through the 'English Fever' stage and have not quite recovered. I warned them about sticking to their own beautiful language and their very graceful National dress. There is a wonderful intelligence among them and it has been deeply moving to me to find how they opened out their hearts to me in these few short days.

The more and more I have seen of the Gujarati Indians who have come out here (they are nearly all Gujaratis) the more I have been proud of them. You can't tell what fine men they are in character and how true they have kept to their Indian tradition of gentle courtesy to the weak. I have never seen one harsh deed or heard one harsh word from them towards the Africans and on the other hand I have seen so many acts of kindness. No wonder the African is on their side in this great controversy. And then they have kept their lives pure in the midst of great temptation. I feel that it is their true respect for woman as mother which has sustained them. They see everyone giving way around them and especially the European, but they themselves have been true. They all tell me that religion has grown altogether weak among themselves, but the heart of religion is there, and the response is immediate.

My friend, Mr Abdul Rasul, has a large estate here and in the early morning I watched his labourers coming to their work. They were not Baganda, but the lower tribes. What was so delightful was to notice, that there was not one single harsh word or any blow struck at all, though the labourers were over a thousand in number. Everything went on quite merrily and there was laughter all along the line. The people seemed well fed and they were receiving from 5 to 10 rupees a month. In earlier times they came for 1 or 2 rupees.

Sometimes, I have felt,—"Why should we not retire and have done with it?" But I am quite certain that this is wrong, and that the whole future of these races in Africa depends on their not being left under the complete domination of the proud white man all alone. The European has, in the past, always degenerated in Africa. His history in this country has been marked with blood and crime, scarcely less than that of the Semitic Arab with his own slave-raiding. Indeed, this continent has been the one great Crime of the so-called civilised world. But India, in all its dealings during the centuries, has never thus dealt with Africa. There have been hardly any traces of Indian slave-dealing and hardly a sign of bloody conquest. And now, today, India has learnt her own sad experience of humiliation and subjection. She is not proud and imperious, as the European and the Arab,—and I am certain that if Africa is to be raised at all, India must

play her part in the salvation of these people. The time has nearly come for this. India must throw off her own oppressive treatment of her own depressed classes,—and that she is rapidly doing. Her heart is pure and free from racial arrogance. The scene I have witnessed this morning of these kindly Indian managers of this large estate, managing so many of these people, and treating them fairly without any harshness, has given me hope. We must not retire before this bullying bluster of the West. We must not give way to this threatened expulsion. For the sake of the African himself, who needs us, we must stick on and make our case known to the world in a dignified and reasonable way.

What the Egyptians Want.

It is said that some Egyptian students in England have written to a prominent daily there that nothing short of independence will satisfy their countrymen. That seems to be a correct reading of the public mind in Egypt, considering that Saad Zaghloul Pasha, a most prominent Egyptian Nationalist and chief of the non-official Egyptian delegation in Paris, has, according to the *Hindu*, written to the London *Times* claiming "complete independence" for his country, and declined to listen upon any other terms to the suggestion made by Mr D A Cameron in that British paper that he should be appointed Prime Minister. The Egyptian patriot wrote to the *Times* in part

"Your contributor is quite wrong in his suggestions as to the future and as to my personal feelings. In reality I can content myself with nothing less than complete independence for my country. It is not a matter of making concessions, but of an absolute right, which cannot be split up into different parts. This is my own profound conviction and the unanimous opinion of my countrymen." "If moreover, I ever could, by some impossibility, deviate from the line of conduct which has been sanctioned by the whole of Egypt, the Egyptians would consider me the greatest criminal." "Your contributor is no less wrong when he says that the whole question would be solved if I were appointed prime minister. I would rather be the humblest subject in my own independent country than occupy the highest possible post in Egypt submitting to a foreign protectorate."

It is presumably this plain and fearless statement of honest convictions which has made the *Times* not only to advocate the urgent announcement of British policy in Egypt but also to add that "owing to

the delay which has occurred it should be much more specific than the declaration to India in 1917 "

Indians in British East Africa.

The February issue of the *Modern Review* last year (1919) opened with a long and important article on "Indians in British East Africa " It was written by Mr G V Tadvalkar of Nairobi, British East Africa, and communicated to us by Mr C F Andrews, who asked us to give it the first place on account of its importance We did so But, so far as we know, it went unnoticed by the press Now that Mr Andrews has, with his usual magnanimity and self-sacrifice, gone in person to Africa and sent a telegraphic message from Nairobi to Mr M K Gandhi, who has communicated it

to the press, it is to be hoped that the condition of the Indians in British East Africa will draw serious public attention Mr Andrews' message runs as follows

"East African Indian situation most critically dangerous, because united attempt is being made by European associations to close the door against future immigration and to stop Indian franchise The chief reason is stated to be that through Indian contact depravity is the result, but advance under Christian Western civilisation Government Economic Commission report recently published takes same attitude, mentioning specifically Indian moral depravity and approving South African exclusion policy "

Neither Indians nor Europeans are angels, but that the former are morally more depraved than the European colonists in Africa is a pure invention

Since the above was written, Mr Andrews has contributed articles and letters on the subject to many Indian papers

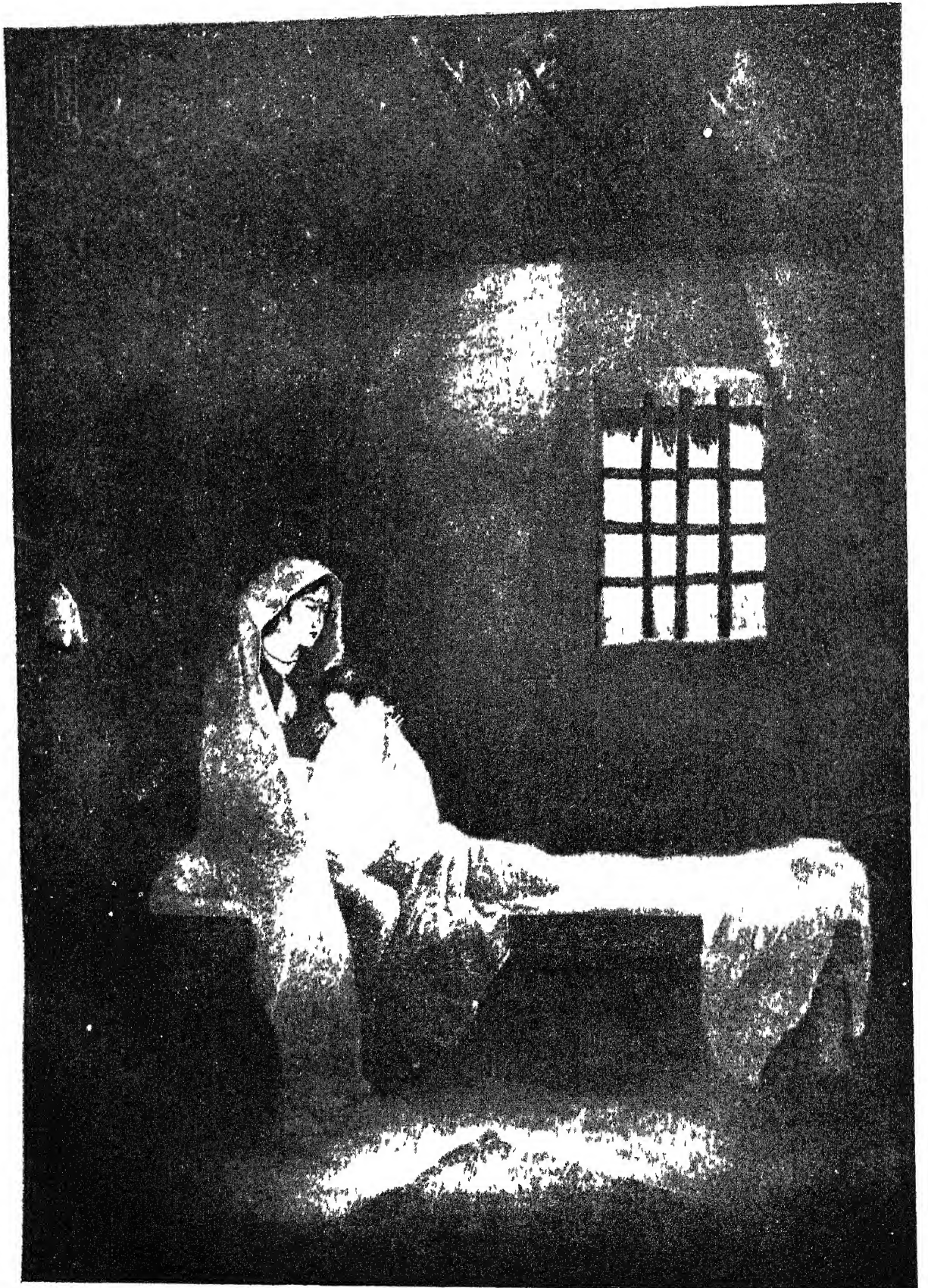
Information for Contributors.

Length of Articles.

We prefer articles containing not more than *three thousand words* Such articles have a better chance of early publication than longer ones

Length of "Comment & Criticism".

Writers wishing to comment on or criticise anything appearing in this *Review*, are requested kindly to say their say in not more than *five hundred words*



THE EVENING LAMP

By the courtesy of the artist, Mr Devi Prosad Ray Choudhuri

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NABOTH'S VINEYARD A PARABLE OF EAST AFRICA

By C. F. ANDREWS

THE following is the text of the Bible Story from which my parable is derived —

And it came to pass after these things, that Naboth the Jezreelite had a vineyard, which was in Jezreel, hard by the palace of Ahab, king of Samaria.

And Ahab spake unto Naboth, saying, Give me thy vineyard, that I may have it for a garden of herbs, because it is near unto my house: and I will give thee for it a better vineyard than it: or, if it seem good to thee, I will give thee the worth of it in money.

And Naboth said to Ahab, The Lord forbid it me, that I should give the inheritance of my fathers unto thee.

And Ahab came into his house heavy and displeased, because of the word which Naboth the Jezreelite had spoken to him: for he had said, I will not give thee the inheritance of my fathers. And he laid him down upon his bed, and turned away his face, and would eat no bread.

But Jezebel, his wife, came to him, and said unto him, Why is thy spirit so sad, that thou eatest no bread?

And he said unto her, Because I spake unto Naboth the Jezreelite and said unto him, Give me thy vineyard for money: or else, if it please thee, I will give thee another vineyard for it: and he answered, I will not give thee my vineyard.

And Jezebel, his wife, said unto him, Dost thou now govern the kingdom of Israel? Arise, and eat bread, and let thine heart be merry: I will give thee the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite.

So she wrote letters in Ahab's name, and sealed them with his seal, and sent the letters unto the elders and to the nobles that were in his city, dwelling with Naboth.

And she wrote in the letters, saying, Proclaim a fast, and set Naboth on high among the people: And set two men, sons of Belial, before him, to bear witness against him, saying, Thou didst blaspheme God and the king. And then carry him out, and stone him, that he may die.

And the men of his city, even the elders and

the nobles who were the inhabitants in his city, did as Jezebel had sent unto them, and as it was written in the letters, which she had sent unto them.

They proclaimed a fast, and set Naboth on high among the people.

And there came in two men, children of Belial, and sat before him: and the men of Belial witnessed against him, even against Naboth, in the presence of the people, saying, Naboth did blaspheme God and the king. Then they carried him forth out of the city, and stoned him with stones, that he died.

Then they sent to Jezebel, saying, Naboth is stoned and is dead. And it came to pass, when Jezebel heard that Naboth was stoned, and was dead, that Jezebel said to Ahab, Arise, take possession of the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite, which he refused to give thee for money: for Naboth is not alive, but dead.

And it came to pass, when Ahab heard that Naboth was dead, then Ahab rose up to go down to the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite to take possession of it. (1 Kings 21: 1-16)

I have taken this narrative out of the Old Testament for my parable, because it has been in my mind night and day during the time that I have been travelling up and down the country and have been trying to enter into the difficulties of the Indians,—not so much merely those of the educated classes, but rather those of the uneducated and the illiterate.

As the pressure of the European in the land has grown stronger and stronger and as the European attitude has become more and more hostile, these poorer Indian people in our midst have evidently felt more and more distressed, bewildered and amazed. They do not understand in the least what has been going on. Alarming rumours have reached them and they seek to know their meaning.

Here, for instance, is one Indian, with his

little market-garden plot on which he grows vegetables for sale in the township. Here is another Indian, with his tin shed near a railway station, where he keeps his grocer's store. Here is a Sikh carpenter, from the Punjab, living in a tiny room in the railway quarters hardly wide enough to contain his long *chaipai*. Here is a Gujrati goldsmith, occupying a corner of the Indian bazaar at an excessively high rent-charge. And now and again one's eyes have been cheered by the kindly, genial, sun-burnt face of a Panjabi cultivator, on the borders of the great lake, or across the waters in Uganda. Such men have come to me, as a friend, speaking to me in their different dialects, and wherever I have stopped for a few moments on my journey,—at some little wayside railway station, in a narrow lane in the bazaar, along the open road, or in the fields,—wherever I have met them, I have had the same questions asked me,—

"Why is it that we are told that we must leave the country?" "Why is it that we, who have done no wrong here, are to be sent back to India?"

And the answer that has come to my mind, but remained unspoken, has been thought out in the words of the Bible narrative I have quoted. For the command appears to have gone forth, which becomes louder every year,—"Give me thy vineyard, that I may have it because it is near to my house."

It matters nothing that the Indians had opened up the distant places of the interior and established themselves in their small shops and holdings long before the European and South African settlers came. Questions of past rights, questions of pioneer services rendered, questions of priority of claims,—all these things are brushed aside. The Indian quarter of the bazaar which was the very first to be established,—often in what was then little more than a wilderness,—has now come too near to the European. It is "near to my house", and so in some way or other it must be removed.

It is true that some compensation may be offered. A better site will be given in

exchange, or else the worth of it in money will be paid.

"I will give thee a better vineyard for it, or if it seem good to thee, I will give thee the worth of it in money."

This promise, at first, is readily given. A site outside the township is offered in exchange for a site in the middle of the town which is too near to the European quarter. But, with an obstinacy that is provoking and disconcerting, the Indian objects to his own removal,—

"And Naboth said unto Ahab, The Lord forbid it me, that I shall sell the inheritance of my fathers unto thee."

The Bible story goes on to tell of further pressure being brought to bear. And the East African narrative, too, becomes more complicated as time goes on. I have spoken of the Indian bazaar problem first, because that has always been the first point of conflict. But the racial struggle, thus begun, has almost inevitably led on, by slow degrees, to the far larger issue of driving out the Indian altogether from the whole Protectorate.

But before we deal with that larger question, let us turn back for one moment in order to see things on the smaller scale. Let us take a single instance from actual human experience—a case where, on the Indian side, some greed may perhaps have entered in, so as to injure a good cause, but where, as far as I have been able to gather from officials themselves, the Indian position was basally and fundamentally just. The following document is a memorial from some illiterate and semi-literate Indians. I will quote the English, just as it is written.

"That the humble memorialists, majority of whom being illiterate is dumb, and not fairly treated, beg to remind of the time when the present Nairobi, which is now the capital, was in its infancy, a small town of tents, and when it was a perfect wilderness, where none dared to go and when it was very hard to get some necessities of life, such as fresh vegetables, milk, etc., that they were induced by officers of the Government to take up lands on the banks of the Nairobi river, in swampy ground, for the purpose of growing vegetables, fruits, etc., for the consumption of the infant Nairobi.

"That the memorialists were led to believe that they could get easy terms from Government

when the distribution of land at Nairobi was taken up, but they crave liberty to speak from their heart, they were deceived. They are ignored, their rights and interests also. Although they are peaceful, hard-working, law-abiding, and proverbially patient, but at times even their existence is not considered.

"That, on the strength of promises made, the memorialists reclaimed land in the swamps in the Nairobi river, draining swamps, removing reeds, long grass, and bush, which some time ago served as a breeding ground for malarial mosquitoes. This draining and clearing of swamp has had much to do with improving the health of Europeans and Indians alike."

The remaining part of the document cannot be quoted in full. It goes on to describe how the whole area in question only came up to one hundred and five acres divided among thirty-five persons. When this land had been drained by these Indians, who were mostly ignorant and illiterate men, and all had been done to reclaim the swamp, then for the first time the land thus reclaimed became valuable. Its value was still further increased, because of its being included later on within the township area, as the town expanded towards the bed of the river. When the value of the land rose, everything was done to get the cultivators to abandon their claims. They were told again and again, in answer to their repeated petitions, that they could only continue to hold their plots on a yearly lease with pre-payment of the yearly rental. They were also obliged to observe all kinds of harrassing conditions and regulations, or else forfeit the land altogether. They were pointedly warned by the Government that their land might be taken away at any time on a year's notice.

In the light of constant difficulties and harrassments such as these, how can Indians avoid noticing the differential treatment between themselves and Europeans? They see daily before their eyes every inducement being offered to the latter to take up land on easy terms, while such offers are being more and more steadily withdrawn from themselves.

So the story of East Africa goes on from year to year, and every day the difficulties in the Indian's path become greater.

It is quite true, that much money can still be made by Indians out of trade. It is true, also, that some Indians have become wealthy landowners, chiefly on account of early purchases of land in township areas. It is this very wealth of the Indians that has made them so disliked. It is this also which has led to covetousness.

Among the European settlers themselves, if I may judge from what I have seen and heard in Nairobi, land speculation has had the effect of an intoxicating wine. To make money very quickly has become, with many, the one great object in life. And the Indian, especially in the townships, blocks the way. What easier method, then, than to raise the racial cry against the 'Asiatic'? What quicker path to further wealth, than to confiscate, in any manner possible, the wealth of the Indian by driving him out of the townships first, and afterwards out of the country?

Little by little the policy hardens down on anti-Asiatic lines. The Press follows the new public taste and adds to the bitterness and the clamour. The sense of generous dealing, the treatment of all men alike without racial distinction, the *noblesse oblige* which makes a man long to help the weaker side,—all these sterling qualities of the home life in England become less and less powerful abroad in their appeal to the inner heart. New motives which are coarser and more materialistic take their place. After all, the settler has come out to make money,—and why should he not do it?

When this mood is reached at last, hypocrisies of the worst kind are bound to creep in. These self-deceptions are really the cloak to hide an uneasy and a jaded conscience. They are needed to keep a man in good humour with his own interior life.

First of all, the excuse is made, that it is a patriotic thing to try to stop Indian immigration. This, if successful, will make East Africa fall into line with her sister colonies of Canada, Australia and South Africa,—a patriotic thing to do. All the differences of tropic and temperate zones

are minimised. The mere fact, that a minor fraction of East Africa is upland, is taken as sufficient ground for claiming the whole of the Protectorate as a "white man's country"

Then follows quickly the further pretext, which is often quite honestly held and believed, that the Indian really stands between the African and his natural protector, the European, that the African is kept out of his lawful rights by the Indian, but protected by the European

After these early steps have been taken on the path of racial prejudice,—which has been camouflaged all the while as patriotic duty,—it is not difficult to saturate the whole atmosphere of European life with intensely biased stories against the Indian character. It becomes the popular thing to believe these. No proof of their accuracy is asked for. The truth itself is not sought. What is really desired is something to flatter the racial vanity of the European and to prejudice him still more deeply against the Indian.

Jezebel's method in the Old Testament was more direct. She said,

"Set two men, sons of Belial, before him to bear witness against him, saying, Thou didst blaspheme God and the king."

Here was a far more brutal way, but, it had the same motive behind it. For when the patriotic cry of "God and the King" is raised against poor Naboth, afterwards any false witness becomes credible.

And so, in this case also, when the racial prejudice of the European has been roused against the "Asiatic", then it is the easiest thing in the world for him to believe that these uncleanly people of the bazaar, these Indians, are addicted to "moral depravity". They can even be described in the Economic Commission Report as importing from India into East Africa "the worst vices of the East," and the phrase is regarded as eminently correct and appropriate.

The Report itself goes on still further to suggest that the African is the innocent victim of the Indian's vice and the Indian is the perverted teacher of it. Nay more, the Indian is the inciter to crime as well as

to vice. So the false witness grows in volume.

The culminating point is reached when this moral argument assumes a Christian guise. It is stated with great solemnity that, having taken the country as a Protectorate, it is the duty of the Europeans and of their Government to set forward a wholly *Christian* western civilisation for the African's acceptance. Nothing must be allowed to stand in the way of this being accomplished. It is for Christianity, pure and unadulterated, that the European settler stands.

And the Indian? The Indian is an 'Asiatic' and an 'Eastern' and above all, he is not a Christian. No wonder, therefore, that he is morally depraved and unfitted for the task of protecting the African!

Thus, as the crown of all, not only racial bigotry, but,—what was far worse in the eyes of Christ,—religious bigotry is dragged in, as a kind of supra-patriotic motive, to exclude the Indian from Africa. The name of Christ,—Christ the Eastern, Christ the Asiatic, Christ the denouncer of religious cant,—is taken on their lips to promote the very things that roused His sternest indignation, namely, Pharisaism and unbrotherly hatred between man and man.

It would appear that any stone is good enough to fling at the Indian, when this anti-Asiatic clamour is raised. And stones are heaped in abundance. If the charges of vice and immorality and incitement to crime are not sufficient, if his Eastern and Asiatic origin are not convincing, then there is the final damning fact that the Indian is not a Christian. And if these stones will not slay him, then there is still his 'unfair' economic competition with the African, and there is also left, as a last stone to throw at him, his bad sanitation and hygiene.

"They carried Naboth forth outside the city and stoned him with stones, that he died."

Already, owing to the insecurity of the Indian tenure and the increasing menace of exclusion, the emigration of the Indians from East Africa is exceeding the immigra-

tion of Indians into East Africa. More have gone back to India year by year and fewer have returned. If this process goes on much further, the end must soon come, and when it comes, the word will be sent post-haste through the land,—

“Arise and take possession, for Naboth is not alive, but dead.”

That final step has not yet been taken, the ultimate acts of unfairness have not yet been tried. But, all the while, the voice of the tempter is sounding in the ear of the British settler,—

“Dost *thou* not govern the kingdom?”

The voice says,—“If the power is all in the hands of the European, ready for use, why not use it? Why not govern in very deed? Why not legislate away every Indian right till he is obliged to give up the struggle? Does not the White man govern the kingdom? Well, then, let the White man have done with it and rule the Indian out.”

But whatever the tempter may say, whatever steps may have already been taken to defeat the truth, the voice of conscience cannot be silenced. Even while Ahab goes down to Jezreel to take possession of Naboth’s vineyard, the prophet

meets him on the way with a word of warning and of doom.

I cannot believe that my fellow countrymen in East Africa will shut their ears finally to the voice of truth. I cannot believe that they will carry out to the bitter end against Indians this injustice, which cries to heaven.

I have met many, among settlers and among officials, who have told me that they consider the whole policy, as put forward by the Economic Commission and Convention of Associations, to be uncalled for and unjust. Personally,—I can only say it, with all reverence and with sincerity,—I regard this policy not only as a blot on the fair name of my country, but on the fair name of my Lord and Master, Christ.

If, in what I have written, I have overstepped the bounds of charity, I ask forgiveness, as one who knows his constant need to be forgiven. I have not had any individual person or persons in my mind while I have been writing. What I have tried to lay bare is the baseness involved in the policy which is being now presented and the falsity of many of its underlying motives.

PARLIAMENT AND INDIAN TARIFFS

By ST NIHAL SINGH

IN view of its vital importance, it was only to be expected that the fiscal issue should crop up more than once in the debates that have recently taken place in both Houses of Parliament over the Government of India Bill. Several Hon’ble Members referred to the subject in the House of Commons, and such references elicited statements from the Secretary of State indicating just how far the fiscal concession will extend, and how and by whom the fiscal policy of India is to be framed and administered. The statement made in the House of Lords by the Earl

Curzon, though not so conclusive, is not without importance. Since it is necessary for us Indians to know just where we stand, I propose to deal briefly with the references made in both Houses.

I

Three Members of Parliament—Colonel Josiah C. Wedgwood (Labour, Newcastle-under-Lyme), Mr G. Stewart (Coalition-Unionist, Wirral), and Mr F. R. B. Dennis (Coalition-Unionist, Oldham, Lancashire)—made speeches exclusively dealing with the proposal made by the Joint Select Commit-

tee recommending that His Majesty's Government follow a policy of non-intervention in Indian fiscal affairs. They viewed the subject from three distinct angles of vision. Colonel Wedgwood, as was to be expected from him, was highly idealistic. Mr Stewart spoke as if he sought merely for information, though he could not effectually hide his displeasure. Mr Denniss, as became the representative of a cotton constituency, was frankly antagonistic. The Secretary of State for India answered both Col Wedgwood and Mr Stewart at length, while he merely pointed the finger of scorn at Mr Denniss.

Before dealing specifically with the statements made in Parliament it seems to me to be advisable to set down textually the recommendation of the Joint Select Committee in regard to giving fiscal freedom to India, so that the basis upon which that discussion was made may be available to the reader for ready reference. It ran:

"Nothing is more likely to endanger the good relations between India and Great Britain than a belief that India's fiscal policy is dictated from Whitehall in the interests of the trade of Great Britain. That such a belief exists at the moment there can be no doubt. That there ought to be no room for it in the future is equally clear. India's position in the Imperial Conference opened the door to negotiation between India and the rest of the Empire, but negotiation without power to legislate is likely to remain ineffective. A satisfactory solution of the question can only be guaranteed by the grant of liberty to the Government of India to devise those tariff arrangements which seem best fitted to India's needs as an integral portion of the British Empire. It cannot be guaranteed by Statute without limiting the ultimate power of Parliament to control the administration of India, and without limiting the power of veto which rests in the Crown, and neither of these limitations finds a place in any of the Statutes in the British Empire. It can only therefore be assured by an acknowledgment of a convention. Whatever be the right fiscal policy for India, for the needs of her consumers as well as for her manufacturers, it is quite clear that she should have the same liberty to consider her interests as Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa. In the opinion of the Committee, therefore, the Secretary of State should as far as possible avoid interference on this subject when the Government of India and its Legislature are in agreement, and they think that his

intervention, when it does take place, should be limited to safeguarding the international obligations of the Empire or any fiscal arrangements within the Empire to which His Majesty's Government is a party."

In moving an amendment that he had put down to Clause 24, which, it may be recalled, deals with the business and proceedings in the Indian Legislature, Col Wedgwood told the House that, in his estimation, the question of imposing or revising tariffs should not be a question for the executive, but should be dependent upon the Legislative Assembly itself. Since it had been decided that duties were not to be imposed in India in the interests of Lancashire or other parts of Britain, he wished Parliament to "go the whole hog" and to give such a measure of fiscal autonomy as would enable the people of India themselves "to decide what duties shall be put rather than that the decision shall be left to" the executive, which, he may well have added, was not to be put under Indian control. He went on to state that "in connection with import duties it is of paramount importance that the will of the people should be expressed, and it ought not to be left to be discovered by indirect means." Vested interests, he declared, are powerful enough even in an ordinary "representative assembly, but when a representative assembly has practically nothing to do," he was afraid, the power of those interests would be even greater.

In pleading thus, Col Wedgwood asked the House to remember that "almost the whole of the evidence from India asked for the transfer of fiscal power to Indians. He hoped that India would not impose any protective tariffs, for they would work to the injury of the common people of India. But he asserted that the people of India were entitled to express their own views as to what they wanted, and if any blame was to arise out of the imposition of tariffs, he wished that blame to fall upon Indians and not upon the British Government. Though he thought that it was almost hopeless to get any amendment made to the Bill, he did wish that the British "could have that small amount of courage

which is necessary for granting fiscal autonomy to this new (Indian) democracy so that the people may make their own mistakes, and not put the blame for them on" British shoulders

The Secretary of State told Colonel Wedgwood that the "proper plan of Parliamentary procedure" was that fiscal proposals should be made by the Government "Any tariff proposed in India must be put into a Bill which could only be carried by the votes of the Legislature"

Mr Montagu added for Colonel Wedgwood's benefit that many of the officials in India were Protectionists, and therefore there had been no controversy over tariffs between the officials and non-officials The Secretary of State, however, had been in disagreement with the Government of India Being himself a Free-Trader, as he knew Col Wedgwood also was, Mr Montagu hoped that the example afforded by Protection in India would make more Free-Traders

Col Wedgwood was not satisfied with the answer given by the Secretary of State, and pointed out that representatives of the Indian people would not be able to put import duties upon articles other than those determined by the Government, nor would they be able to vary the proposals made by the Government

Mr Montagu remained firm, however He declared that whatever the shortcomings of the Government, the responsibility for introducing any Bill containing fiscal proposals must lie with the Government

This discussion evidently did not satisfy Mr Stewart, who raised the question of fiscal autonomy under Clause 33, which provides for control of Indian administration by the Secretary of State He asked Mr Montagu what would be the position if India claimed full fiscal autonomy, as she probably would, under his Bill What would happen, he enquired, if, in that case, India were to try to make a bargain with some other country giving that country better terms than she was prepared to offer this country (Britain)? He added that he was putting these considerations before the Secretary of State to show that it was wrong for him to destroy the power

that he possessed over Indian tariffs, as he was doing

Mr Montagu told Mr Stewart that fiscal autonomy did not come into that clause at all But he wished it had, for if there was anybody in the House who thought Britain "ought still to manipulate the tariffs of India in the interests of any part of Great Britain", he (Mr Montagu) "should like to test that by a Division" (The word "still" is significant) He asked those who wanted to know how it could be guaranteed that India would not manipulate her affairs to the advantage of somebody else, what guarantee they had that Australia would not do the same, and declared that nothing would do them so much harm as the slightest suspicion that they wanted to alter the tariffs of India in the interests of British trade They had the solidarity of the Empire to depend upon, and the Imperial goodwill, which had always been developed by mutual trust

Even that statement did not dispose of the question, for on the Third Reading Mr Denniss asked the Secretary of State to tell the House "how far the fiscal policy of India" would "be controlled by the new legislature" He reminded him that the matter was "of profound importance to all in this country (Britain) who trade with India," many of Britain's principal industries and many of her great commercialists and traders So far as he could see, the Bill would remove every check upon fiscal policy or fiscal control of the new Legislature, which would consist, to a great extent, of the rich men, the manufacturers and merchants of India The hands of the Secretary of State would be tied and he would be prevented from placing any check upon British trade with India He felt that, as a representative of the centre of the great cotton industry, he could not let the Bill pass without a warning as to what was likely to happen in the immediate future

Then the agitated Lancashire-man went on to remind the House that the cotton industry was the greatest British exporter, and India was their best market At present the Secretary of State had ab-

solute control over India's fiscal policy. He had the power to superintend, direct and control all acts, matters and concerns relating to the revenues of India. That power would be completely swept away when the Rules were made under Clause 23. There was, however, some protection in the fact that the Rules would have to be laid on the Table of the House of Commons and Resolutions would have to be passed by both Houses before the Rules became a part of the Statute.

Further, Mr. Denniss explained, the Secretary of State would be deprived by the Bill of his power of disallowing any Act imposing prohibitive restrictions upon British trade with India. He declared that when India gave her great contribution of £100,000,000 towards the cost of the War, Lancashire agreed to the duties being raised on condition that there would some day, at the end of the War, be a system of Imperial preference throughout the Empire in which the discrimination against British goods in regard to any of the Dominions and India would be done away with. Quoting the Report of the Joint Select Committee as his authority he remarked that apparently the fiscal policy of the Indian Legislature was to be based on the same lines as that of Canada and South Africa, which meant complete fiscal autonomy. The clause stating that "the Secretary of State should, as far as possible, avoid interference on this subject," he declared, meant that he was not to exercise his power of disallowance.

The British must remember, warned Mr. Denniss, that India was a Protectionist country. All the ruling classes and her manufacturers and merchants were absolute Protectionists. The first Budget of the new Indian Legislature would be one which would "not only continue to impose duties upon English imports, but may even discriminate against Britain in favour of Japan, compelled by diplomatic circumstances." He very much feared that if the Indian Legislature were left to control fiscal policy, the British might not only suffer in regard to restrictions being imposed upon the importation of their goods, but they may even have their great rival in

the cotton industry receiving a preference.

Mr. Denniss next grew plaintive. He described all the blessings that had accrued to India through British rule—peace, prosperity, law and order, and protection from war, pestilence and famine. With a catch in his voice, he asked if the Indian Legislature was going to repay them now by crippling their industries, or having power to do it by a system of unrestricted duties. He trembled for the future of many British Industries.

In winding up the debate, Mr. Montagu told the House that his conception of Imperialism would not permit him to have "any pride or pleasure in domination or subordination," or "in flying the British flag for the benefit of British trade." The only Imperialism that he thought was worth having was "a trusteeship which was intended to develop the country under the British flag into a partnership in the Commonwealth."

II

Exactly a week later, the Earl Curzon, speaking in the House of Lords, expressed his surprise at the little attention that had been paid to the proposal of the Joint Select Committee recommending the concession to India of "almost absolute freedom of fiscal policy." The proposition to put India on a par with the great Dominions of the Crown in regard to that matter was a fundamental change fraught with stupendous consequences. He would not say that the concession would prove to be "one of the main sources of possible difference in the future between certain sections of the community here (Britain) and in India," but he would say that concession was the "starting point to a future career in the growth of self-governing institutions in India, the importance of which" could not be exaggerated.

Lord Curzon declared that he would be the last person to complain that that concession was to be made to India, for he had "always fought the battles of India" in "all the controversies about cotton duties," as some of the Members of that House may have heard him do more

than once He was, therefore, delighted that his views and theories would prevail But he counselled their Lordships not to "lose sight of the fact that among the changes that had been (were to be ?) created in (by ?) this Bill, and among the powers that" were to be handed over "to India, this particular one is in many respects the most important of all"

Four days after Lord Curzon had thus expressed himself in regard to the concession of fiscal autonomy to India, Lord Amthill, ex-Governor of Madras, referred to it in the course of a long speech generally hostile to the Government of India Bill He said that he was glad to admit that "we (the British) are making a step in the right direction in the grant of fiscal freedom to India That was not part of the original scheme, but it was reluctantly conceded by the Joint Committee" He felt that it was "essential that this concession should be made if there was any sincerity in our professed intention of making India fit for self-government" His Lordship pointed out that national security "could only be founded on economic security, and the very first duty of every Government is to provide that economic security" He, therefore, welcomed that part of the scheme sincerely He had always thought that it would be "right and fair to give India, fiscal freedom" It was "the only solid benefit" the British were giving India in the Bill, "the only thing that will enable India to prove her ability to become self-reliant and self-governing" He warned their Lordships, however, that it would take a good many years before any satisfactory result could possibly appear from the test

III

The British press has not paid as much attention to this matter as one would have expected Such references as have come under my notice fall roughly into two categories, namely (1) those that are frankly opposed to the concession being made and that paint a dire picture of what they are sure will happen, and (2) those that feel that justice has been done to India, but that nevertheless wish

India to remember that she is a part of the British Empire, and owes that Empire some consideration

To illustrate what has been written in papers belonging to the first group, I may refer to the editorial comments that appeared in the *Morning Post* And engagingly frank that comment was It declared that "Mr Montagu, Colonel Wedgwood, and their like" had no right to claim a monopoly of generous ideals concerning India" It (the *Morning Post*), also, had its idealism, although it did not wear it on its sleeve It believed "that the British Empire has a mission in the world" It did not hold, however, that that mission was altogether unselfish On the contrary, it pointed out that a "nation is an association of people for the purpose of living and defending themselves Mr Montagu probably has never considered that the people of Lancashire—our (British) people—live largely by supplying India with cotton manufactures, and that if that trade were diverted, many of these people would starve Therefore, to surrender our trusteeship is not quite so simple as it sounds It may or may not be a kindness to the people of India, but it may be the destruction of the people of Lancashire and of many people also in London"

To illustrate the tone of the comment in papers belonging to the second group, I cannot do better than call attention to a statement on the subject that appeared in a *Times* leader It remarked that "India has long demanded and must now receive, the same fiscal freedom as the great self-governing Dominions The issue may eventually become the touchstone of Lancashire's sincerity in the cause of Indian liberty but it declared we must rely upon the common sense and good faith of Indian politicians, whose bounden duty it will be to refrain from erecting tariffs detrimental to the interests of the myriads of Indian consumers"

I may add, in passing, that a considerable number of Britons expect India to use the fiscal freedom that is to be given to her to subscribe to the principle of Imperial Preference Certain questions asked by

the Joint Select Committee on the government of India Bill appeared to suggest that tendency. For instance, when Mrs Annie Besant was in the witness chair she was asked by Major Ormsby-Gore "If the Committee saw fit to support the demand for fiscal (including tariff) autonomy, do you think India would be likely to come into the Imperial system of reciprocal Preference?" (Q 1422, p 81, *Minutes of Evidence*) Her reply does not matter, for I am talking only of the tendency upon the part of the British

IV

The position, as disclosed by the discussion in the two Houses, as it appears to me, is this

In future India is to have fiscal freedom *analogous* to that enjoyed by the Dominions of the Crown—*analogous* because the Government of India will not be constituted in the manner that the Governments are constituted in the Dominions, nor will it possess the same powers. Until the Government of India becomes an Indian Government, and until its powers are enhanced to those of, let us say, South Africa—because South Africa is largely peopled by persons of non-British origin, as is India—the convention regulating the fiscal policy of India cannot acquire the potency or even the meaning associated with it in the self-governing Dominions.

In the meantime, while we are pressing for the subjection of at least a part of the Central Government to British control, what means are to be devised to insure that the Government of India, which in no sense will be responsible to Indians, and which, even in its composition, will still remain mainly non-Indian, will give effect to the Indian desires in respect of fiscal matters? The question is really of vital importance, because, as I have shown, the power of initiating any proposal in this respect has been reserved to the executive, and not to the Legislature. Even if the Government of India does not have to get the previous sanction of the Secretary of State before such a proposal can be included in its Budget, or, in view

of the canon of non-intervention, reference on such a subject to the Secretary of State is to be a mere formal matter—though Sir William Meyer's evidence before the Joint Select Committee* would make one chary of forming the latter supposition—the question still remains, how an executive overwhelmingly non-Indian and without any legal obligation to the Indian Legislature, will feel the impulse that a Cabinet in one of the Dominions would feel to translate the popular desire regarding fiscal matters into legislation and executive action.

In the proportion in which we are able to answer that question satisfactorily, Indians will be able to derive benefit from the concession that Lord Curzon has characterised as "the most important of all" offered under the Government of India Bill.

* For the sake of ready reference I reproduce Sir William Meyer's exact phraseology together with the question asked by Mr T J Bennett (the principal proprietor of the *Times of India*) to which Sir William replied.

Q 6963. You have spoken of the liberalising of the Central Government. Would you regard the adoption of the recommendation of the Crewe Committee, that when the Government are in agreement with the conclusion of the Legislature, their decision should ordinarily be allowed to prevail? Would you not regard the acceptance of that principle as a very definite advance towards a more liberal tone in the Central Government? Yes, but *I think that is qualified by the fact that in all important matters the Government of India are to have a preliminary consultation with the Secretary of State. The result is that the Secretary of State would turn them down if he did not agree with them, so, as Sir James Brunyate points out in his minute, it really amounts to very little.* On the other hand, there may be cases in which the Government might be in agreement, and yet the Secretary of State would feel it his duty to hold out. I mentioned just now, when I was cross-examined in regard to the fiscal policy, that so long as Parliament has control, it must be undoubtedly responsible in a large measure for the fiscal policy. I do not think Parliament would allow the Secretary of State to wash his hands of it and say "What can I do, here is the Government of India in agreement with the Legislative Council." P 384, *Minutes of Evidence*.

(The italics are mine —S N S)

DEFEAT

By MISS SANTA CHATTOPADHYAY, B A

MAHALAKSHMI was as beautiful as the goddess *Lakshmi*. And if nobility were synonymous with a fat purse and local fame, her lineage was as noble as any. In spite of all these, dame Fate touched her life with her fickle fingers and muddled it so, that nobody could help calling Fate a heartless hussy.

Mahalakshmi and Rajani were both born in the same locality and on the same day. With the first faint glow of the morning sun, Mahalakshmi came into this world to touch the lady of the Red House with the magic wand of motherhood, and she looked more like a boquet of lightning flashes than a token of human love. Under the professional care of the hired nurse and the natural affection of her bejewelled mother, Mahalakshmi began to brighten up into girlhood.

The crimson flush, which the sun's farewell touches had painted on the sky, was no longer there and all nature was enveloped in darkness. In such a moment, Rajani, the fourth daughter of Hrishikesh, was born behind the Red House, in a mud cottage and upon torn rags. Rajani had for her mother one who could call her own only one pair of gold bracelets and those twenty years old. And it is needless to dwell upon the superfluity of maids and nurses that the fourth daughter of a poor man meets with in India. And if, in addition, she is not fair in complexion. I had better not discuss the situation.

Rajani began to grow up, generally on the floor of the kitchen and now and then on the lap of her widowed sister Jamini. Lying upon her bed of rags, as she performed feats in howling, her perspiring and curry-powdered mother came to her occasionally, lifted her up by the elbow and, after forcing some milk down her delicate throat, went away again to look after her cooking. In the evening neither her mother nor her sister could look after her, being too busy, and the poor mite fought against the army of Sleep Fairies which attacked her in the evening light, that she might enjoy the thrills of one affectionate

motherly embrace and hear the slumber song hummed through the lips that kissed her with such a honey touch—but oh, how rarely! Her eight year old sister Kamini came often instead to see her off to dreamland. The baby's lips would swell up and pout in disappointment and anger, she would push Kamini away with her tiny little feet and try to find solace in rolling on the floor. Kamini drew her up affectionately, pressing her baby face against her own and recited nursery rhymes celebrating the influence of an advancing bridegroom upon the mind of an angry maiden.

The bridegroom did not come at that time, but when he did come at last, people said, "If this is not astounding good luck, what is?" Mahalakshmi, who felt the scratch of diamonds as she landed on this world, who had a pageant of maids to run after her, and who rested her feet on the lap of mother earth within a period of four years for not as many hours, would not have been credited with any extra amount of good luck, had she got such a bridegroom. Nobody would have said that she had got anything more than what she deserved naturally, and fortune would not have got her due share of credit, for then it would not have been called a miracle. Perhaps that was the reason why the goddess tried to win fame with Rajani as the medium. She was, most certainly, cognisant of the ingratitude of human beings, and of the superiority of a single present deed to a battalion of past ones in stimulating universal acknowledgment of her miraculous powers.

Mahalakshmi and Rajani always wandered about the village together. People looked upon their ever united presence with the same pleasing sensation as crept into their hearts during the glorious moments of twilight, when night coyly approached day to enfold him in her sombre mystery. Mahalakshmi, who was fully conscious of her charms even at that baby stage of her life, always walked first, carrying her head at a proud angle and heralding her advent with the sonorous pleadings of her silver anklets. Rajani always followed in the

wake of her playmate From her very childhood she always felt very shy to show her dusky face by the side of her beautiful friend Every evening they made garlands of the golden "Champak" Mahalakshmi called every one to come and appreciate her art, while Rajani found her reward in the sweet smell and soft touch of her garland If Jamini (Rajani's sister) volunteered to dress her hair, Mahalakshmi said "Do it for Rajani, I look much better with my hair undone" Jamini said "It is dangerous to look so beautiful, for people would then run away with you" Mahalakshmi answered "Indeed? Haven't I got my Lathials (body-guards armed with cudgels) to thrash such people?" Jamini said "Certainly you have, but we have no Lathials, so Rajani had better dress her hair" Mahalakshmi said "Oh! don't fear, Rajani is too ugly to be stolen"

Lakshmi could never do without Raji for a moment, but she could never resist the temptation of snubbing her at every step She knew full well that she herself was the beautiful daughter of a rich father, while Raji was plain and poor But knowledge alone of this did not satisfy her Her pleasure in this superiority over her friend was seldom complete unless she could all the time remind her of the line which separated them Whenever she got any new dress or ornament she went with these to Rajani first of all Rajani said "They are very nice, and you are looking like a queen" But Lakshmi's cup of conceit was not full with this slender homage She wanted Rajani to own up her defeat, and herself to gloat in the joy of her victory So she said "May be I am, but have you got any silk like this? Have you ever seen such a bracelet?"

It is very hard to make a child lower its head So Rajani, instead of giving a straight answer, said "What is the use of having them now, I shall have them when I grow up"

To add a fresh dose to her pain, Lakshmi said "Can you guess the price?" Rajani, after straining her imagination to the utmost, said "Ten rupees" Lakshmi went mad with laughter and cried "Oh my! What a great fool you are! Is it possible to buy a Benaresi saree for ten rupees?" Her friend blushed and turned her head away and answered "Then I don't know, do I buy these things?" Lakshmi now swayed her head with a proud and satisfied air, and answered condescendingly "That is quite true How can you

guess their price? You are so poor" Rajani went away after this with offended dignity and Lakshmi had to hunt hard for her and, when found, to coax her in diverse strains, to restore their friendship to its normal condition

Being fully conscious of her own higher economic level, Lakshmi now and then enjoyed the pleasure of paining Rajani with presents Rajani's joy at the receipt of these could be compared to the emotion born in the heart of the houseless poor as the gods inundate them with their liquid blessings She always got the refuse articles from Lakshmi's toy-land At first she felt glad when she received such presents, but one day her elder sister whispered into her simple heart the conventionalities of giving and taking From that day she hesitated to take dolls from her friend and tried to repay her with home-made condiments But in spite of that, the idea of how little she gave in return for the splendour she received from her chum, oppressed her child's heart with shame.

But one day this relation of the conquered and the victorious underwent a miraculous change They were talking about different things The garden was suffused with a flaming current of golden moon-light and the atmosphere was saturated with the voiceless music of youthful dreams Every discussion proved the existence of some new merit in Lakshmi The question arose, Who are the beauties of the place? Rajani began to mention names, but took particular care not to name Lakshmi She said "Sushila, Gouri, Kamal, etc" Lakshmi added "Aunt Puti, Mother" She was trying to divert the flow towards herself Though Rajani all the time knew that Lakshmi was in fact one of the most beautiful, she liked to make her feel a bit uncomfortable before putting her in the list But seeing how ardently Lakshmi was trying to have herself mentioned, she intentionally said "Oh, is not Narani's aunt beautiful too?" Lakshmi said "Haven't we named all who are beautiful in our house? I don't think there's anybody else" At this Rajani said "Why, aren't you too nice-looking?" Lakshmi felt much pleased and said, "Very As nice-looking as a monkey" Raji said "Indeed! I think, then, we are all old witches." Lakshmi was simply overflowed with satisfaction and generously said "Now let us find out if there is anyone beautiful in your house" Rajani sadly replied "There's only Mother" At this Lakshmi had convulsions of suppressed mirth, and cried out "O my!

Your mother ! Is she good looking ? Old ! Skinny ! What eyes you have got !" Rajani burst into angry tears and said "All right, I am blind, my mother is ugly, as if beauty means being fat like your mother" She was choked with wrath and tears, and went away weeping

Early next morning, when it was still a bit dark, Lakshmi woke up amidst her profusion of pillows and bolsters. She thought "Raji is sure not to come to-day. What rubbish ! How on earth am I to bring her to her senses, I don't know. A big girl like her should not be so damp in the eye" Her analysis of Rajani's nature was cut short rather abruptly. She heard the fine sweet voice of the same person calling her from outside "Lakshmi, little darling, are you still asleep ? Come quick, I have something to show you, hurry up, dear" Her voice had a ring of happiness in it. The honey of that joyous voice at once sweetened Lakshmi's heart with the same happiness. The trouble of reconciliation became unnecessary now, but that did not please Lakshmi. Rajani should be like a *vina* to her, that she might draw forth sorrowful tunes out of her whenever she pleased and gay ripples of melody as she changed her mind. It pricked her conceit to discover that Rajani could sing like the morning lark of her own accord.

Still she got up. She found that Rajani, who always stood before her with her pale face and brightened up only at her bright touch, had come now with a proud face to give her, Lakshmi, a share of her own joy. She carried a small baby in her arms. The baby looked as glorious as a cherub. In its smile Lakshmi could find the rival of a bunch of jun-buds. Its complexion would give the moon-beams a taste of jealousy and the dimples they were probably the cups out of which the gods sipped nectar. That such a treasure was Raji's own, could be easily found from the glow which lightened up her generally pale countenance. She said "Lakshmi, just look at my nephew ! He is my chhot-di's boy. Isn't he a dear ? Have you ever seen such an angel anywhere ?"

Lakshmi could not say that they had a better child in their house. Rajani had always smiled at Lakshmi's joy, but Lakshmi's smile faded away at the cruel touch of her friend's delight. Having got no answer to her questions, Rajani drove the wedge home and said "Isn't he much more beautiful than Kamal,

Gouri, your aunt Puti, your mother and you ? Isn't he ?"

Lakshmi could not say "yes", but the "no" too never came out of her mouth. Rajani asked her to take the child in her arms and cuddle it for a moment, but Lakshmi was quite incapable of accepting anything from one upon whom she had always showered her boons. So she said, "No, I have sprained my arms", and ran away.

As soon as she set her foot in her mother's room, she began to strike her head against the bedstead. This first wound to her vanity was too much for her. She did not give expression to her emotion in roof-rending yells, as was usual with her, but large opal drops coursed down her cheek as a token of the immense grief with which she was afflicted. Her mother ran up to her and asked her the reason of this novel performance. She was half choked, but still she could manage to gurgle out "Go away, I don't want to see your face again."

"Why, what have I done?"

"You are too fat, you are very ugly. What is the use of having a mother like that ?"

It was a shock to the poor rich mother. She only said "What nonsense are you talking child ?" This only stimulated Lakshmi to strike her head the harder against the bedstead and she cried "Surely, I will say so. If that wretch Raji can say, why shan't I ?"

After much coaxing, the origin of these heart-broken sobs and universal disgust, came to light. Why hasn't she got such a beautiful nephew ? What Raji has, Lakshmi must have, or let her die. But what is to be done ? A nephew is hard to manufacture. The mother brought her own child and said. "Never mind about the nephew, you have got a beautiful brother." Lakshmi flared up "I don't want any brothers. They are all like fat frogs. Throw them away, your gaping princes." The prince was soon rolling on the floor and loudly proclaiming his injuries as a result of the excess of her sisterly affection. Conceit and jealousy were like two plants growing side by side in her mind. Up to this time conceit was sucking all the nourishment, so that jealousy remained weak and starved. That was possibly the reason why Lakshmi wanted to transplant jealousy to Rajani's heart. But this was no longer necessary. After years of subjection jealousy had managed to over-

throw her rival and was now reigning victorious and supreme in Lakshmi's mind.

(2)

The roles were reversed. The one who had come into this world with laurels, was given a petty part, while she who was humbled at every step, took the leading role in the drama of life.

She knew very well that she would never have to collect, bit by bit, her worldly possessions, and that good luck was her prisoner of war—the war she never fought. Why then should she lower herself before others? Why indeed! So Mahalakshmi never took the trouble of speaking genially to others, gave other people uncalled-for information regarding what she thought of them and still believed that the world would be only too glad to touch the hem of her saree. But she forgot that a devotee is ever anxious for a benevolent glance from the deity. Not that she refrained from showering blessings from above like a contemptuous deity, but she gave with scorn and was not blessed with the knowledge that her alms required to be clothed in true love, that they might attract true devotion to her shrine. To step down from her throne as a suppliant before people, was a condescension to which Lakshmi could not bring herself. People who were capable of accepting her scornful favours were also capable of taking her in with impure praise. But how could she aspire to get pure admiration, for she would then have to commit that middle-class crime, loving others? The girl who was born in the mud house could not tear away the bonds which kept her in touch with mother nature. She had nothing to give her fellow-beings, but she had a sweet smile and sweeter words, which charmed others, and she could love. God did not give her external riches, but He did not forget to compensate her with a beautiful soul. But this was enough to enable her to conquer many hearts.

The fame of Mahalakshmi's beauty, gorgeous as it was like that of a full-blown hibiscus, travelled far and wide on the golden chariot of her wealthy father, but though it was possible to procure ornaments befitting her glory, it was by no means as easy a job to manufacture a fit mate for her. The vision of her parents was so influenced by its dazzling environment that all else appeared black to it. Nobody was fit enough for them. Lakshmi described

her suitors to her friends and remarked "Though they haven't got a penny, they have cheek enough to astound me" Rajani said. "Don't say so, my dear, you never know what might happen."

Lakshmi turned up her nose and replied "I hope I have sufficient length of rope to hang myself with."

Sivasundar had neither cash nor land, but that did not prevent his possession of a sound physique, an intelligent and well-stocked brain, and a large heart. From every point of view he well deserved the name of Man.

His mother had invited a few girls one evening, along with whom came Lakshmi and Rajani. It was not unknown to Lakshmi how Rajani gave her beauty a set-off, so she managed to enter the house with Rajani by her side. She looked, in her diamonds and her silk dress of virgin white, as glorious as the goddess *Lakshmi* when she rose out of the ocean peeping through the petals of a white lotus in the mysterious dawn of creation. Sivasundar had lately arrived in his village after years of absence due to his education. He was, at the moment of this radiant invasion, trying to fix a creeper against the wicker-work fencings of their house, when this girl figure flashed past his vision like a silver cloud with the moon shining through it. His intoxicated mind was only half conscious for a moment of the presence of Rajani, who followed Lakshmi like the dark shadow cast by a luminous orb. Rajani shrank within herself at this unexpected sight of Sivasundar. Mahalakshmi looked up and met his glance, but she saw in it only the homage due to her by right. She would have felt interested in Sivasundar, had he been failing in giving her her due, but not otherwise.

Sivasundar threw away the creeper and went to gather information about the beauty who dazzled him so.

When everybody had gone away, Sivasundar accosted his sister and asked her "I say, who were the two light and shadow girls?" The sister answered generously, "Don't talk in that silly poetic strain. I don't remember having seen any light-and-shadow girl. If you mean anybody among Sashi, Lakshmi, Rajani, etc., I may tell you about them." But when she met her mother, she calmly said "Ma, dada wants to marry Lakshmi. So try and get it arranged." The parents started negotiations and Sivasundar made no objection.

The lord of the Red House invited them and talked the matter over. The exchange value of Sivasundar was discussed at length and a bargain was struck, but the lady of the house, Lakshmi's mother, said "How will my daughter stay in a house like theirs? Ask the bridegroom to put up here in our house, or build him a decent house." This upset everything. The parents of Sivasundar found little to complain of in the second alternative, but the young man himself said "It would be impossible for a person who would have to do manual labour to live in a palace even if it were a gift from his father-in-law." This gave a new impetus to the controversy. While they were playing cards at Lakshmi's, Rajani asked Lakshmi in a whisper "I hear that you are going to marry Mani's brother. Is it true? If so, I shall be so glad, for isn't he just a splendid fellow?" Lakshmi kept up-to-date information about the matter and hence knew all about the affair. She was rather displeased with Sivasundar, but being the bride had to keep silent. Now she got this opportunity to give vent to her anger and said rather loudly "Oh, he has got neither a house nor anything. May be he is learned and handsome, but will he feed on his knowledge and beauty? Not only that, he is as vain as a cock. Do you know what he says? 'I won't accept a house from my father-in-law.' He is free to say so, but why then this hankering after a rich man's daughter? No one in our family has ever lived in a mud house, neither shall I. No, not for him."

Rajani got frightened lest some one heard what Lakshmi said, for she was speaking very loudly now. So she pressed her palms against Lakshmi's mouth and said "Hush, there will be an awful row if some one hears." Lakshmi felt that she had crossed the limits of bridely decency, but she was not willing to own up this fault. So she said "Much I care, if it is heard!"

Very soon, this dialogue gained publicity, and Sivasundar was not denied the pleasure of a detailed account. His ideal had already suffered through her connection with higgling and bargaining. At the malignant touch of this new knowledge of her sweet temperament, the romantic picture that Sivasundar had drawn of Lakshmi became discoloured and ugly. He said "I don't want a haughty princess. I would prefer a poor mate for my poor self."

Rajani's father never expected to get a son-

in-law like Sivasundar, but that was no reason why he should not welcome him with outstretched arms. While the sky remains flooded with the brilliance of the sun, who ever notices the dim presence of the stars? But when it becomes dark, the same neglected myriads adorn the sky with their diamond flicker. Sivasundar was no longer under the spell of Lakshmi's beauty, and so now he remembered the shadow—Rajani. He remembered, how he had seen her often but never desired her sight. He did not fall in love with her at first sight, but in spite of that he went to her father as a suitor to claim her as his youth's choice.

Lakshmi was not very glad when she heard of this latest development, but she was able to find some food for her conceit even in this. All her childhood Rajani had to be satisfied with the rejected toys of Lakshmi and today when she was choosing her companion for life, she was getting the same—a man whom Lakshmi had rejected. But who rejected whom? This impertinent question troubled her proud soul incessantly. Was it not an insult to Lakshmi, this eager welcome of Rajani? But one should not trouble about a person who could not get a better bride than Rajani. Lakshmi found consolation by strangling the question in this logical manner.

After the marriage was over, every one assembled in a room along with the newly married couple. Lakshmi appeared on the scene, resplendent in her profusion of jewellery, and the wretched mud house was bathed as it were in a golden current of moon-light. Everybody present, young or old, man or woman, drank deep of this spring of splendour. Sivasundar turned his eyes upon her along with others. For a moment his eyes rested there, as if petrified. Was this an embodied flame or a woman of flesh and blood? He was not sure which. Lakshmi had never before taken any interest in Sivasundar's personal appearance. But now when she played her eyes critically over Rajani's husband, she was forced to admit for the first time that he really was very handsome. Still her eyes seemed to say "How dare you desire an illustrious being like me? You have got your deserts in Rajani."

Sivasundar lowered his eyes. Lakshmi glanced all around her and discovered with satisfaction the presence of universal admiration in the eyes which were undoubtedly giving her the laurels of the day. But did Sivasundar do the same, did he offer her

his oblation as well? She was unable to discover any trace of it anywhere in Sivasundar's momentary glance, eager as she was to find it

How long is it possible to defer the marriage of a girl? Lakshmi's father had at last to choose from a long list the son of a Zamindar. His ancestry was good and he was not deficient in good looks either. Of course he could claim no educational career, but was that necessary? Moreover, he was young and there was time enough to study, if he so chose. And it was nothing uncommon in a rich man's son to race and gamble. He was therefore fixed upon as the fit match for the matchless Mahalakshmi.

Evil minds got an opportunity to indulge in comparison. Though no one dared to say anything publicly about the affairs of this wealthy house, it came to be whispered into Lakshmi's ears that, though her would-be lord had a noble pedigree, he was in no way fit to hold the candle to Sivasundar. Lakshmi could not inwardly deny the rumour its truth. She had seen the young man. But was he as handsome as Sivasundar? Where was that athletic build and the tall and straight appearance? This man looked more like a lump of butter than a human being. There was more expression in the dial of a watch than there was in his round face. Where was that keen intelligent look which Lakshmi found so admirable in Sivasundar and where the reputation of culture and high education? Her feminine instinct impressed this relentless fact upon her mind that a pink complexion and a heavy banking account are not any of the ingredients that compose a man. But this knowledge came too late. The one who was lost was lost for ever. She would have to marry, and if she refused this overfed human tabula rasa, there was no certainty that she would get one like Sivasundar.

She tried to make the best of a bad bargain, but her tears could not be kept back. She beat her forehead in front of her stone deity in a frenzied outburst of insulted pride and sorrow, and cried aloud, "O my God, why this punishment? Why didst thou show me heaven, if hell only was to be my portion?" She wept much but was married all the same. Rajani came to her marriage. Her only ornaments were a pair of slim bracelets and a necklace of golden beads. But her whole being was changed as if touched by the fabulous touch-stone. Never had Lakshmi seen

such a smile upon her sad face. It was as if the smile of triumphant love which adorned the heavenly countenance of Uma when she got Siva after years of hard penance, had, by some miraculous chance, come to illumine the mortal lips of Rajani. Lakshmi mourned her lost treasure and, somehow, she could not bring herself to look Rajani in the face.

Mahalakshmi entered her new life, but very soon she began to realise the false nature of the stage gear. What she at first took to be a real garden full of sweet-smelling flowers and bird music, turned out to be a collection of dead branches and artificial flowers sprayed over with imported perfumery. She knew for certain that her life was spoiled, and she burned with envy as she thought of the smile that proclaimed the reign of bliss in Rajani's heart. She could not forget the insult which Rajani's happiness offered to her proud soul. She became restive in her husband's palace, and, finding no solace there, very often went to spend weeks with her parents. But the sweet memories of her golden childhood afforded her no shelter from the tortures of her disappointed heart. She knew not that a "sorrow's crown of sorrow was remembering happier things." In her case, her life in her father's house became all the more painful because there she met Rajani and her glorious smile.

When she was young, jealousy was followed quickly by love and love by jealousy in her mind, but, as she grew older, the spring of love in her slowly dried up under the scorching rays of disappointment. Jealousy in her was becoming bloodthirsty and wanted to tear open the happy hearts of others. The fire that burned in her soul wanted to spread its infernal wings and embrace the rest of creation within their devastating folds. But the fire was in her own mind and could not be transferred.

When Rajani smiled and talked to her friends, Mahalakshmi invoked the god of evils and prayed "O god of destruction, I can no longer live in the light of her smile. I have never done injury to anybody. Then why should I burn in this everlasting fire? Take away that smile, god! Take away that smile!"

(3)

The smile which Lakshmi had to wear upon her face to deceive the world, became unnecessary through the intervention of

Death The husband who, though unable to do anything remarkable for her, was at least able to give her the right of painting the vermilion mark upon her forehead, took a sudden farewell and went—who knows where? Her last touches of vanity went with him. She came back to the Red House and took shelter in a small room facing the garden. Not as the proud queenly being she was, but as a failure in the struggle for happiness and with a bleeding heart. But Fortune had another card up her mysterious sleeve to complete her victory over the circumstances that had made Lakshmi great from her birth. Rajani, who was ever her rival, now lived in a big stone house which could be seen always through apertures of Lakshmi's room.

Mahalakshmi never went to that house if she could help it. But the house stood rearing its proud head in the skies directly before her window, and she was forced to see it. She could see, whenever she looked out of the window, Rajani, with valuable ornaments all over her homely figure, engaged in rocking the cradle of her boy or teasing the studious Sivasundar. In the morning sun the young wife was seen hurrying about her household duties, in the evening twilight she was seen bowing her head to the sacred Tulsi plant. There was never a cloud to darken her happy smile, the same smile which Lakshmi had seen on the day of her own marriage. Lakshmi wanted to tear up her own beautiful body when she saw how Rajani decorated her plain self with ornaments. What should she do with her beauty if the right to display it was denied her, along with the right to put on jewellery? When she had the right, she never exercised it, for what was mere jewellery to a girl who never got any man worth the name to adorn her. Rajani's ornaments clung to her like the thousand loving thoughts and caresses of her beloved. But was there ever a shadow of any such thing to be found in Lakshmi's diamonds? And to-day, even the right was gone, and cruel Fate was carrying her merciless joke to its extreme by parading the unsightly Rajani in all her good fortune before her wounded vanity.

When Rajani played with her children, Mahalakshmi stamped her feet in fruitless rage. "The witch! How could she thus usurp all that should be mine by right!" She wanted to strangle Rajani and take away all the children. Not that she was overfond of children, but simply because they were Rajani's and not

hers. But her rage reached its climax when she saw Sivasundar exchanging loving glances with Rajani. "Where did he get such a store of tender glances for that thing Rajani? What was there in that ugly face to give him so much pleasure? O God, I can't stand their happiness any longer. Oh injustice! That I should be the only sufferer while all others live in bliss! Oh torture! O ever-wakeful deity, do justice unto me or wherefore art thou called all-seeing and all-powerful?"

Like the full moon coming out of a dark curtain of clouds, the neglected youth of this young widow, was showing itself more and more fully through her tortured existence. As she lay weeping alone on the floor day after day, she remembered the days of her childhood, the story of the Light-and-Shadow Girls as heard from her playmates, and Sivasundar, who was the ardent admirer of the Light—herself. Then she was not so beautiful, nor did she then look vainly for a touch of happiness, but it was then that all, love, happiness, all, awaited her pleasure. But now she has got nothing, nothing except a gloomy vacuum in her heart and a burning sense of mad jealousy. The golden lamp, in which the Light shined, is broken and is useless now. So the dark and ugly Shadow reigns supreme, while Light embraces oblivion. Sivasundar passed her doors everyday as he went into and out of his house. His garden was just by the garden of Mahalakshmi. The red pathways of his garden, which meandered through the beautiful flower-beds, were every morning the scene of Sivasundar's departure to his place of business. As his office brougham rolled past the gates of his house, he leaned out of the window to get a momentary glance of his wife and children who stood at a bay window facing the garden. He could see the baby vainly trying to wave him a farewell with his rebellious arms going off in a wrong direction. He could see the soft chubby figure endeavouring after a stable equilibrium by hanging by the loose end of his mother's saree. When he could no more see them, he leaned back against the soft cushions of his carriage-seat smiling pleasantly. It was this stamp of happiness upon his face that Mahalakshmi saw every day as he passed. In the evening, when the sound of the approaching wheels announced the arrival of Sivasundar, his children shouted in chorus, "Ma, father is coming, come quick." And she always came quickly to lighten up his arrival with her welcome presence.

These daily scenes appeared before Mahalakshmi's eyes as a weird pageant which sang into her ears a dolorous voiceless song "All these were to be yours! But would not the usurping hands that stole your rightful possessions meet ruin, utter ruin!" She cried "Hasten it God! I cannot suffer this any more"

We do not know whether any evil god really came to answer her prayers, but the gentle breeze that swayed every twig harmoniously in the happy family of Sivasundar, blew one day over the flower-beds of his life in a devastating fury. That day found nobody playing with the children in the garden, heard no ring of joyous laughter and witnessed no exchange of loving glances. No wheels crunched on the red gravel and no child came to give its father a farewell embrace with its plump soft arms. All was gloomy where erstwhile gaiety reigned. The servants ran about with a grave expression on their faces. The children fell asleep, neglected and crying.

From the early hours of the morning Mahalakshmi looked several times towards the stone house, but was astonished to find the strange gloom which pervaded it. Why this sudden drying up of the springs of eternal joy? Mahalakshmi grew restless to peer through the opaque walls of the building and discover the cause of this mysterious silence. She had become so accustomed to the soft murmuring of the gay brooklet that flowed past her retreat that the want of its accompaniment made it hard for her to prevent the sorrowful melody of her own life from becoming discordant.

Mahalakshmi made enquiries. Some one said "What has happened? That which happens to the carcanet when the captain jewel is lost. Evil has touched their happy life. The lord of the house is seriously ill and probably will not survive. Whose poisonous breath is it, that has brought this misfortune upon them?" Mahalakshmi thought, "Whose poisonous breath was it?" Whose breath was it that poisoned her own life? But that question gave her no consolation. She hurried to her friend's house after many years. Rajani came out of her room like the incarnation of sorrow and clasped her friend's arms. She said "Lakshmi, we were playmates from our very childhood. I forgot you during the happy years of life, but to-day when grim death darkens my doors, we meet again, my friend

In your youth you gave me all you had and now some mysterious instinct makes me sure that your love will not fail me in this crisis when my happiness stands facing tragedy."

Mahalakshmi could not say, "All you have, came from me, you thief!" She slowly entered the room where Sivasundar awaited the unknown mystery of death. Is this the same handsome Sivasundar whose radiance entered her heart for the first time amidst the joyous revelries of his marriage? Is this the same man whom with all her offended dignity Lakshmi never succeeded in throwing away like a rejected toy? Is this the same man, now in the clutches of cruel, relentless Death? Where is his glorious smile, the intellectual gleam of his eyes?

The Sivasundar who once looked at her with worshipful eyes lay neglected in some forgotten corner of her heart for these many years, but he suddenly came out from his seclusion into the foreground of her memory and stood shining above this pale victim of death in radiant contrast. She remembered that it was she herself who first awakened love in his heart. But rejected, he poured out his love to the last drop into the life of another, leaving Mahalakshmi, his first love, the owner of a scorched and thirsty soul. He was dying. But did she want this? Did she pray for this fate to befall her beloved? Her heart throbbed in acute agony and her soul cried out "O foolish deluded woman, what have you done? You did not want this. I feel now what it was that I prayed for. I wanted your love, my beloved, the love which was born at my sight but was lost to me for ever. But my mad jealousy struck me blind and sent me in the wrong path, my love! I desired you and not your death!" She could no longer live in the light of this new revelation of her heart's desire, and she went back home. She shed the tears of a thousand years of tragedy in one single day and prayed and suffered and writhed in agony. "My God, look not so relentlessly on me! Crush me, but let him live! Let the hell fires consume me and I will not flinch, but give him back his life! Let all the evils evoked by me turn back upon me, but spare him!"

But he did not come back. He died. Years ago Mahalakshmi had breathed a prayer to appease her jealousy, and what she had wanted so much was now granted her, but like the traitress of Rome she was crushed by the weight of her reward.

This was a new defeat to her. She had thought that she would cool her burning heart in Rajani's tears, but for each single drop that fell out of Rajani's eyes, Lakshmi shed a thousand. Rajani wept because she had lost her beloved, and Mahalakshmi's life became

flooded with tears—while her mutilated soul gasped "Ah beloved, I am your murderess!"

Translated from the original Bengali by

ASHOKE CHATTOPADHYAY

THE GANAS OR REPUBLICS OF ANCIENT INDIA*

BY BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

STUDENTS of comparative politics are generally familiar with the norm in the *Realpolitik* of monarchical India. It is well known that the rights of the people and their institutional achievements under the Hindu royalties were generically on a par with those of the nations ruled by *le grand monarque* and such "enlightened despots" as Peter, Frederick and Joseph. The political psychology that lay behind the Hindu institutions was not different in any way from that of the French under the Bourbons or of the Germans till the War of the Liberation.

But it is hardly known among scholars that the Hindu constitution grew along republican or non-monarchical lines also.¹ Let us exclude from our present consideration the patriarchal-democratic "crowned republics" of Vedic India, as well as the *vairājya* or kingless states mentioned in the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*,² the *kula-samghas*³ (family-soviets or communal republics) and *ganas*⁴ referred to in the *Artha-shāstra*, or the nationalities described in the *Mahābhārata* as "invincible" because of their being constituted on the principle of "equality". Archaeology is now in a position to safely declare that there were at least three periods in the early history of India during which Hindus developed the *vairājya* or *gana* polity of the Hellenic and pre-Imperial Roman type.

* A chapter from the author's forthcoming *Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus*

To begin with the latest. In the fourth century A D there were "independent" republics with full sovereignty in the Punjab, Eastern Rajputana and Malwa. The central parts of the Punjab were held by the commonwealth of Madrakas. The Yaudheyas⁵ had their territory on both banks of the Sutlej. In the second century Roodia-damana (125-150) had inflicted a defeat on them, but centuries before, they came out brilliantly in India's resistance to Alexander. The Abhirs and the Mālavas were settled between the Chambal and the Betwa. In the teeth of Samodrigapopta the Indian Napoleon's *digvijaya* or "conquest of the quarters" (330-75) all these republican nations succeeded in maintaining their autonomy by doing homage and paying tribute. But they lost their sovereignty and became feudatories or protectorates of the Gupta Empire.⁷

The greatest period of Hindu republics lay, however, between the fourth and sixth centuries B C. The republican nationalities of India were thus contemporaneous with Sparta, Athens, Thebes and Rome. And their ultimate extinction through the establishment of the Maurya Empire (B C 323) synchronized with the annihilation of the Greek city states by Philip of Macedon at the battle of Cheronoea (B C 338).

Megasthenes records the Hindu tradition prevailing in his time (B C 302) that during a period of 6042 years from the time of "Dionusos to Sandrokkotos"

a "republic was thrice established" in India.⁸ Certain cities are also mentioned by him where "at last the sovereignty was dissolved and democratic government set up."⁹ The Maltecoroe, the Singhoe, the Moiruni, the Maiohoe and the Raiungi were, as he says, free nations with no kings. They occupied mountain heights where they had built many cities.¹⁰ This is the earliest foreign report about the existence of republican states among the Hindus.

Nor had republics passed into the domain of legend towards the end of the fourth century B. C. For the India that was encountered by the Greeks who had preceded Megasthenes by about 20 years, i.e., who belonged to Alexander's hordes previous to Chandra-gupta Maurya's establishment of the empire and expulsion of Seleukos the Greco-Syrian from Afghanistan (B. C. 303), was a land of republics and commonwealths, used to assemblies or senates, and leaders or presidents. In the estimation of the Greek soldiers, Patala, for instance, was the Sparta of the Hindus. It was a famous city at the apex of the delta of the Indus. In this community, as Diodorus tells us, "the command in war was vested in two hereditary kings of two different houses, while a council of elders ruled the whole state with paramount authority."¹¹

Large indeed in Alexander's days was the number of democratically governed peoples, with the institutions of *sva-ry* or self-rule though sometimes of the oligarchic character. One of the most important of these nations was the Arāttas (*Arāshtrakas*, i.e., kingless) with their kinsmen, the Kathians. Justin calls them robbers and they are condemned as such in the *Mahābhārata* also. But they proved to be a powerful military aid to Chandra-gupta in his successful wars against the Macedonians and the Greco-Syrians. It was the splendid assistance rendered by the Arāttas¹² that to a great extent enabled the Hindu commoner to easily clear the Indian borderland of the *melchchha* (unclean, barbarian) Europeans and push the north-western limits of his

empire to the "scientific frontier", the Hindukush Mountains.

Two other nationalities that have a pan-Indian reputation as having figured in the army of the Koorios in the armageddon of the *Mahābhārata* happened to strike the imagination of the Greeks in an interesting way. These were the Mallois (*Mālavas*) and the Oxydrakai (*Kshoodiakas*).¹³ The former are described by Arrian simply as "a race of independent Indians." But the latter are singled out by him as by far the most attached to freedom and autonomy. From the military standpoint, both were very powerful peoples. But like the Athenians and Spartans they had always been used to flying at each other's throats. Alexander, however, had to count on a formidable opposition from them. For, as it happened on this occasion, parallel in Hindu annals to the Persian invasion of Greece, the *Mālavas* and the *Kshoodrakas* "resolved to forget old enmities and to make common cause against the invader." The alliance was cemented, as Diodorus narrates, by "wholesale intermarriage, each giving and taking ten thousand young women for wives." The strength of the combined army was 90,000 fully equipped infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and about 900 chariots.¹⁴

Among the other republican nationalities of the time we know about the Sambastai¹⁵ (the *Sabarcae*?), on the statement of Diodorus, that they dwelt in cities with democratic form of administration, and about the Gedrosi (*Gedrosioi*¹⁶), on the report of Curtius, that they were a "free people with a council for discussing important matters of state." Another race is mentioned by Curtius, probably the *Sabarcae* (?) of Diodorus, as a powerful Indian tribe whose "form of government was democratic and not regal." They had no king but were led by three generals.¹⁷ Their army consisted of 60,000 foot, 6,000 cavalry, and 500 chariots.¹⁸ Similarly the Oreitai, the Abastanoi, the Xathroi (the *Kshatriya*), and the Arabitai are four peoples whom Arrian calls "independent tribes with leaders."¹⁹ Of these the *Kshatriyas* were expert naval architects. They supplied Alexander with

galleys of thirty oars and transport-vessels

Two other nations came to have close touch with the troops of Alexander. These are the Agalassoi and the Nysaians. The former as Curtius says, put up a strong resistance to the Greek invaders, and may be taken to have been the first historic protagonists of Hindu *Bushido* or Kshatriyaism. For when they were defeated by the enemy, these gallant patriots preferred death to dishonor and national humiliation. Accordingly they "set fire to the town and cast themselves with their wives and children into the flames"²⁰. Thus in the pride of nationalism, fostered also on the occasion of Moslem invasions in the Middle Ages, has to be sought one of the feeders of the custom that in subsequent ages came to be practised exclusively by women, viz., the *satee* or the self-immolation of widows on the funeral pyres of their husbands.

The Nysaians²¹ are described by Arrian as a free commonwealth. They had a president, but the government of their state was entrusted to the aristocracy. This aristocratic element was represented by the council of three hundred wise men. One hundred of these Senators were called for by Alexander. "How, O King!" was the reply of the president of the Nysaian Republic to this suggestion of the Macedonian, "can a single city, if deprived of a hundred of its best men, continue to be well governed?" The reply was characteristic of the political mentality of the republican Hindus of the Punjab and North-western India who presented single or united fronts against Alexander's Indian adventure (B C 327-324)²².

This cluster of republics represented evidently the survival of a type of polity that had been more or less uniformly distributed throughout the Hindu world. An older link in the chain of India's political evolution is furnished by the clan-commonwealths of the fifth and sixth centuries B C. And it is to the eastern and central regions of Northern India, roughly speaking, to the modern province of Bihar, that we have to turn our eyes

for these oldest historical specimens of Hindu republics.

These republican peoples are generally enumerated as ten²³. In regard to seven of them there is hardly any information of political importance. The Bhaggas had their headquarters in Soomsoomara Hill, the Boolis in Allakappa, and the Kalamas in Kesapootta. Pippalivana was the territory of the Moriyas, and Ramagama of the Koliyas. There were two branches of the Mallas, one with sovereignty in Koosinara, and the other in Pava. The most important of these ten nations were the Sākīyas of Kapila-vastu, the Videhas of Mithilā and the Lichchhavis of Vesālī. The last two were amalgamated and went by the name of the Vajjians.

No republic in mankind's ancient history can surpass the Sākīya republic in the magnitude of its influence on world-culture. It had authority over a region which has for two thousand and five hundred years been the Jerusalem of Buddhism, the *Tenjiko* of the Japanese, and the *Tien-chu* (Heaven) of the Chinese. Shākya the Buddha (or Awakened) was, as the name implies, a citizen of the commonwealth of the Sākīyas. His father and brother were archons of this state. The common tradition that Shākya renounced princedom is erroneous. For he was not a prince at all, but only the son of a president.

The Sākīyas numbered one million strong. Their territory lay about fifty miles east to west and extended thirty or forty miles south from the foot of the Himalayas. The administrative and judicial business of this republic was carried out in a public assembly. The civic center of Kapila-vastu the capital, as that of other cities of the nation, was the moot-hall. The young and old alike took part in the deliberations as to the government of the country. The chief was elected by the people. He used to preside over the sessions. The title of the president was *rājā* (literally king)²⁴. It corresponded in reality to the consul in Rome and the archon in Athens. And if the emissaries that Pyrrhus of Epirus sent to republican Rome (B C 280) could not describe the

Roman Senate except as an "assembly of kings", there was nothing specifically undemocratic in the honorific title of *iājā* for the chief executive of a Hindu republic.

The republic of the Vajjians was a United States of ancient India. It was a federation formed by the union of eight clans that had formerly been distinct and independent of one another. Vesali was the headquarters of this federal republic. The two most prominent of the members of this union were the Videhas and the Lichchhavis. The Videhas had once been citizens of a monarchical state, and their original territory covered 2300 miles. The Lichchhavis used to elect a triumvirate of three aichons to conduct their administration.²⁵

The principles of the Sākya republic, nay, the entire philosophy of democratic republicanism, found an able exponent in Shākya, the Buddha, who though he renounced the family-ties, remained an active propagandist all his life. And the propaganda embraced lectures²⁶ on constitutional law, trial by jury, *res judicata*, government by the majority, the importance of public meetings, and all other branches of civic life as much as on the pathway to salvation and the elimination of misery from the world of men. He had great interest in the welfare of the Vajjian Confederacy and was almost the political and spiritual adviser of its Council of elders. During the last days of this republic, while it was singing the swan-song of its sovereign existence owing to the threat of Ajātashatru, King of Magadha, that he would extirpate the Vajjians, "mighty and powerful though they be," it was Shākya's anti-monarchism and republican fervor that kept up the spirit of resistance among the elders sufficiently high to accept the royal challenge. For they were heartened by Shākya's judgment that the Vajjians could not be overcome by the king in battle as long as their federation was unbroken.²⁷

We have a picture of ultra-democratic judicial proceedings²⁸ at the mote-hall of the Vajjian Confederacy. A succession of regularly appointed officers administered the criminal law. These were the justices, the

lawyers, the rehearseis of the law maxims, the council of the representatives of the eight clans constituting the union, the vice-consul, and the *ruj* or consul himself. The accused could be acquitted by each of these officers of the hierarchy. But if they considered him guilty, each had to refer the case to the next higher authority. The president of the republic was the final judge as to the penalty in accordance with the law of precedents.

It is interesting to observe that the management of affairs of the rural areas of these republics was not the monopoly of the male sex. Women also were proud to bear a part in works of public utility. The laying out of parks, the erection of communal halls, rest-houses and reservoirs, and the construction and mending of roads between village and village were undertaken by men and women in joint committees.²⁹

The cultural achievements of republican India might easily be belittled. But let students of the history of civilization compare the contributions of the age of Hindu republics with the values of European culture from Pythagoras to Plato. In an inventory of India's contributions³⁰ to the spirit of inquiry and the progress of mankind, the epoch of republics (C. B. C. 600-322), interspersed no doubt with monarchies, must be recognized as responsible for the beginnings of the anatomy, therapeutics and medicine of Charaka's academy, of the linguistics and methodology of Pāṇini and his scholars, and of the metallurgy and alchemy that subsequently found patron-saints in Patanjali and Nāgārjuna, the philosophical speculations of the atomists (*Vaiśeṣika*), monists (*Vedānta*), sensationalists (*Chārvaṅka*) and sceptics (*Lok yata*), the schools of political science that came to be finally absorbed in the systems of Kautilya and Shookia,³¹ the legal and sociological theories associated in the long run with the *nom-de-plumes* of Manu and Yājñavalkya,³² the elaboration of the *Jātaka* folklore and of the *Rāmāvana* and *Mahābhārata* epics, the foundations of dramaturgy and fine arts in the Bharata and Bātsāyana cycles, the origins of the

mystical militarism and *nishkāma karma* or "categorical imperative" of the *Geetā* and last but not least, the *sarva-sattva-maitree*³ or humanitarianism and universal brotherhood of Shākya, the preacher of *appamāda* or strenuousness and apostle of *virīya* or energism

1 *Vide* the author's article on "Democratic Ideals and Republican Institutions in India", in the *American Political Science Review* for November 1918, Narendranath Law's "Forms and Types of Hindu Polity" in the *Modern Review* for September 1917, Kashiprasad Jayaswal's "Introduction to Hindu Polity" in the same journal, May-July, 1913, and "Republics in the Mahabharata" in the *Journal of the Orissa and Bihar Research Society*, 1915, pp 173-80

2 VII, 3, 14

3 *Artha-shastra*, I, 35 (transl by R Shamasastri of Mysore)

4 *Ibid*, XI, Ch I

5 *Shanti-parva*, Ch CVII 23-24, 30-32

6 Cunningham's *Coins of Ancient India*, pp 75-79

7 Smith's *Early History of India* (1914), pp 285-86

8 McCrindle's *Ancient India*, Fragment L

9 *Ibid*, Fragment I

10 *Ibid*, Fragment LVI

11 McCrindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander* (ed 1896), p 296

12 *Ibid*, p 38-406

13 *Ibid*, p 149

14 Diodorus, XVII, 98,

15 McCrindle's *Invasion of India*, pp 252, 292

16 *Ibid*, 262

17 *Ibid*, 252

18 Smith's *Early History*, 98

19 McCrindle's *Invasion of India*, pp 155, 156, 167, 169

20 *Ibid*, 93

21 McCrindle, pp 79, 80, 81, Arrian, v 11

22 Smith's "Position of the Autonomous Tribes of the Punjab" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1903, pp 685-702

23 Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India*, Ch II

24 *Ibid*, pp 22, 41

25 *Ibid*, p 19

26 *Choolla-vagga* (The Sacred Books of the East Series, ed by Max Muller), XI, 1, 4, IV, XIV, 24-26, IV, x, *Maha-Vagga* (S B E Series), IX, 11, 1-4, IX, 11, 2

27 *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vol II, *Mahaparinibbana-suttanta* (transl Rhys Davids)

28 *Vide* Hemchandra Rai Chaudhuri's "Lichchhavis of Vaisali" in the *Modern Review*, July 1919

29 Rhys David's *Buddhist India*, p 49

30 Brajendranath Seal's *Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*, Benoy Kumar Sarkar's *Hindu Achievements in Exact Science*

31 Transl by B K Sarkar (Panini Office, Allahabad) *Vide* the author's articles "Hindu Political Philosophy" in the *Political Science Quarterly* (Columbia University), Dec 1918, and on the "Hindu Theory of International Relations" in the *Am Pol Sc Review* (August, 1919), Law's articles on "*Vārtta* or Hindu Economics" in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1918-19.

32 Jolly's *Recht und Sitte*

33 *Saddharma-poondarika* (Lotus of True Law), edited by Kern and Nanjo, p 234, *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol XXI, p 222

TO A MIGRANT BIRD

BY KOLAPI, DARBAR SURA SINGH-JI, PRINCE OF LATHI IN KATHIAWAD, INDIA

Translated from Gujarati by Ananda Coomaraswamy and Premanand V Vaishya

The terrible darkness of life! the endless path before us!
(But when the destined task is altogether done, we shall return)—
Taking thy burden up, fly on, fly on
Wherever the winds shall waft thee, take thy rest, and be at peace

To the land of Kashmir, of sweet springs and balmy breezes!
Dear traveller! linger there in a land that is dear to me—
In a land of uttermost delight and honey-flowing groves,
Where shadows of clustered grapes are cast on crystal streams

Where the branches of lofty trees are waving in pollen-laden air,
 Rest in the tops of the highest there, and eat of honeyed fruits
 It shall make thy weary golden feathers bright and fan again,
 Though well mayst thou be faint, who hast reached a land so far away !

Thou knowest nought of the terrible mountains and forests on thy way,
 Yet when thou seest all that lovely land, thou mayest love it well
 Its rivers are cold enow, and there shalt thou play and pleasure thee—
 For the body scorched by the heat rejoices to be cool

At eventide the Himalayan peaks are dyed with the colour of roses
 Then vale after vale, and countless fountains and lakes grow fairer yet,
 And the trees on the mountains above the clouds converse with the stars—
 They are bathed in the light of heaven and smile in a happy trance

Then shall remembrance of all that is dear to thee come to thy mind
 If thy troubled heart be thundering, and even tears be shed—
 Yet the sound of falling rain will die away and a voice be heard,
 And then shall thy soul, my darling, be melted and drowned in sorrow's bliss.

Bethink thee then of the love of thy Master and friend—
 My child, my darling, alas ! thy tears are falling still, my grief !
 But perch in the crown of a mighty tree I have reared for thee,
 And I shall recite to thee, my dear, this little song I have made

For once on a time, my dear—Ah, yes—I was drawn to go there myself,
 And I too wept with heart's desire for dear ones far away,
 And the song was filled with tinkling tears like drops of blood—
 So filling thy beak with longing, thine own red mouth shall drink thy tears

And shouldst thou reach the burning desert beyond the Indus,
 Where blustering winds drive hot across the barren heaps of sand—
 "Thou mine, thine," indeed but O my friend, I may not be thy guide,
 And whatso bitter pain thou must be in, I cannot aid thee

Then will your lovely wings be wearied out and draggled and torn,
 And, Ah, my child, for want of water thy throat be parched and dry
 Yet the praise of God shall bestow on thy wings the eagle's power—
 Onward, then, swiftly onward ! not for one moment linger or delay

There is a host of fellow-pilgrims that have travelled on thy path,
 And flying thus, it may be thou shalt meet with weal, and may be not
 But if thy destined path prove hard, yet shalt thou be both brave and glad—
 This is the burden of life and the means of grace no miracle bestows

Long ere thou seest the end of thy journey, or mayst reach thy goal,
 Thou must lift the burden betimes, and fly on thine airy path,
 Drink with acceptance of thy bitter griefs and dangerous adventure,—
 In all thy wretchedness have faith that surely love yields joy at last

It is unfitting an old man should weep I wipe away my tears—
 Go now, be happy if thou mayst Be done with tears—I fold you close.
 God save you from all sin and lead your heart in the right way !
 My blessings on you, little pilgrim ! Good befall thee, good befall thee !

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

1. The Feast of Youth.

By JAMES H COUSINS

A year ago there came from the press in India the first book of a young poet, a native of the Muhammadan state of Hyderabad, but a Bengali Hindu by ancestry, and brother to Mrs Sarojini Naidu. The book was called "The Feast of Youth," and it was my happy privilege to introduce it to the world in the following words

'I have written in my book, *The Renaissance in India*, of the problem presented by Harindranath Chattopadhyaya in his exquisite and most desirable impartation of oriental vision and magic to poetry in the English language, and in its consequent menace to India's literary and national future in the possible drawing away of other young poets from their true instrument of expression, their mother-tongue

'This book, his first, with its lyrical morning joy and bird-like assurance on the wing, accentuated that menace, and yet, almost simultaneously with the declaration of opinion mentioned above, and with glaring inconsistency, I here unblushingly, nay, with pride, introduce the dangerous young poet the poet within myself rises above the jungles and swamps of the mind to some quiet hill top on which he makes salutation to a comrade born with new and compelling vision and utterance which are all, after all, that really matter to the soul of humanity in its hunger and thirst for articulation

A thousand gold-bags of a Persian king
Are equal balanced with a grain of sand,

our poet of nineteen years sings sagely in a poem not in this book, and it may be that in the scales of art the weight of much predilection and a great many theories of human relationship will be found light in comparison with a grain of genius. We plan out our political systems, we expound our schemes of education, we talk of the vernacular as the safeguard of national spirit.. Then comes some individual bearing the sacred fire of genius, and its white flame makes our apparently shining "dome of many-coloured glass" look like variations of the primal darkness. We are forced to recognise that our plans and arguments are only props to weakness, stimuli to derivativeness, signs of disease through which humanity is slowly progressing towards health. They are certainly not evidences of activity of the free spirit, which shows itself through individual genius rising above the level of a race or an age, and uttering itself in any tongue it pleases to use. It has done so in the case of Sarojini Naidu, it is doing so in the case of her younger brother, the author of this book, and literary history has now to record the fact that the wind of the spirit can blow with equal strength simultaneously from two points of the compass

'Harindranath Chattopadhyaya is, I am convinced,

a true bearer of the Fire—not the hectic and transient blaze of youthfulness (which has its place and time, but only a place and time) but the incorruptible and inextinguishable flame of the immortal Youth which sustains the worlds visible and invisible. In that conviction I find refuge from inconsistency'

The first poem sets the tune to the whole book

"Feast of Youth "

Lo ! over the mountains in silver grey
Enchanted distance, breaks a burning day !
Long clouds of faery flaming fire
Gloom on the heaven-looming mountain-tops ,
And everywhere warm, silver fountain-drops
Scatter the music of desire

The old stars dance enkindled with divine
Ecstatic sparks The sea is foaming wine !
The moon, a luscious ripened grape,
O'erfloods the Cup of Youth The ocean shells
Transform themselves for rapture, into bells
For Youth's bright feet of faery-shape !

Thrilled by the scented breath of Youth, the wind
Shapes earth into a rich creative mind !
And threshes out the sleeping snow
Into an active dream of joy The world,
A secret flower, its petals hath uncured
Like visible hints of godly glow !

Here we come at once upon an unusual ardour expressed through a succession of images of great beauty. We are in the poetical tropics not only personally in the warmth of the poet's feeling, but geographically in such a phrase as "bells for Youth's bright feet," which is not a youthful poet's fancy but a glimpse of Indian

All through the book, indeed, there is a fragrance and brightness and variety of India, but the young poet is less objective and more definitely personal than his sister. He gives us no songs that have India for subject, like Mrs Naidu's poems describing various phases of Indian life. He takes full opportunity of the prerogative of youth to busy itself with itself, and the result is delightful in achievement and inspiring in prophecy. Nothing could be finer than the lyrical fervour of the poem called "Branches" with its simultaneous revelation of the aspiration of the poet and intermingling of the great triumvirate of creation, God, Nature and Humanity

The branches of my heart are now in flower,
For the bright, Universal Spring hath woken
Within my being, in her fullest power
A vow she pledges through a shining shower,
I give her back a blossom for a token ,

Through immemorial mists of faded dreams
A new thought twinkles like a golden glimmer
My tears flow toward the End in opal streams,
My laughter bursts into a thousand gleams
And thrills the star-fires with a twofold shimmer !

The Spring-hues deepen into human Bliss !
The heart of God and man in scent are blended—
The sky meets earth in one transparent kiss—
My heart springs up out of the dim abyss
On wings of light god-rich and beauty-splendid !

That is the young Indian Poet's response to the spring, somewhat different from the response in Tennyson's line "In the spring a young man's fancy lightly turns to thoughts of love." The young man of the East feels also the subtle urge of the season, but he does not respond with one function only, his whole nature responds, and in his response you have a glimpse of the essential difference between West and East both in life and the arts. One speaks from the point of view of our common humanity, the other speaks from the point of view of our common divinity. One is out to "enjoy life", the other to dedicate life to the enjoyment of it by the higher self. Chattopadhyaya sings

"Ecstasy"

O make my burning blood Thy sparkling wine
For Thee to drink at pleasure and rejoice !
Transmute my flesh into a song divine
For Thee at will to voice !

I transform my tears into a silver shower,
To mingle with Thy rivers clear and white
O ! make my laughter an enchanted flower
To blossom in Thy light

Fashion a banner out of my desire,
And float it on Thy Palace, secret King !
Cleanse Thou my life with rich, relentless fire
Of endless suffering !

O ! make each word I speak a crystal prayer,
Each thought I think, a deathless Temple-flame,
Strike on the anvil of my heart's despair
The solace of Thy Name

To the uninitiated western mind these poems are not unlikely to bring a sense of exaggeration on account of their perpetual sense of being off the ground and their exuberant imagination. Indeed, some of Chattopadhyaya's poems appear to be nothing more than a string of figures of speech, as in this sonnet ("The God of Warriors")

I have a God His arm is the white sky
Tattooed with starry beauty and His proud
Determine I brood, the dark and threatening cloud,
His sword gleams in a lightning flash His eye
Opes in the fiery Sun The winds that sigh,
His burning breath The thunders bursting loud,
His mighty war-drum Lo ! a gleaming crowd
Of colours in His rainbow banner high !
He is a warrior beautiful and strong .
Thro' endless ages, dauntless in the fight

He fights alone against the world's dark wrong,
Taking its people prisoners of right
Across my dreams bursts His victorious song,
" Out of the darkness march into the light !"

One may easily set that ⁰aside mistakenly as "a piece of oriental figure-design." But any one who has the privilege of knowing India knows that it is the young poet's enunciation of the philosophy of his race. Wordsworth put the same meaning into his immortal lines "Above the Tintern Abbey" when he spoke of "a motion and a spirit that impels all thinking things, all objects of all thoughts, and rolls through all things", but he did so as the termination of an adventure of the mind towards spiritual realisation. The young Indian poet begins where the old English poet leaves off. He has no need to argue himself towards an intellectual conception of the divine immanence. It is in his blood and tissue. What comes new to him is its personal realisation and his joy in giving it utterance. God as the lonely fighter, God as the Adversary of humanity (instead of the Devil as common minds conceive the matter) is a fine literary figure but is also the essence of Hindu philosophy, the last line of the sonnet is only an English rendering of a prayer from the Upanishads.

Tagore has brought into English poetry the spirit of devotion, and after the manner of the Vaisnavite worship figures himself as the beloved sought by the Divine Lover. Chattopadhyaya too has a sense of double life endlessly seeking mutual completion. He expresses this in his sonnet

Love ! I have known you for one little hour
And claimed you mine forever You have wrought
My life into a white continuous thought
Of you, and left me breaking into flower
Your fragrant breath was prophet to the shower
Within my heart Beloved ! I have bought
Your love with painful silences, and caught
Your echo in my soul's resounding tower
. Only our mortal lives are lived apart
We are together through the lonely years
Invisible lip to lip and heart to heart
You laugh my laughter, and I weep your tears
We move to meet each other on our ways
O Love ! down burning night and burning days

And he gives it expression which is at once more on the surface as regards its expression and deeper as regards significance in "Messages"

Secretly He sends His message
Swiftly through the flowering years .
In a child's resplendent laughter
And a woman's tender tears
Sunset-fires are dancing, dancing
To the music of His feet
In the burning breast of sunrise
I can hear its footsteps beat
Lo ! His splendour bursts like lightning
Through the burning mystic space .
Shadows dance upon my pathways
To the light upon His face

Silver stars are visible twinkles
Of His clear, transparent touch
He is moving every moment
To the world He loves so much !

Such poetry reconciles us to the phenomenon of an Indian throwing the genius of his race into English poetry—not as a habit for Indians to follow, but as an exceptional means developed by the Time Spirit for letting loose in English poetry of a much needed element that will, it is to be hoped, warm its present chill blood, which has become so thin and cold that artificial attempts have to be made to keep it moving by the stimulus of mere sensuousness and physical excitement—attempts which have to be justified by exaggerating the importance of humanity in literature, and giving the term humanity an altogether inadequate interpretation.

Literary history tells us, if we have only ears to hear, that negation and pessimism are blind alleys through which the spirit of poetry cannot pass. "If there was no God," said a scientist, "it would be necessary to create one." The human imagination needs a way out. Some little eddy of the great stream that comes from the hill tops of inspiration may trouble the darkened pools, but it is only where the open waters race with the urge of the heights and the call of the depths that we have the authentic music and joy of poetry. Shelley at the beginning of last century knew that joy. In the midst of his sorrows and disputations he did not mope moodily, though he sang of pain and disappointment. He knew "If winter comes, can spring be far behind?" And this young Indian poet with something of the Shelleyan stretch of imagination and lyrical rapture shows the way at the beginning of this century out of the deep valleys of gloom and uncertainty into the sunlight and elevation of inner realisation of divinity. His book ends with a song called "Night", the song itself ends with a salutation to tomorrow morning.

God plays upon the heart-strings of the dark
To lull the cry of birds and flowers and streams
His magic fingers weave each starry spark
Into my sapphire dreams

Out of the depths of night, a vision starts,
Haunting my anguish with a touch of flame
Like a rich flower unfolds the Heart of Hearts
The petals of my name

The stars are white because His thoughts are white,
And are, like them, in deeps of darkness born
O God ! I seek the message of the night
And find the gold of morn !

II. The Bliss of a Moment.

The philosophy of a young and vital Asia was introduced to America in the columns of the *Boston Transcript* on January 1, 1919. The poetry-reviewer of the journal, an American poet of distinction, described the "free verse" of *The*

Bliss of a Moment, by Benoy Kumar Sarkar, as "at once rhythmic and full of vigorous fancy." We in the west have long read Indian poetry, expecting to find in it a certain mystic beauty. The magic of rhythm, the richness of expression combined with indefiniteness and unreality, have come to represent the poetry of the Orient to our minds. At the same time, there is a large body of Americans who do not care so much for the diction or melody of poetry as for the message contained in it. In this light we are searching every expression for a message to our own people and to the larger world, as well as to Asia. A curiosity was, therefore, awakened in us by reading in the Boston review that Mr Sarkar's "volume is extremely interesting, not only in its wealth of unusual imagery and thought, but also as one more indication that the world is rapidly becoming unified, and that Kipling's bold statement that East and West will never meet is found to be quite wrong." Not only are they meeting, but such a message as that contained in *The Bliss of a Moment*, by an Indian, is more closely allied to our own mental habits than all the works of Kipling.

Since western scholars, such as Max Muller and Schopenhauer, followed even by Indians themselves, treated us to the spiritual glories of the Hindus, we have had enough and to spare of transcendental "bliss." We have been fed on it by India's own great sons, such as Vivekananda and Tagore, as well as by sympathetic western interpreters like Margaret Noble (Nivedita). It might be said that we were in need of such ideas of renunciation and other-worldliness. Yet today, after cultivating our own Emersons, Bergsons, Blakes and Fichtes, to mention just a few among the moderns, we, the alleged materialists of the universe, have come to question the claim of the Orient to superiority in the philosophy of spirituality and transcendentalism.

After reading *The Bliss of a Moment*, another question has arisen in our minds. If this little volume of seventy-five poems, translations from the Bengali, represents the mind of Asia, in any particular, then we have been not only imperfectly informed, but Asia has been misrepresented to us. Indologists have told us of India "plunging in thought again", unmindful of material things, seeking solace in meditation of an after-life. Such statements bear out the statement of Professor James Harvey Robinson, of Columbia University, an historian of distinction, to the effect that historians have continued, as they always have done, to see their own particular interests "reflected in the dim mirror of the past." They narrated such past events as they believed would interest the reader, they commented on these with a view of instructing him, fortifying his virtue or patriotism or staying his faith in God. In a way it was not so very important whether they took pains to verify their facts or not—their motives were mainly literary, moral or religious."

Mr Sarkar's message in his little volume leads us to think that Indian historians have been narrating to us facts which they thought would interest us only. His message is one of materialism, aggressiveness and defiance, on which the West has been supposed to hold a monopoly. Yet Sarkar himself is an Indian, a scholar of ancient and medieval India, inferior to none of the historians or literary men who have informed us about the mysticism of Asia. The message which his poetry carries and the philosophy, indigenous to India, which he expounds, carries not the slightest taint of quiescence, piety or mysticism. He has given us, as in his prose, that side of the East which has been scarcely touched by interpreters of the East to the West. The questions naturally arising are, "Is this the East speaking? Or is *The Bliss of a Moment* the poetry of a New Asia, the spiritual expression of a rejuvenated East that has embodied itself in the Pan-Islam of the Persian Jamaluddin, the republican endeavor of Young China, the claim of racial equality by Japanese statesmen, the Hindu-Moslem unity of the Indians, the epoch-making, scientific achievements of the Hindu, Dr Bose, along with the great number of young Hindu scientific, educational and political "missionaries"?"

The New York Publicity Bulletin (January, 1919) seems to have caught the spirit of the little volume. In its estimate, the book consists of "poems that electrify with the vitality of their message. They combine the energy and forward look of the Occident with the inward, upward looking faith of the Orient."

The philosophy is, frankly, a challenge to every accepted convention, to every recognized standard of culture and thought, of art, nationality, patriotism. The "bliss" of a moment is, to the poet, the eternal moment of change *Niskam Karma*, as taught in the *Gita*, is his religion. The poem "Shakti" condenses into a few lines his conception of life. Even in the works of western poets, he finds but a reflection of his own self and his own philosophy. Thus he speaks of Browning

Teacher of efforts of fruition careless,
O thou world greatest, best critic of life!
Thine is the modern *Gita's* gospel of hope
And work for its own sake, O Seer, energist bold!
Again he questions and answers
What is progress but revolt and failure!
The real heroes are those that fail
Endless existence belongs to that race
That is not deterred by the fear of defeat

Aside from the spirit of Shakti, which pervades every page, the mind of young Asia as shown by the author is found to possess three characteristics: breadth of vision, cosmopolitanism and universalism, and modernism. The whole world is its range of thought and sympathy, and every class of society, from the poverty-stricken peasant living in his thatched hut, to Dwijendra-

lal Roy, the Schiller of India, is embraced in its mental scope. The Mohammedan of Egypt, the Indian ryot, the Chinese philosopher, the American poet, the divine Dante, all form a part of the intellectual horizon upon which the eyes of young Asia are gazing. At the same time is revealed the cosmopolitan viewpoint of the author, and the fact that Asia is utilizing the entire world and all that the human intellect has produced, in its development.

Of Virgil he sings

Homer's disciple inspirer
Of Dante's and Mazzini's,
Teacher of patriotism thou
Of all ages and climes!

And from Virgil, he comes to modern America, and finds in the Statue of Liberty a message to Asia. Thus he writes

Whose message is the basis of character,
Origin of morals and source of creeds,
Energy behind all world forces, Thou—
O Liberty! the very fount of life!

In this manner does he reach into the past and draw inspiration, or stand in the present and look about him for expressions of the energy which means the rejuvenation of Asia.

The broad conception of the lines entitled, "The Patrie" are of interest not only in this connection, but also because they strike the keynote of the author's pedagogic scheme, on which he would build education, without reference to nationality or race, a scheme diametrically opposed to the accepted nationalistic ideas in every country. Such a statement may seem paradoxical, in the light of Mr Sarkar's activities in connection with the National Council of Education in Bengal. But this is not so, for using his own words, taken from the *Vedic Magazine* some eight years ago, in an article, "The Hindu Educational System Past Achievements and Future Ideals", he said

"It has yet to be dinned into our ears that modernization of India, scientifically interpreted, should mean the proper utilization of modern world forces, and the assimilation of world-culture in the interest of the development of Indian national ideals along the lines of natural evolution."

The Bliss of a Moment embodies Shakti, that Shakti takes the form of modernism with its accompanying aspects of cosmopolitanism and breadth of vision. A phase of the broad vision of Asia is found to be pluralistic. In one poem the author says

I have rebelled against creeds and codes,

...

Therefore, my songs would into crystals shape
Theories of life among diverse men

He presents an argument for almost every case, provided it shows energism, life, action. Thus he writes

You depend on energy, he on faith,
I believe in persons, in parties they.

So much does Mr Sarkar believe in a variety of forms, and in the various manifestations of energy that he seems to have no "morals" in the ordinary sense. His test of human values, however, is *creation*. That to him is not only his standard of living, but his test of all human activity. In his belief, out of griefs and joys comes real creation, and such creation is as a work of God. Because is it not true that griefs and joys are but fruits of endeavour?

"Immortal thou, Creator among men
If sincerely thou hast grieved and joyed,"

he sings

Thus the message of a new Asian poet to America is not quiescence and transcendentalism, but energy. From the lines in which he says

Man that is man is bound to break
And demolish barriers old,
All human blood, no matter whose,
Seeks to challenge the questions closed

to the poem on "Death", in which is embodied the *motif* of the entire book, as well as the philosophy of a new Asia, we find a new conception of life among peoples hitherto little known to us save through mystics, travelers and missionaries. The ideas in the poem "Death" are so characteristic of the poet that they are here quoted

Not like a dead animal I would die—
Not like one whose heart hides no cosmic heat,
My last testament I would write at death
Myself, to declare the glories of the earth,
"It is energy that is life, its forms
Craving lordship love, warfare, defeat,
This ambrosia is not to be had,
Except on this earth of mud, trees and stones"
If God there be and if it be His might
To satisfy man's prayers and demands,
And if death is bound to come, I would play
For a death full of madness, unrest, life

Is this Asia speaking, or is it the voice of our own forefathers who founded America and engraved their names on our hearts?

ALICE BIRD

III. War and Self-Determination.

War and Self-Determination Four Essays by Aurobindo Ghose (with a portrait of the author in Bengali costume) Pp 176 S R Murthy & Co Well bound and well-printed on thin paper Triplicane, Madras

The four essays are The Passing of War?, The Unseen Power, Self-Determination, A League of Nations. The last essay covers more than half the book, and there is a short introduction. The book is a complete study on the philosophy of contemporary politics and the sum and substance of the lesson it teaches is that "the western device of salvation by machinery" [League of Nations] is bound to prove a failure in the absence of the spirit of the

things we profess. War and violent revolutions can be eliminated only by getting rid of "the inner causes of war and the constantly accumulating *karma* of successful injustice of which violent revolutions are the natural reactions." The pregnant sentences of the author, surcharged with thought and wisdom, have to be pondered and digested in order that we may fully profit by them. It is not therefore our intention to make lengthy extracts. But our esteemed and honoured countryman has long been out of Bengal, and it may be of interest to the reader to know something of his present views on religious and social questions of which we get incidental glimpses in these essays. His views on world politics coincide with those of all advanced thinkers like Rabindranath Tagore and others who can penetrate behind the passing phenomena into the soul of things, and before whom all hypocrisy and selfishness reveal themselves in their naked ugliness, while at the same time the far-off beneficent results of present tendencies and germs of thought are manifested in a brightness of glory which is hidden from our darkened souls accustomed as we are to live from day to day in the fleeting light of contemporary events. "Salvation for individual or community," says Aurobindo Ghose, "comes not by the Law but by the Spirit. We in India have also yet to realise that truth—not by the shastra, but by the Atman." Elsewhere Mr Ghosh speaks of "the singular sophistical contention of the Indian defenders of orthodox caste rigidity on its economical side that coercion of a man to follow his ancestral profession in disregard not only of his inclinations, but of his natural tendencies and aptitudes, is a securing to the individual of his natural right, his freedom to follow his hereditary nature." We should remember that in these and the following passages we have the matured opinions of Aurobindo Ghose, the prophet of Indian nationalism. "the subjection of woman, the property of the man over the woman, was once an axiom of social life and has only in recent times been effectively challenged. So strong was or had become the instinct of his domination in the male animal man, that even religion and philosophy have had to sanction it, very much in that formula in which Milton expresses the height of masculine egoism, 'He for god only, she for god in him,'—if not actually for him in the place of God. This idea too is crumbling into the dust though its remnants still cling to life by many strong tentacles of old legislation, continued instinct, persistence of traditional ideas, the fiat has gone out against it in the claim of woman to be regarded, she too, as a free individual being." Our next extract will give us an idea of the author's views on religion which seem to be composed of positivism, pragmatism, meliorism, Hegelism and Vedantism, from each of which he takes some elements to evolve the complex but profound theory of man and human society and human

destiny which he outlines in the following passage "It is not human reason and human science which have been working out their ends in or through the tempest that has laid low so many of their constructions. A greater spirit awaits a deeper questioning to reveal his unseen form and his hidden purpose. Something of this truth we have begun to see dimly, in the return to more spiritual notions and in the idea of a kingdom of God to be built in the life of humanity. On the old sense of a Power in the universe of which the world that we live in is the field, is supervening the nearer perception of a godhead in man, the unseen king of whom the outer man is the veil and of whom our mind and life can be the servants and living instruments and our perfected souls the clear mirrors. But we have to see more lucidly and in the whole before we can know this godhead. There are three powers and forms in which the being who is at work in things presents himself to our vision. There is first the form of him that we behold in the universe, but that, or at least what we see of it in the appearances of things, is not the whole truth of him, it is indeed only a first material shape and vital foundation which he has offered for the starting point of our growth, an initial sum of preliminary realisations from which we have to proceed and to transcend them. The next form is that of which man alone here has the secret, for in him it is progressively revealing itself in a partial and always incomplete accomplishing and unfolding. His thoughts, his ideals, his dreams, his attempts at a high self-exceeding are the clues by which he attempts to discover the spirit, the moulds in which he tries to seize the form of the Divinity. But they too are only a partial light and not the whole form of the godhead. Something waits beyond which the human mind approaches in a shapeless aspiration to an ineffable Perfection, an infinite Light, an infinite Power, an infinite Love, a universal Good and Beauty. This is not something that is not yet in perfect being, a god who is becoming or who has to be created by man, it is the eternal of whom this infinite ideal is a mental reflection. It is beyond the form of the universe and these psychological realisations of the human being and yet it is here too in man, and subsists surrounding him in all the powers of the world he lives in. It is both the spirit who is in the universe and the invisible king in man who is the master of his works. It develops in the universe through laws which are not complete here or not filled in their sense and action until humanity shall have fully evolved in its nature the potentialities of the mind and spirit. It works in man, but through his individual and corporate ego so long as he dwells within the knot of his present mentality. Only when his race knows God and lives in the Divine, will the ideal sense of his strivings begin to unfold itself and the kingdom be founded, *rajyam samriddham*."

It is therefore essential for us to remember—not only western statesmen bent on a reconstruction of the world, but Indian politicians bent on the political unification of India with its diverse creeds and castes—that "vain will be the mechanical construction of unity, if unity is not in the heart of the race and if it be made only a means for safeguarding and organising our interests. The only safety for man lies in learning to live from within outwards, not depending on institutions and machinery to perfect him, but out of his growing inner perfection availing to shape a more perfect form and frame of life. If we are to found the kingdom of God in humanity, we must first know God and see and live the diviner truth of our being in ourselves."

CRITIC

IV To the Nations.

To the Nations From the French of Paul Richard, with an introduction by Rabindranath Tagore. Madras, Ganesh and Co, 1919. Price Rs 1-8-0 Pp 78.

The war and its lessons is the theme of this book. The author is an idealist, some may even call him a visionary, but that only means that he has the gift of seeing things ahead, the things that are coming to be. With a Frenchman's faculty of lucid exposition he analyses the causes of the war with a sure touch, and with an unerring finger points out the way to the extermination of war—the only way, viz "It is the very spirit in men and in things which must be altered. It is the soul in each nation which must be transformed. There is only one moral law for men and for peoples." Almost every sentence of this little book tells, it is full of apt generalisations which are fit to be quoted as maxims. Liberty, equality and fraternity must henceforth be the rule of mutual dealing among nations as they have hitherto been among individuals. Patriotism must be elevated. Small nations will be counted great by great spiritual and intellectual achievements. The killing of man will become utterly abhorrent and be totally forbidden. Man must transcend his love of country for the sake of the supreme mother-country, Humanity. Lasting peace can only be found in a free dedication by all the nations of all their powers to the service of Humanity. Here are a few extracts.

"Peace had come to imply a state of things which permitted the big nations to treat the little nations as they pleased. And the big nations called themselves peaceful when, not wishing to wage war with the strongest, they contented themselves with making war—without too many risks—on the weakest."

"To hear them—the oppressed nations had never so many defenders. Each one wishes to liberate those nations oppressed by the others."

"All prepared for it [war] and rendered it inevitable. It is the logical expected result of

selfish politics and unscrupulous ambition, the necessary product of material greed, the just price for the shameless or hypocritical iniquities of all. It is the war of the hungry for conquest against those gluttoned with conquest."

"Some are making use of the names of Right and Justice—but in vain. It is the right and justice violated by them all which is forcing them to this hand-to-hand struggle."

"they (the nations of Europe) have tied their hands, one to the other, insuring themselves mutually, through treaties, against any chance of peace."

"As long as the state of things which gave it (war) birth remains unchanged, it will be born again out of its own ashes. Peace will be but a truce, victory but an opportunity for fresh conflicts, and that probably between the allies of yesterday."

"Have we not seen how they are capable of doing, when their allied armies, in 1900, ravaged Peking and committed under Germany's leadership the same atrocities with which they now reproach her?"

"Patriots are seen swelling with pride when their country, their mother, has committed one of those very acts which would make them die of shame, had their own sons been guilty of it."

"Honour does not consist in the control of others, but in self-control."

"The greatest country, be its boundaries narrow or vast, is that in which humanity reaches its highest stature—the true."

There are many other passages in the book which deserve quotation, but we have no space for them.

The letterpress, binding, and general get up of the book are worthy of the best European firms. The main lesson of the book, that politics must be interpenetrated with spirituality, in order to attain truly beneficent results, is one which the great powers of the world will be compelled to lay to heart by the force of circumstances in the near future. But before this is done, all talk of a permanent peace will be a mere chimera and even the man in the street can understand that it cannot be otherwise. The introduction contributed by Rabindranath Tagore is full of wise reflections, and those who have read his book on *Nationalism* need not be told that the crimes that the West has committed in the name of nationalism have always drawn forth Tagore's most eloquent invectives. He has no patience with hypocrisy and shams, and in this short preface he has turned them inside out in his own inimitable style. Altogether the book is one which is sure to make its mark in thoughtful circles throughout the world, and we welcome it as a sober, sane and wholesome contribution to the new politics which will replace the old in the coming dawn of a new era.

V. Studies in Village Economics.

Studies in Village Economics By Rai Saheb A. P. Patro, B.A., B.L., F.R.E.S. (Lond), Berhampore, Madras. With an Introductory Note by Dr. Gilbert Slater, M.A., D.Sc. (Lond), Professor of Indian Economics, Madras University. Pp. 102, price Rs. 3.

As the population of India is predominantly rural and agricultural, the study of Indian Economics resolves itself largely into a study of the economic conditions of the village. The ryot is the pivot on whom the economic life of the village turns, and nothing gives one a truer insight into the condition of the ryot than the study of his family budget. To such a study a band of selfless workers in Southern India—among whom Mr. Patro's name deserves honourable mention—are devoting their time and energy. A study of the family budget is in its very nature a difficult thing and to be fruitful such a study requires the active cooperation of a large number of workers. Mr. Patro's attempts to elicit the truth about the economic position of the ryots by questioning them about their domestic affairs do not seem to have been always successful. And little wonder. Even an educated man would find it difficult to give an accurate idea of his incomings and outgoings under various heads during a year. Few people manage their households on the lines of a business firm. And the statements made by the ryots, in spite of the presence of local officials and witnesses, are sure to be vitiated by their personal bias, ignorance, lack of a sense of proportion, and last but not the least, by a very natural desire to snub the impertinent enquirer and by suspicion of his motives. A proper training in the principles of modern scientific research would have enabled Mr. Patro to sift and scrutinise thoroughly the facts brought to his notice, but nothing of the kind seems to have been done. Mr. Patro is himself conscious of the defects of his methods and very properly deprecates any attempt to jump at conclusions from his studies. He would be satisfied if his enquiries lead others to tread in his footsteps.

Still certain facts stand out so prominently from these studies of the economic life of the Ganjam ryots that Mr. Patro places before us and are supported by such unanimity of evidence that they deserve at least a passing notice. One of these facts is the extremely low standard of life of the ryot and his growing poverty and indebtedness. Out of the ten families whose budgets Mr. Patro has recorded only one was able to secure the necessary minimum of food (30 oz. per head per day), and that of the cheapest cereals. None could afford fish, meat, or even vegetable curry as part of their normal diet. And all had to spend a disproportionately large percentage of their income on food—a sure sign of poverty. Most were indebted beyond hope of redemption. As Mr. Patro points out, the diet of the ryots often compares unfavour-

ably with that of prisoners in gaols, though prison diet, as everybody knows, is scientifically regulated to the efficiency minimum. Who knows that this may not often put a premium on crime?

The other fact which is equally prominent is the growing pressure of population on the soil, which is driving large numbers of Ganjam ryots to seek employment outside their villages or sink to the position of landless agricultural labourers without regular employment or means of subsistence. The growth of such an agrarian proletariat is not only an economic but also a political danger to the country.

Let us hope that further and more accurate information on these points, such as recorded in Dr Mann's *Life and Labour in a Deccan Village*, would be forthcoming from the pen of Mr. Patro or his co-workers in the same field.

ECON

VI. The Exchange Crisis.

The Exchange Crisis, or Memorandum of Evidence Prepared for the Indian Currency and Exchange Committee, by S K Sarma, B A, B L, author of *Indian Monetary Problems*, etc Madras 1919

In few other things has probably the great revolution wrought by the War been more strikingly illustrated than in the immense rise in the price of silver from less than 27d an oz to over 85d an oz. This rise has placed all silver-using countries, especially those whose principal currency is silver, in a very awkward predicament and compelled them to adopt various contrivances to economise the use of the white metal. In India, the rise in the price of silver unfortunately synchronised with the time when the Government was compelled to vastly increase its silver output from the mints—partly as a result of the Secretary of State's large sales of Council Drafts and partly to meet war expenditure in India on behalf of His Majesty's Government in England. The legislative restrictions on the free importation of precious metals also quickened the demand for currency by turning people's attention to the rupee (no longer a token coin) as the sole means of satisfying their demand for silver, both for use in the arts (prohibition against melting notwithstanding) and for hoarding. There can be little doubt that both melting and hoarding of rupees have gone on apace during the last few years. Mr Sarma thinks that the Indian tendency to hoarding is largely due to the fact that precious metals used as ornaments are the absolute property of women (*stridhan*) in India. But the absence of proper banking facilities outside large commercial centres and the sense of insecurity engendered by the war have certainly been among the most potent causes of such hoarding.

Mr Sarma goes on to propose certain remedies for the present currency difficulties of the Indian Government. These are — (1)

Restriction of the sale of Council Drafts by the Secretary of State, (2) Free importation of Gold, and (3) Redemption of the emergency issues of notes by gold from the Paper Currency Reserve and the Gold Standard Reserve.

The simultaneous adoption of these measures will, he believes, considerably improve the Government's currency position and stabilise exchange. He is also of opinion that a restricted sale of Councils will not materially affect India's export trade if foreigners are allowed to pay freely in gold. The fact that the chief exports of India are indispensable to her foreign customers certainly gives India an advantage in export trade, but we cannot concur with Mr Sarma's view that any restriction of exports arising from this cause is sure to be compensated by increased internal demand for indigenous products. Such a demand, even if it comes, will take a considerable time to materialise.

There will be no two opinions in the country about the desirability of removing the existing restrictions on the free importation of gold. These restrictions were not in the first instance imposed in the interests of India and they have not benefited India except perhaps indirectly to a very slight extent by guarding the English gold reserves against depletion and thus helping to uphold British credit.

Mr Sarma's third proposition only becomes intelligible if we remember that he believes neither in the gold exchange standard nor in a gold standard for India but wants to revert to the silver standard of the past. By an agreement between the Great Powers it is possible to maintain the relative value of gold and silver at a fixed ratio. In the changed conditions of the world today he opines that even England—the strongest opponent of such an agreement in the past—might consent to try the experiment. No one who knows how deep-rooted is the belief in the minds of the English people that England's commercial prosperity is based largely on her gold standard and gold currency could hope for such a consummation. In the event of England still proving recalcitrant, Mr. Sarma expects the other powers to enter into such an agreement without her. Remembering the part London has played in the past in the financial world, this would be much like playing *Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark. Even if it were possible to leave out England from the transaction, it is too late in the day to expect the other countries of Europe to go back on their gold standard and adopt bimetallism.

The question before us then resolves itself into this: Can India, without the co-operation of the rest of the world of which there is little chance, put a stop to the great fluctuations in the price of silver? If she cannot, then what becomes of the silver standard? As a matter of fact, silver mono-metallism was tried and found wanting. "The troubles and turmoils through which this unhappy country has passed

during the last quarter of a century" will only terminate when the Government of India fully and frankly adopts a gold standard and a gold currency and relegates silver permanently to the subordinate position which its smaller value deserves, just as the civilised governments of Europe and America did the moment the white metal began to show signs of depreciation.

About five years ago Mr Sarma's *Indian Monetary Problems* was reviewed in these columns. It was said at the time that Mr

Sarma was one of the few advocates of a silver standard for India, but that his advocacy of the cause of silver was based on many hypothetical premises which detracted much from the value of his arguments and left his readers unconvinced. We are sorry to have to repeat that statement today, although we admire him for consistently maintaining the position he took up half a decade ago.

ECON

THE MOVEMENT OF PLANTS

M. Edmond Perrier contributes a weekly article to the celebrated Parisian evening paper *Le Temps* under the heading of *Le Monde Vivante* ("the living world"). The last of these articles, published on January 4, deals with the world-famed researches into vegetable life of Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose. Our readers may find a translation of M. Perrier's article interesting. It is not quite so cordially laudatory as what we have read in English papers. But it is interesting to see what praise is given by a foreigner who is anxious to claim the utmost possible credit for his own countrymen in particular and for Europeans in general. We hope M. Perrier fully appreciates the wonderful work being done by the illustrious Bengali man of science. Anyhow, the article is interesting in itself, and suggestive of enquiries which are more easily made in Bengal than in cold countries where the vegetation is less varied and is not, as with us in India, perennial.

Long ago, at the Museum of Natural History in Paris, Claude Bernard delivered a whole course of lectures on "the phenomena of life common to animals and plants." In those days, this was regarded as a novelty. Until his time (1), people were rather inclined to admit that everything is contrast between the creatures composing the two regions of organic life. Superficially, indeed, it could be said, in fact, that in the matter of the gaseous exchanges between the atmosphere and plants all is exactly the opposite of what happens in the case of animals. They restore to the air the oxygen taken from it by animals, they are sustained

wholly by liquid or gaseous food, whereas animals require solid nutriment, they propagate themselves by means of seeds, whereas animals lay eggs. Even children almost instinctively distinguish plants from animals. Plants seem immobile and insensible. But when naturalists set to work to examine the facts more carefully, they discovered that, beneath appearances so different, there existed profound resemblances, and that in fact not only are there vital phenomena common to animals and plants, but that all vital phenomena are in essence the same, so much so that we have come to think of life as being a property of a particular substance, to which has been given the name of protoplasm. Every living being, whether vegetable or animal, begins life as a tiny mass of protoplasm. Often capable of rapid movement, whether it be vegetable or animal in nature, this tiny mass contains a central corpuscle, a nucleus, and it has detached itself from another living being, which it reproduces in all its details by dividing itself when it has attained certain dimensions by absorbing the substances which constitute its elements. The whole history of life is that of the modifications which these tiny masses present, as they multiply themselves by division or budding in order to form, in association, what we call an *organism*. The main difference between animals and plants consists in the fact that the elements of the latter enclose themselves as fast as they are formed in a protecting envelope, composed of an inert substance, sufficiently rigid to prevent any serious change of form under external pressure. This substance, known to us under the name of *cellulose*, is nothing else than the material of which paper is made. It is the formation of this wall of cellulose round plant-cells which causes plants to appear insensible by imposing upon them their characteristic immobility. But this immobility is merely relative, and a naturalist at Calcutta, Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, has caused some excitement in London by a lecture in which he

has made the movements of plants visible to all eyes and has described their emotions. Our own poet Rollinat had felt the souls of ferns thrilling on the open wastes in which they live (2). It seemed to the hearers of Sir Jagadish that this mysterious soul had revealed itself to him, that he was making a new step forward in penetrating into the mystery of things, and this sentiment has naturally roused their enthusiasm. In fact Sir Jagadish, who has founded in Calcutta an institute of vegetable physiology, has invented the means of magnifying enormously the minutest movements of plants and making them visible to all eyes. If he wishes to follow the details of the growth of a plant, he fixes at the extremity of its stem a very light magnetic lever, which communicates all its movements to a needle provided with a little brightly illuminated mirror. This mirror projects its image, which appears as a luminous point, and its movements record, enormously magnified, the faintest movements of the base of the needle fixed at the extremity of the stem, and so we can follow in every detail the movements of growth of the plant. It was by a similar procedure (3) that the French physicist Lissajous rendered visible the vibrations of a diapason in the form of symmetric curves whose arcs crossed one another in the most elegant fashion.

As for the idea of fixing to the extremity of a plant's stem a light wand whose free extremity should render visible the minutest motions of its base by amplifying them (3), the credit for inventing this belongs to Darwin, who has in fact described the movements of a growing plant. The merit of Sir Jagadish consists in having modified this procedure of research in such a way as to make the results apparent to a large audience. Dr Comandon performed much the same feat (3) by obtaining cinematograph films of the field of a microscope, so as to display before a large audience the bacillus of typhoid fever and the pale spirochete of syphilis forcing its way through the globules of living blood. For all that, it is a fact that no one can fail to feel surprised when you see the extremely slow motions of plants so magnified as to resemble the brisk movements of animals.

The motor powers of plants have, of course, long been known to us and show themselves in all parts of the plant, but especially in the flowers which can move either as a whole or by localised motions of their parts. Generally flowers direct themselves towards the light. This faculty is known by the name of "positive heliotropism". In the morning they are turned to the east, and in the evening they turn their faces to the setting sun. So far, only one plant is known, the verticillate sage, which acts in the contrary fashion.

Again, there are flowers which instead of moving as a whole confine themselves to opening or shutting their corolla according to the

time of day. In our own country, the bearded fig-marigold opens its flower at eight in the morning and closes it at five in the afternoon. The *ornithogallum umbellatum* owes its French name of *la dame-d'onze-heures* to the fact that it expands itself at the hour of eleven. The Marvel of Peru (*Mirabilis Jalapa*) wakes up at five in the evening to go to sleep again at about ten next morning; the mullen with its great flowers also sleeps all day till about eight in the evening, there is even a species of cactus which only opens its flower at midnight to close it immediately afterwards. The purslane is only open from midday to one. These movements of opening and closing are motions of the whole corolla, and the fact that all flowers do not open at the same hour proves that the light, heat and humidity to which their blossoming is commonly attributed are not the sole causes of their activity. The wood sorrels, the dandelion, the viper's grass and the hawk weed open and close independently of any variations of light, temperature or humidity.

But each part of a flower may also have its own independent movements. The orchids possess one larger petal than the others which is called "the standard". The standard of the *pergadium falcatum* oscillates continually. These movements are spontaneous. But you have only to touch, ever so lightly, the stamens of thistles, artichokes, barbeviés or centauries to cause them to contract in various ways exactly as if they were sensible. In the beautiful white flower of the "grass of parnassus", the stamens, each in its turn, extend themselves and thus successively place their pollen on the pistil, afterwards resuming their upright position. It is the same thing in the case of the monk's hoods, the geraniums, the saxifrages, the dittanies, the rue. Here, what causes the movement is the degree of evolution of the fructifying pollen. The same cause produces still more remarkable movements in the case of the birthwort. The flower of this plant is a yellow funnel like the twist of paper in which the grocer sells you sugar, and does not even lack the triangular overpluss which he tucks in to enclose your purchase. This funnel is normally perpendicular to the soil, so that small flies can easily penetrate into it. But in order to get the nectar they seek they must needs brush past the stamens and so collect pollen which they deposit on the pistil. Thus the flower is fertilized. Whereupon the flower, hitherto erect, lowers itself and becomes pendant, and the triangular salient tongue closes on the open orifice of the flower and seals it so that no insect can henceforth enter.

Darwin has shown that many flowers are thus fertilized by insects, such as bees in search of nectar, and that there are some, such as those of the sage-plant, which possess dispositions extraordinarily appropriated to the successful

fertilization of the pistil. Sometimes insects are the victims of their taste for nectar. Kunckel d'Hercules has told us of certain flowers which close firmly on the long proboscis of the sphynx moths when they come to feed and hold the poor creatures captive till they die with what looks like useless cruelty,—a proof nevertheless of the sensitiveness of the parts operating. This sensibility is even more exaggerated in the case of the ovaries of the *balsamines*, the walls of which burst at the lightest touch and so open a way for the dissemination of the seeds.

Nor is this sensibility confined to the flowers. Darwin has given the name of "carnivorous plants" to those whose leaves are capable of capturing insects. The most celebrated of these are the *droseras* and the *dioneas*. The *drosera* lives in our French marshes, and its leaves form a flat rosette applied to the soil. These leaves are at the end of a long peduncle or stem and have the form of a disk carrying all round its edge and even on its upper surface long appendices each ending in a little ball which secretes a viscous and transparent liquid, so that each seems to be tipped with a drop of dew. They are in fact what, in an animal, we would call *tentacles*. If an insect settles on the edge, he is at once glued and held by the tentacles he touches. But the marginal tentacles also straighten themselves and then bend towards the captive which is then slowly digested where it lies. After which the tentacles resume their radiating position round the leaf. These movements are slow. Those of the leaves of the *dionea*, on the other hand, are rapid, as if these leaves were invested with a more delicate sensitiveness. Each leaf is formed of two symmetrical folioles. These lateral wings are almost circular and bear in their centre three little spines. If an insect happens to brush against these spines, immediately the two halves of the leaf rise and come together so as to enclose the visitor. His prison does not open again till he is dead and digested. Here, it will be seen, the leaves of the *dionea* show themselves to be as sensitive and mobile as the insects they capture.

This sensibility and power of movement is even more highly developed in the case of the leaves of the sensitive plant. These leaves resemble those of the common acacia but are more delicate and their folioles are smaller. At the lightest touch these folioles close on the twig which supports them. When contact has ceased, the leaf and all its parts resume their natural attitude. These movements are curiously like those of a caterpillar which rolls itself up on being touched, or the contraction of a snail when he draws himself into his shell. Hence arises the question whether plants are not endowed with a sensibility analogous to that of animals. When a snail contracts on being touched, we admit that he feels that he has

been touched, that this sensation has given him a premonition of danger, and that it is because he fears this danger that he enters his shell, where he feels that he is safe. We reason thus because we compare the creature with ourselves. But we ourselves perform many acts under the influence of external causes without feeling or appreciating the causes which suggest our actions. A ray of sunshine suddenly strikes our eyes. We close our eyelids at once and automatically without any conscious effort of the will. We may even hide our eyes instinctively behind our hand. An unexpected obstacle presents itself before us when we are walking. We recoil with an involuntary step backwards. All these unreflecting, irresistible movements which take place without our being conscious of the motives which actuate them, and so are involuntary and inevitable, we call "reflex movements." They involve the existence in us of an unconscious sensibility which commands and is obeyed without giving us any warning. It would seem that plants possess this form of sensibility.

But Sir Jagadish goes farther. According to him, it is possible that plants possess what may fairly be called emotions. For them, he says, it causes a considerable emotional disturbance to be transplanted, and they often die of the shock thus inflicted. They can be saved from this nervous shock, as in the case of animals, by being chloroformed, whereupon, it would seem, the operation of transplantation is almost always innocuous. Was the poet Rollinat(2) right after all? Have the ferns, and all other sensitive plants with them, a soul? Has Sir Jagadish captured this vegetable soul, a soul sleeping and waking like our own? In fact, the living substance of plants does not differ, let us repeat, from that of animals except in the sole fact that it is imprisoned in a rigid envelope, which immobilises it and prevents it from giving visible indications of the excitations it endures. There are low forms of vegetable life, algæ and mushrooms, which only produce this envelope at a late stage in their development. Up to that point, they are mobile like animals, and the same thing is true of the male elements or *antherozoids* of the mosses and ferns. They were for a long time confused with *infusoria*, which are true animals. And so we return once more to the fundamental doctrine of the unity of all organic life.

Note by the Editor of the Modern Review.

(1) M. Perrier says that it was Claude Bernard who first found out and declared that life was common to animals and plants, and that in his days the idea was a novelty. M. Perrier also says that Darwin observed and described the movements of plants, and that the French poet Rollinat felt the souls of ferns thrilling,

&c All this is true of Europe And in the same vein we in India may go back to the age of the *Mahabharata* (some centuries B C) and draw attention to an interesting passage in the *Santi-Parva* of that work which ascribes certain specific forms of sensibility and neural action to plant organisms — e g, response to sound vibrations, as thunder, &c, the sense of direction and (implied) response to light, the sense of smell as evidenced by favourable (or unfavourable) influence of various scents, also channels of conduction of nerve force, and finally, pleasure and pain, and a sort of comatose consciousness The writer Gunaratna (*circa* 1350 A D) gives a list of plants that exhibit the phenomena of what is popularly known as sleep and waking and mentions the *mimosa pudica*, &c, as showing a manifest reaction in the form of contraction Dr Brajendranath Seal, who drew attention to these passages, at a meeting held in 1915 in honor of Dr Bose, went on to observe

"Let none of my hearers imagine that all this amounted to scientific knowledge or discovery This was felicitous intuition, earned (if I may so put it) by intense meditation and guided by intelligent observation, but the gulf between this stage and the positive experimental knowledge of science is profound, and cannot be traversed except by means of difficult and delicate methods of quantitative analysis and measurement such as have culminated, in the department of Plant Physiology, in the researches of Dr Jagadis Chandra Bose "

(2) It is natural for a French writer to refer to the French poet Rollinat's poetic faith in the existence of a soul in the vegetable world Similarly, an Englishman would draw attention to the following lines written by Wordsworth, whose long career ended three years before Rollinat's birth —

"And 'tis my faith that every flower
Enjoys the air it breathes "

"The budding twigs spread out their fan,
To catch the breezy air,
And I must think, do all I can,
That there was pleasure there "

In the same way, a Hindu may refer to many passages in the works of many ancient and modern Indian poets, e g, to Act IV in the *Sakuntala* of Kalidasa

where the heroine of that drama bids an affectionate farewell to the trees and creepers of the hermitage, in the same way as she bids adieu to its human habitants She had named a jasmine creeper *Vana-jyotsnā* or "moonlight of the forest" Said she

"Father, I will take leave of my creeper-sister Moonlight of the Grove

(*Approaching the Creeper*) "Moonlight of the grove, though you are locked in embrace with the mango-tree, embrace me with your arm-like boughs stretched in this direction Henceforth I shall be far away from you "

In like manner a Chinaman will tell us that in his country the artists and poets of the Sung period (960-1280 A D) believed that Nature is instinct with life, as has been noted by Laurence Binyon in his *Painting in the Far East*, in the following passages —

"The romantic feeling for nature developed with the Sung age into a more intimate emotion, such as we do not find paralleled in Europe till the coming of Wordsworth The peculiar mode of thought which tinges the verse of the English poet is indeed thoroughly congenial to the poets and the artists of Sung" P 127

"We may say of these painters, as Walter Pater said of Wordsworth, 'They raise physical nature to the level of human thought, giving it thereby a mystic power and expression, they subdue man to the level of nature, but give him therewith a certain breadth and vastness and solemnity' " P 138

"With the Sung dynasty and the ascendancy of Zen thought, a tinge of mystic feeling is infused into this passion for flowers It is the consciousness of a living soul in the world of nature, parallel to the soul in humanity, making in these sensitive brief blossoms its manifestation, and touching the mind with

'Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears' "

P 141.

(3) The writer in *Le Temps* has referred to the devices of Lissajous, Darwin, and Comandon His object in doing so is, perhaps, to suggest that Sir J C Bose's devices are not absolutely new in conception If that was the object, he need not have taken any pains to demonstrate what is obvious, viz, that few modern contrivances, if any, are absolutely new in conception If M Edmond Perrier's method were followed, much credit would

various improved types of steam engines, for the idea of using steam-power can be traced back in history to Hero (130 B C) of Alexandria, in whose *Pneumatica* "there is described the aeolipile, which is a primitive steam reaction turbine, consisting of a spherical vessel pivoted on a central axis and supplied with steam through one of the pivots. The steam escapes by bent pipes facing tangentially in opposite directions, at opposite ends of a diameter perpendicular to the axis. The globe revolves by reaction from the escaping steam just as a Barker's mill is driven by escaping water. Another apparatus described by Hero is interesting as the prototype of a class of engines which long afterwards became practically important."

Mr J Arthur Thomson, writing to the *New Statesman* says —

"One of Sir J C Bose's truly admirable contrivances is called the crescograph, which records automatically and in magnified expression the growth of plants and its variations under different treatment. With growth measurers (auxanometers) previously in use a magnification of about twenty times was secured, but it took nearly four hours to determine the influence of changed conditions on growth. The crescograph gives a magnification often thousand times or more, and reduces the necessary period for experiment to thirty seconds."

Describing the same apparatus the *Labour Leader* writes —

"What has happened is that our perception of movement has been magnified a hundred million times. A hundred millions is a figure so vast that we can only grasp some idea of it by remembering, were we to increase the speed of a snail to the same extent, it would travel four times round the globe in an hour."

NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH

ESSAYS ON INDIAN ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, by Prof Brij Narain, M A, of Sanatan Dharma College, Lahore. Pp 307, price Rs 2-8-0

The series of twenty essays which Prof Brij Narain now publishes in book form has no slight claim to be regarded as a valuable contribution to the study of current economic problems of India and is sure to make the author's name well-known among the economists of the country. The essays cover a wide field but the larger number deal with the problems of Indian currency, fiscal policy, and high prices—all questions of burning interest at the present moment. The author's treatment of these subjects is often original and always thoughtful, and this raises the publication above the ordinary run of bazaar productions and gives it a more than ephemeral importance. The book, whose usefulness has been enhanced by a number of diagrams and charts prepared by the author himself, should find a place next to Ranade's *Essays on Indian Economics* and Prof Kale's *Indian Industrial and Economic Problems* on the shelves of all students of Economics. If Mr Brij Narain would concentrate his attention on the study of a particular aspect of Indian Economics we feel confident that he would in time be able to produce something that would

permanently enrich the all too scanty economic literature of India.

IMPERIAL STATE BANK

This small pamphlet of some 16 pages contains two published speeches of Mr S R Bomanji of Bombay on the proposed amalgamation of the Presidency Banks. Mr Bomanji speaks strongly for an adequate representation of Indian interests both in the directorate and management of the projected Imperial State Bank for India and requests the Government not to unnecessarily restrict the legitimate banking operations of the State Bank from fear of interfering with the vested interests of the European Exchange Banks in this country.

ECON

BOYS' RAMAYANA (INTENDED FOR USE IN SCHOOLS) By Dakshina Charan Roy, Translator of "*Svarnalata*", "*Krishnakanta's Will*", &c *Students' Library, Calcutta and Dacca*

In this neatly got-up booklet the author has told the story of the Ramayana for children concisely and in a simple and attractive style. Though told in 57 small pages, the story does not read like a summary. It is interesting and its pathos has not been lost. Some sentences would seem to require revision. For instance, "He was not able to lift the bow," p 6, should

read, "He would not be able to lift the bow" In the sentence "Ingada, however, being granted an audience, he told Ravana his mission," p 27, the word "he" is superfluous

C

USEFUL INFORMATION FOR MISSIONARIES, by W E Bogg's *Christian Literature Society, Price, 12 annas*

The missionary in India finds himself, as a rule, thrown upon his own resources in dealing with a great many matters that have to be dealt with in connection with his work. Especially is this so in the district towns and villages, where he may have charge of responsible work, and yet have no one on whom he can rely for assistance and advice in matters related to his work. Necessity often forces him to tackle certain problems which in normal circumstances he would feel were altogether beyond his powers. For instance, scarcely a missionary has had any experience in building before he comes to this country, but most have to give a considerable amount of time to bricks and mortar. There are hospitals, schools, boardings, homes, etc., to be built, and he soon finds himself immersed in plans, specifications, etc. But he works at a great disadvantage, want of training and even knowledge of the elements of the new work he has had to undertake. Evidently the needs of the missionary in India are known to the writer of this little book, for he has taken a considerable amount of trouble to compile a book which is intended to supply just these important details which are needed by men forced to depend on themselves for carrying out work such as building. Many will be thankful to have his valuable guidance in matters relating to the terrace roofing of houses, the necessary measurements of walls, the constituents and proportions of concrete, etc. Ordinarily they would not be found save in technical books, whereas in this book they are available in handy form. Very useful, too, will be the tables at the end giving many facts about Indian places, their elevation, temperature, etc. Many will be glad to have in compact form the tables showing the various measures used in India, for these are a source of great vexation to the man who has to deal with them. We do not know exactly on what principle the book has been compiled. While there are many things omitted we should like to have seen, all those given are sure to prove of great use, not only to the missionary, but to all who have any kind of building or other matters to do, and for which they have to depend mainly on themselves.

A R S

A LITE SKETCH OF THE HON'BLE PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU. *Published by the National Literature House, Bombay. Price Annas Two*

Written in clear and forceful English, the brochure has, in a nutshell, very nicely represented

the essence of the character and doings of one of the living Indian patriots

P M S G

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU HIS LIFE AND SPEECHES By Kapil Deba Malaviya, M A Pp 147

The book contains a short character sketch of Pandit Motilal Nehru as a public man and a collection of a few of his speeches. As the present volume was published before this year's Indian National Congress held its sittings at Amritsar, it does not contain Pandit Nehru's striking presidential address given before that historic gathering. Every patriotic Indian ought to acquaint himself with his life and sayings. The selection of speeches is good.

WRITINGS AND SPEECHES OF KUMAR MANINDRA CHANDRA SINHA, M B E. *Printed and published by H W B Moreno at the Central Press, 12 Wellesley Street, Calcutta. Pp 306*

The Kumar has made a name by showing an untiring zeal in the cause of the Bengalee Battalion that partly owes its existence to his labour and munificence, and naturally the book deals mostly with things connected with the war, scouting and recruiting for Bengal. As almost all the subjects that have been discussed in the book are such as are not likely to be of permanent interest and most of them have already lost their topical value, the book, we are constrained to say, is extremely uninteresting reading. Still we hope it will commend itself to the numerous friends and admirers of the Kumar, for whom possibly it is meant.

THE TRAGEDY OF SHAH JEHAN by J C S. *Published by Rai Sahib Munshi Gulab Singh and Sons, Lahore*

A historical drama in five acts, written in rhymed metre. The rhyming, which is to a great extent perfect, testifies to the writer's consummate skill in this difficult performance. His treatment of the material also is happy and sparkling. But the author seems to be oblivious of the fact that he has set himself to the writing of a tragedy, and altogether fails to produce that intensity of effect which ought to be the aim of every tragedy-writer. We are of opinion that his selection of rhymed verse as a literary medium is partly accountable for this. What is worse, the sentences more often than not close up with the rhyme ends. So that one meets with a tedious series of distinct couplets running through the entire body of the book. The success of a drama lies in the amount of realistic impression which it creates and for this purpose rhyme is the least suited of all vehicles of thought, as it is always a clog in the way of free and spontaneous expression. It has been the attempt of the age to discard not only rhymed but even blank verse as an unnecessary burden.

to the writer of a drama and we have met with numerous instances in which highly idealistic themes have been presented in easy and familiar prose. The writer, in not keeping these facts in mind, has failed to keep with the times, besides causing irritation to the readers and losing much of his own valuable time

S C

AL-GHAZALI, by the Rev W R W Gardiner, M A Pages 104, excluding bibliography Published by Christian Literature Society for India

Christian missionaries always write with a purpose. The object with which they write is to influence the largest possible number of their readers to accept their own particular tenets of the Christian faith. And one cannot but admire the incessant labours and clever ways with which they almost invariably seek to attain this purpose.

Rev Gardiner's booklet is no exception to the rule. Accepting the dictum of Professor Macdonald that the Prophet of Islam, if not an impostor, was at best an opportunist (p 90), he proceeds to show that "Ghazali in his writings follows what he believed had been the practice of the prophet" (p 81). Ghazali may have been one of the greatest Muslim saints, his intellectual greatness may have been acknowledged by some of the greatest European savants, his influence on European thought and rationalism may have been admitted by Lewes and other eminent historians of philosophy, yet all this counts for nothing in the eyes of the learned Reverend gentleman whose estimate of Ghazali can be judged by the following extracts —

"We cannot be absolutely certain that Al-Ghazali is expressing his own views" (p 91)

"Though [he] could write and preach on the duties of the believer, he did not himself follow his own teaching" (p 46)

"The work of Al-Ghazali has never led and never can lead to true liberty and advancement" (p 96)

Apart from the generally biased tone maintained throughout the book, we cannot also congratulate the author on the bad taste displayed in the biographical portion in magnifying the petty domestic differences between Ghazali and his brother Ahmed.

The bibliography though fairly copious is by no means exhaustive.

A M

PALI.

1 DHAMMAPALA'S PARAMATTHA DIPANI OR THE COMMENTARY OF THE THERAGATHA, Edited by Suriyagoda Sumangala Thera and W Sangharatana Thera, finally revised by Mahagoda Siri Nanissara Thera Pp XIV+592

2 DHAMMAPALA'S PARAMATTHADIPANI OR THE COMMENTARY OF THE THERIGATHA Edited

by B Siri Dewarakkhita Thera, finally revised by Mahagoda Siri Nanissara Thera Pp VIII+252

3 BUDDHAGHOSA'S SUMANGALAVETASINI OR THE COMMENTARY OF THE DIGHANIKAYA, PART I Edited by Dhammakitti Siri Devamitta Mahathera Pp V+442

Published by the Trustees Dr Charles Alwis Hewavitarane, and Srinath Kumardas Moonesinghe, Esq, Saraswati Hall, Pettah, Colombo (Ceylon)

The late Mr Simon Alexander Hewavitarane bequeathed a large sum for a neat edition of the Pali Text of the Tripitaka and the commentaries thereof. Accordingly a series has been started with Dhammapala's commentary, Paramatthadipani, on the Petavattu, as the first volume of it, which we had pleasure to notice in these columns some time ago. We are now glad again to notice the other three volumes of the series lying before us.

Buddhaghosa, an inhabitant of Northern India (Magadha), and Dhammapala, belonging to Southern India (Kanchipur, Conjeveram), are the most renowned exegetists in Pali literature. Buddhaghosa may be compared with Sayana, the commentator of the Vedic works. He has written his commentaries on most of the Texts in the Tripitaka. As regards the Suttapitaka he has commented on the first four Nikayas, viz, Digha, Majjhima, Samyutta, and Anguttara, but of Khuddaka his commentary is found only on the Dhammapada, Suttanipata, and Jataka. On a large number of other works included in this Khuddaka-nikaya there are the commentaries by Dhammapala. He has also commented upon the Nettipakarana and written Tikas or sub-commentaries on some of the works by Buddhaghosa.

The first two volumes contain both the text and commentary by Dhammapala of the Theragatha and Therigatha respectively. The commentaries are important in various respects. The stories related in them have a value similar to that of the Jatakas, and they deserve to be fully utilized by those who are interested in the history of India.

According to Paramatthadipani (p 3) the Theragatha consists of 1360 gathas uttered by 264 Theras which are divided into 21 nipatas or Chapters (p 2). But the number of the gathas as detailed in the same work (p 3) is 1294. The Pali Text Society's edition gives 1279 gathas. It is to be regretted that the last seven chapters (Nipatas 15-21) of the Paramatthadipani are not available either in Ceylon or Burma. So it cannot be ascertained how this omission occurred.

In the Therigatha we have 527 gathas by 73 Theris, and they are divided into 16 chapters.

The first part of the Sumangalavilasini, Buddhaghosa's Atthakatha on the Dighanikaya, lying on our table, gives the commentary on the first 16 suttas, from Brahmajala to Mahaparinibbana.

The edition is good, being based on a number of MSS of Burma and Ceylon, as well as on the printed copies in those countries and of the Pali Text Society. We have noticed some valuable readings supplied by it which are not to be found in the Pali Text Society's edition. There are useful indices, and the get-up is good. The proof-sheets should have been read more carefully, for there have crept in some printing mistakes. The series is printed in Singhalese character.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

ENGLISH-GUJARATI

AFTERNOONS WITH AHURAMAZDA by *Maneck Pithawalla, B A, B Sc (Poona)*

This little book of verses by an Avestan scholar on Avestan topics is in the author's own style, now fairly well-known to the public. He certainly has succeeded in weaving some five verses to clothe some of the salient points of the Zoroastrian faith. As a book for the leisure hour for one who wants his first glimpse of the ancient Iranian religion this would be indeed a good book. And some of the verse translations from the Gathas and other Avesta passages would certainly be of use to the professed scholar as well. Most of the versification is quite correct in metre and the language clear, but there are places where one wishes the words were somewhat better chosen. Still this one very minor fault (especially when we remember it is a foreign tongue the author is using) need not prevent us from enjoying really pleasant profitable "afternoons." There are pictures added which enhance the value of the little book.

I J S T

MARATHI.

TUKARAM BUWANCHIA ASSAL GATHA or the original collection of the Saint Tukaram's devotional songs, Part I. Publisher Mr Vinayak Laxman Bhawe, Thana, Pages 168 Price Re 1

When the Indu Prakash and Arya Bhushan editions of the Saint Tukaram's songs, both good in their own way, are already in the market for these several years, some justification is needed for adding to their number. Mr Bhawe seeks it by saying that his edition is an exact copy of the MS written by one Santaji Teh, who was the Saint's contemporary and follower. Admitting this plea to be true, I confess my inability to understand how the collection written incorrectly in almost every word can with any justification be regarded as equal, much less superior, in merit to the editions printed from MSS much more correctly written down by Tukaram's contemporary followers, much more literate than Santaji Teh, and held in veneration by all to this day. The present collection however serves one good purpose of the Marathi literature, [in that it proves that several Abhangas which were so long considered as

mere interpolations, are not such, as these have been included in the utterances taken down by Santaji and therefore must be regarded as genuine. It is a pity that Mr Bhawe has not marked such Abhangas with some distinctive mark, such as an asterisk.

V. G APTE

SAUNDARYA ANI LALITA-KALA by V G, Apte, Pages 221 Price Re 1

GANDHI-GITA by the same author Pp 96, Price 5 as

The author of these books is a well known Marathi writer. He has written several books for children.

1 The first book is an Introduction to the Science of Beauty and Fine Arts. We find many books by English writers and a few by Indian writers in English on the subject of Indian Art and Aesthetics, but there was none in Marathi up till now. Our author is to be congratulated on his successful attempt in presenting the outlines of the subject in a very readable form to the Marathi-knowing public. The book is a pleasant reading. It is written in a simple and attractive style. The subject is introduced in a wonderfully easy and engaging way. Even beginners will easily grasp its contents and arguments.

2 The second book tries to state very briefly the views of Mahatma Gandhi on some of the burning and controversial questions of modern India. They are in the form of a dialogue in 18 chapters between an Indian youth, who typifies young India, and Mr Gandhi. The youth was sitting disappointed and feeling helpless at the sad plight of his country, and at the paucity of the proposed reforms, when Mahatma Gandhi approaches him, and his preaching removes his pessimism. He preaches action in place of inaction by enunciating the principles of self-reliance, self-effort and self-suffering. The two remedies for the wrongs of India are Satyagraha and Swadeshi. Every Indian must practise these without any feeling of hatred or vengeance against those who are the cause of these wrongs. No harm is to be inflicted on the offending party. When the agitation of constitutionalists, which only consisted of resolutions and protests, conferences and deputations and their constant repetitions, proved futile, Gandhi's principles of work have come as a New Faith, a fresh hope and line of action. They open fresh vistas for selfless action and the use of soul force. Thus Gandhi has preached a New Gospel not only to India but to the whole world. If followed, his Satyagraha will do away with rapine, murder, revenge and hypocrisy from the materialistic warring world and usher in an era of peace and mutual observance of rights and duties.

The compass of the book is small and therefore it seems that the subjects dealt with could not be treated with that logical accuracy and with those fuller details which were

necessary in a book of this kind. And for this very reason it is difficult to follow the reasoning adopted in stating the disastrous results of machinery and factories on the condition of India, and in the chapter on the caste system.

Some of the questions asked and doubts expressed by the disappointed youth appear to come from a newspaper correspondent or a Government apologist. I mention them as faults because the book is presented in the form of a dialogue. I do not think that any typical Indian would accept any of those roles. They are however minor faults of execution. The main ideas and principles of Mahatma Gandhi are very well expressed in short sentences and simple language.

S. V. PUNFAMBIKAR

DESHACHET DUDHYA (THE MISFORTUNE OF OUR COUNTRY) Published by Mr. P. S. Bhase, Manager, *Bharat Gujarati Granthi-Mala*, Girgaon Bombay. Pp. 212. Price 14 annas.

This book presents a vivid picture of the unfortunate tale of Indian famines and gives us an idea as to how our illiterate farmers perish for want of food which they would have been able to get, had they cared to learn the usefulness of co-operative agricultural and non-agricultural societies.

D. P. NAIK

URDU

(1) *ILM-UL MAISHAH*, by Mr. Ilyas Burney, MA, LL B. Pp. 760. Price Rs. 4. Published by *Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu*, Aurangabad (Deccan).

A fairly exhaustive treatise on the principles of economics, based on the works of Walker, Marshall, Jevons, List and other recognised authorities. It deals in a lucid way with all the important problems of wealth,—its production, its distribution, its exchange, its consumption, and their subsidiary issues. On the whole the book is a useful contribution to the science of Money and a valuable addition to the stock of serious Urdu literature.

(2) *MASHAHIR-ROMA-WA-YUNAN*, by Mr. Syed Hashmi, Vol. II pp. 378. Price Rs. 2-8. Published by *Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu*, Aurangabad (Deccan).

This is a translation of Plutarch's *Lives of Eminent Greeks and Romans*, vol. II. Plutarch is too well known to need an introduction. The work of translation has been executed faithfully and admirably. The present volume deals with the lives of Alexander, Julius Caesar, Aristidis, Cato, Demosthenes and Cicero. The Urdu knowing public will find the work both a profitable and delightful reading.

A. M.

GUJARATI

GUJARATI BHASHA NUN BRIHAD VYAKARAN (गुजराती भाषा नुन बृहद व्याकरण) by Rao Bahadur Kamalashankar Pranshankar Trivedi, B.A., Retired Principal P. R. Training College, Ahmed-

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abad published by Macmillan & Co. Bombay. Printed at the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay. Cloth bound. Pp. 580. Price Rs. 3-8-0 (1919).

This is what the author calls a higher grammar of the Gujarati language, and is very comprehensive in its scope. After Rev. Taylor's larger grammar, which was written years ago, there was need for such a work, in order to bring the subject in line with recent researches in old Gujarati in its various aspects. All modern sources and writings bearing on this rather dry and in several places thorny subject, have been consulted by the writer, and although there is room for difference of opinion on a goodly number of views urged by him, on the whole, as we have said, it is a comprehensive work. An index at the end is a feature of the book.

GAZAL-I RAJUK by Bhairunand Pranjivandas, nom-de-plume RAJUK. Published by Sheth Ghelabhai Karsandis of Hansot, printed at the Shanku Printing Press, Surat. Thick paper cover illustrated. Pp. 103+7. Price Rs. 1-0-0 (1920).

This is a collection of *gazals*, written by one who has been at pains to learn this subject-matter and mode of writing this kind of Persian composition. It is in no way remarkable or distinguishable from the common rut in which such compositions move, excepting for the fact that the beloved or *Sanam* is made to give utterance to her sentiments, a feature rarely met with in original Persian or Urdu verse.

SRI RAMKRISHNA KATHAMRI, PART II, translated by Narmadashankar Balashankar Pandya, published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 377. Price Rs. 3-0-0.

This is a very readable translation and the story told in it so vividly brings forth the character and virtues of the saint, that no one who reads it is likely to think his time wasted.

KAMALA NAN PATRO OR LETTERS OF KAMALA translated by Shivalal Uttamram Yajnik, and published by Ramaniyaram Govardhanram Tipathi, Bombay. Printed at the Tutorial Printing Press, Bombay. Cloth bound. Price Rs. 2-0-0 (1920).

Letters of Kamala are well-known in English. They portray a perfect picture of Hindu domestic life generally, and more especially of Southern India. A translation of these Letters was published in parts in the monthly "Samalochak", years ago. The translation now appears in book form and furnishes delightful reading. The introduction, which is really meant to say a few words in praise of the translator, possesses however the appearance of faintly "damning" him.

K. M. J.

Acknowledgments —

SAMYAVAD, by Babu Ram Chandra Varma. A Hindi treatise on the origin, development and diffusion

of the doctrine of Equity. Publishers The Hindi Granth-ratnakara, Kumbhari, Bombay. Pp 492. Price Rs 2-8, clothbound Rs 3.

SAHIBI SATYAN, Hindi rendering by Babu Nabujidkhal Srivastava of the Bengali of Babu Surendranath Roy. Publisher Babu Ram Lal Varma, Proprietor, Purman Press and R L Varman & Co., 371 Upper Chitpur Road, Calcutta. Pp 146, Price Re 1-8, cloth-bound Rs 2.

RAJAPUTANCHA BHISMA, a Marathi work by Narayan Hari Apte. Sole Agent Kshirsagar and Co., Price Rs 2-8.

NAHI AUR ASI DHARMATMA, by Babu Surajbhanu Vakil, Publisher, Babu Chandrasen Jain Vaidya, Ptwa. Price 8 annas.

KOMAIYALLI, Part I of a Malayalam novel by Srimati Iaravathi Ammalu Anna, the Sister of the late Dr T M Nair of Madras. The book will be complete in three parts, the remaining two parts being expected to be ready in a short time. The present volume is Priced at Re 1.

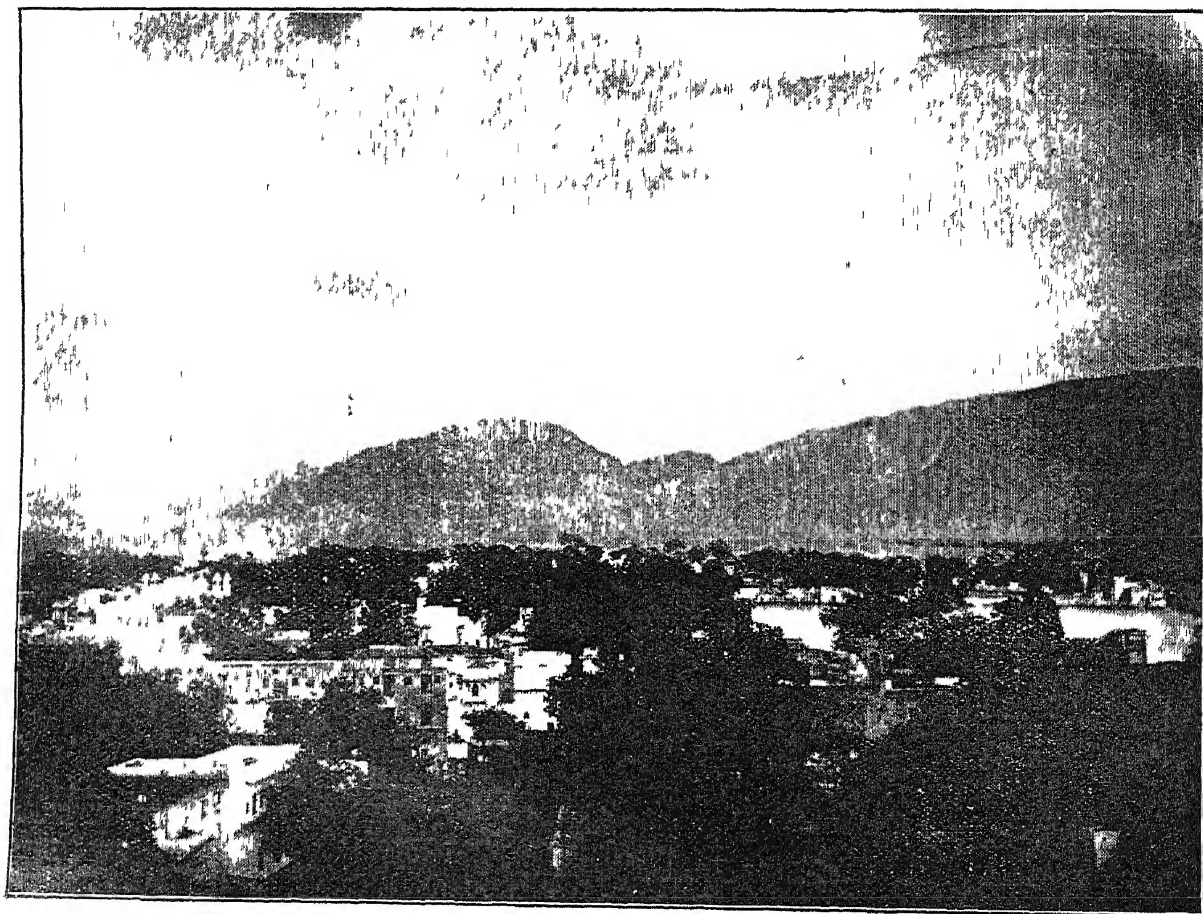
RAJIA-HOMOPATHY, an Urdu book on practical Homœopathy, by Dr S S Johar, H M B (Cal), with an introduction by Dr J Nirwairy, M B. Price Re 1-8.

Notice to Authors and Publishers of Vernacular Books

As we have not been able in a good many cases to do justice to books published in most of the principal vernaculars of India, we regret to have to announce that from the next issue we shall cease to publish notices of vernacular books. Authors and Publishers of such books will kindly henceforth refrain from sending them to us—Editor, "The Modern Review."

PUSHKAR INDIA'S MOST SACRED LAKE

FEW would dispute the claim the Pushkar is the most sacred lake in British India. The only one in Asia that may compete with it in this respect is the Manas Sarovar Lake in Tibet, which, of course, is not in India. Pushkar is not easily accessible, for it lies some ten miles beyond Ajmer, and is reached



General Views of the Lake and Town of Pushkar



A Street Scene at Pushkar

by a rough road. It is situated in a narrow valley surrounded by immense mounds of shifting sand. There are a few isolated peaks in the vicinity. The form of the lake is an irregular ellipse, and on every side save that towards the marshy outlet are interesting temples and cenotaphs representing a large number of Hindu families of high rank.

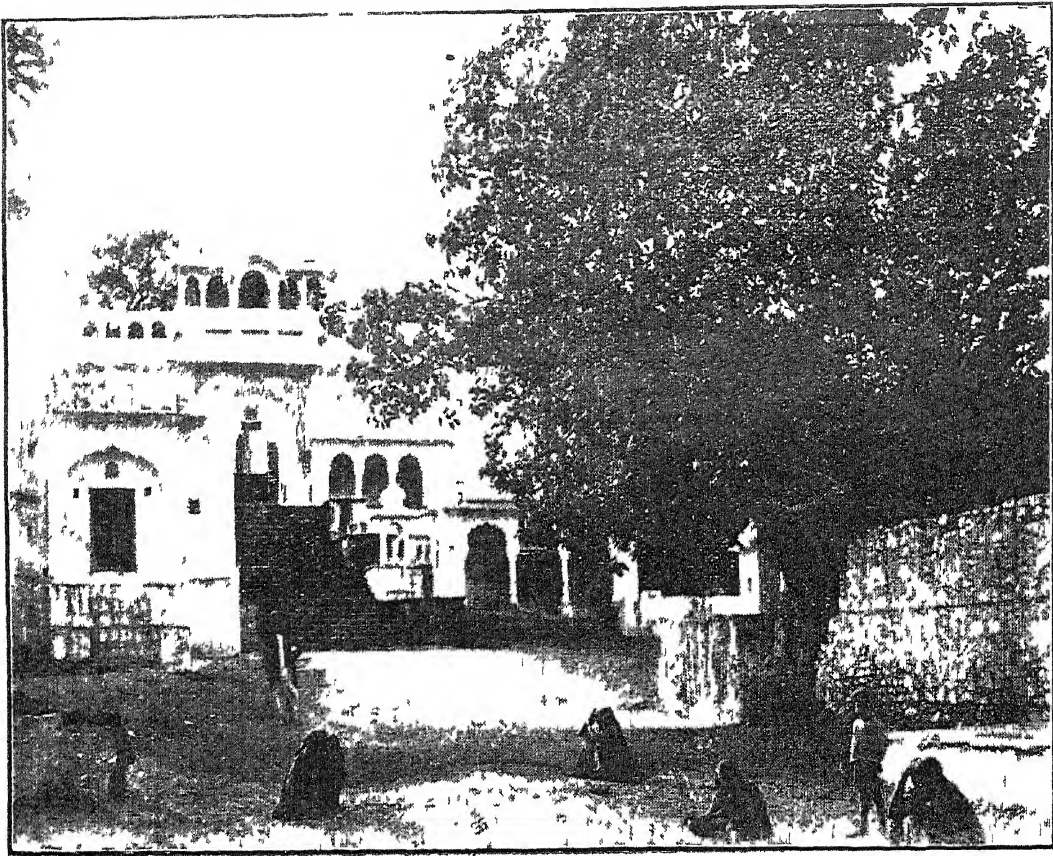
Like all lakes, mountains, and rivers which have become sacred, Pushkar has a legend to explain its origin. It is said that the God Brahma stopped in this spot with the object of performing the Yoga. Certain precautions were necessary that he might not be interrupted by the evil spirits that infested the neighbourhood. Before commencing the ceremony he raised four huge mountains and placed sentinels on their summits to prevent the intrusion of the genii. All the preparations were completed when he noticed that his wife,

Saraswati, had not accompanied him and as the presence of a woman was necessary, he employed one of the Apsaras to take her place.

On her return Saraswati was so enraged at the indignity, that she retired to the mountain of gems, where she disappeared. Here according to the legend, she was transformed into a fountain.

In after ages this place was visited by one of the sovereigns of Phurdore, who, tired after a day of hard sport, rushed to the fountain and washed his hands therein. Then followed a marvellous cure. That he might know the place again he tore his turban into shreds and suspended the fragments to the trees to serve as guides to the spot. Returning with his followers he made the excavation which now forms the Pushkar Lake.

The lake soon became a favourite resort of pilgrims and attracted not only the low

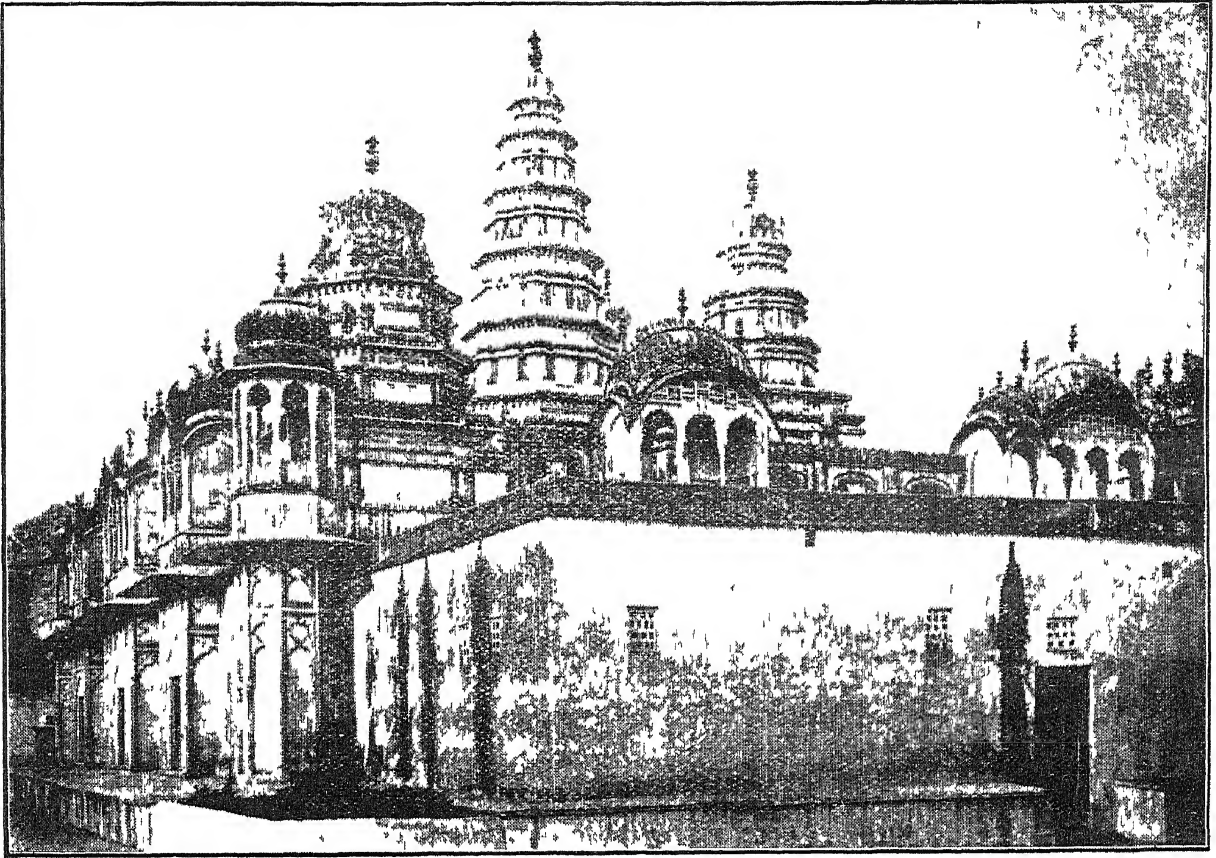


Temple of Brahma at Pushkar.

classes but also the members of the highest families. Wealthy pilgrims visited the place and, in addition to munificent gifts to the Brahmins, they built large temples on the shores of the lake. The kings of Jaipur and Jodhpur were among the keenest devotees of this sacred place, and there was practically no limit to their charity. The buildings erected by the rich nobles now form a triple circle round the lake, and there is probably nowhere in India a more unique collection. Many of the old structures are practically in ruins, but a study of them will give an idea of the great variety of architecture practised in the Middle Ages in India. So keen were the nobles to have a temple or cenotaph in this place that the architects actually erected structures in the very bed of the lake during some extraordinarily dry season when the lake was very low. The result is that many of these buildings are practically covered with water. In order that the lake should remain at one level the

people some years ago requested the British Government to construct a canal to carry off the surplus.

The Travellers' Bungalow is a native house in a line with the temples on the shore, and from it the visitor can obtain a splendid view of the ghats, which are frequently crowded with pilgrims from all parts of India. It is a scene of great activity and interest. Even before the sun appears above the distant peaks on the horizon, says one writer, inhabitants and pilgrims hasten to wash themselves in the healing waters. A thousand bathers appear and disappear among the limpid waves, defying the alligators, who, frightened by the noise, keep at a distance. A bevy of young girls, covered merely with gauze veils, disport themselves in the lake in front of the temples of Krishna, the God of Love, making the shores resound with their ringing laughter, and when from time to time they pause in their sport and rise out of the waves with their hair streaming



Temple of Rama at Pushkar

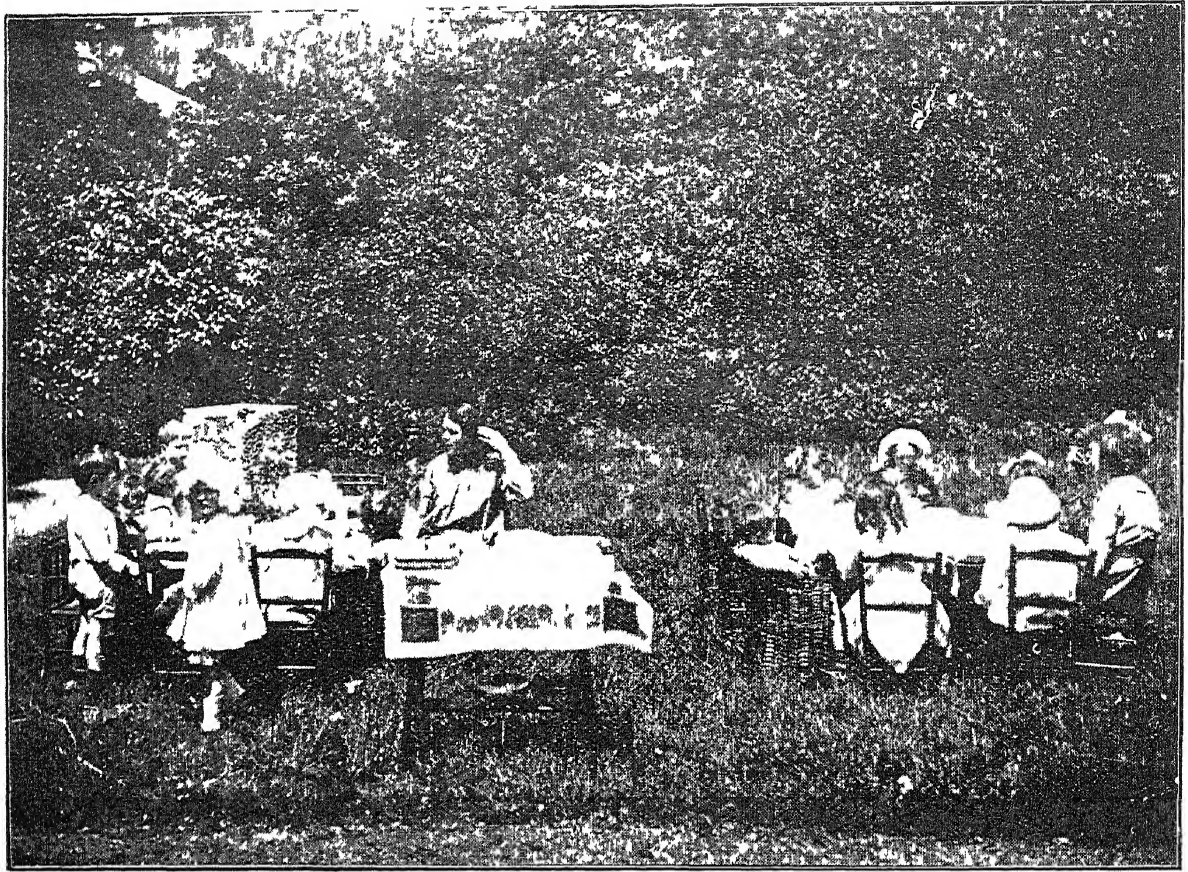
over their bare shoulders, one might easily take them for the beautiful Apsaras who were able to charm the divine Brahma. The sun rises like a ball of fire from behind the glowing rocks, giving a marvellous brilliancy to the white domes and spires. The pilgrims then throng the ghats, and the multitude silently enters the water. It is the hour of prayer. Every face is turned toward the rising orb and the sacred rites commence. The person initiated takes some water in the hollow of his hand, at the same time pronouncing his orisons in a low voice, after which he throws the water towards the sun and the four points of the compass in succession. When the rite is over the noise recommences.

As is the case in most of the sacred places in India, there are always Brahmins ready to offer their services to the pilgrims. Some of the poor pilgrims get rather roughly handled, and only by the payment

of a considerable sum are they able to have the necessary ceremonies performed for them.

Though Pushkar is still visited by large numbers of pilgrims, especially in October and November, when there are about 100,000, this is nothing like the number who went there in the middle ages. Even the noble families have ceased to show much interest in the place, and little is done to keep their temples in good condition.

Apart from the sacredness of the lake, Pushkar is of interest because here is one of the very few temples dedicated to the first member of the trinity, Brahma. There are several other places in India where this god is worshipped, but they are insignificant. Here, however, we find a fine big temple richly built of marble, situated on the summit of a mound overlooking the lake, where Brahma is regularly worshipped. It stands in a small courtyard, surrounded by buildings in which live the



Children lay the table for meals as a part of their Education, and eat their meals in the open

(To illustrate the article on *Utopian Schools for London Children*)

priests In front of the temple are two marble elephants and a few well executed statues The structure was erected by Gokul Pank, the minister of the Raja of Scindia

One of the most curious features of Hindu religion has been the subordinate place to which Brahma has been reduced, and the practical extinction of his worship Rousselette mentions an explanation given to him by one of the priests Briefly summarised it is as follows In some mysterious way Brahma appeared in the huge lotus flower which had sprung from the navel of Vishnu, who had for ages been living beneath the waves of the great ocean On reaching the light Brahma gazed around, contemplating the immensity of space, and seeing no other creature, concluded that he must be the first of all things, the God of Gods Troubled by the solitude he slid down the lotus stem and found Vishnu, whom he unceremoniously awoke

demanding to know who he was Vishnu replied hotly that he was the first of gods, a claim which Brahma disputed Whereupon ensued a quarrel which might have proved serious had not Mahadeva, the god holding the third place in the trinity, appeared He promised that the one who should first discover the origin of the Deity should be eternally recognised as the sovereign of the universe After long thought and searching, Vishnu humbly declared he was unable to give an answer, but Brahma boastfully gave his ideas As a witness to his statements he brought what he declared was the first created cow, who supported his master's false statements Enraged at this falsehood Mahadeva drew his sword and cut off one of Brahma's five heads, declaring that he should never have either temple or worship A malediction was pronounced on the cow who was condemned to lose the power of speech and to feed on grass But to



Children wash theirs and themselves as a part of their Education

(To illustrate the article on *Utopian Schools for London Children*)

Vishnu was given the gift of universal adoration, for he had acknowledged that Deity had no limits

One of the largest of the temples in Pushkar is a modern building dedicated to Rama. It is a curious mixture of every style of architecture, being surmounted by towers, placed close together like the stamba of the Jains, and by the minarets which is the plan adopted from the Deccan. The outside walls are in the Sikh style, and the architecture of the lateral buildings is in the Rajput style.

The journey from Ajmer to Pushkar is one of interest. For the first few miles

the road is fairly level along the banks of the Ana Saugar, but some distance out one has to pass through a mountain which consists of a perpendicular wall, sixty feet in breadth. On the other side of the defile is a fine panoramic view of the country around Pushkar. But everywhere there is sand, and sometimes it seems almost an impossible task to get through it. Surely there are few places where sand lies so deep on the roads and in the town. To attempt to remove would meet with little success for it would quickly return.

VELOX

UTOPIAN SCHOOLS FOR LONDON CHILDREN

A NOVEL IDEA FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE YOUNG

PERHAPS never before in the history of the world has the child become of such paramount importance as he is in Britain today. The horrible wastage of

human life in the recent war is no doubt responsible for this, and people have begun to realise that the future of Britain rests upon the shoulders of the tiny children we



Children carry their own beds as a part of their Education

see around us. They are looking to the children to build up the places which have been laid waste, for "The race marches forward on the feet of little children."

A GRAVE ANXIETY

It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the care and upbringing of the children of England has become a thing of grave anxiety to the governing bodies, as well as to those people who have the welfare of the child at heart. The methods of education which have been in use in public schools and colleges for so long, and which have, up to the present, been considered as satisfactory and sufficient for the education and upbringing of the young of this country are being discarded as ridiculous and out-of-date, and are coming in for an amount of adverse criticism which has completely upset the ideas and standards of those whose business it has been to lay down the educative rules and regulations for the community.

MEDIAEVAL METHODS.

Present-day methods of education are being turned down as mediaeval, and as tending to retard the brain development and deaden the intellect of the child, and in many cases with children of a highly nervous and artistic temperament as tending to do them material and irreparable injury.

NATURAL DEVELOPMENT

It is now argued that children should be allowed to develop in their own way and according to their own particular tastes and inclinations. If a child shows natural ability for drawing or painting he must be allowed to cultivate that special gift, and it is to be fostered and encouraged accordingly.

How IT IS DONE.

But how is this to be done? No doubt there are readers who will ask this

question I too, wondered, and though I applauded the scheme I did not think it was practical until I visited one of the model schools that have lately been opened in London, and saw the working of the scheme for myself

A WONDERFUL SCHEME

The whole idea seems to be to allow the children to do exactly what they like. There are no fixed lessons, the children amusing themselves in their own particular way. I heard from the teacher that one small child of three years drew nothing else but flags for a whole week, whilst another found equal delight in painting the dog, which is part and parcel of the school.

NEVER A CROSS WORD

In these wonderful schools these children never hear a cross or ugly word. They are taught by reason, by colour, by measurement, by sound, by observation. They learn to button and unbutton, to lay the table for meals, to eat their meals properly, to wash themselves, to be clean and tidy, to sing and to play and above all, to be honourable, unselfish, and kind to one another.

WONDERFUL RESULTS

The work has already shown the most wonderful results, and after two or three months the children are entirely altered in health and character. When they first come to the school they are rough and rude like the majority of children in England, but after a little time they become gentle and refined, courteous and obliging. "It is when they first come and do not understand the discipline that they are a trouble," the teacher informed me, "but they soon alter and become quite different."

A SPLENDID IDEA

It is a beautiful idea and I was amazed to see such wonderful results. The teacher's voice was never raised above a whisper to any of the children. They were never chided or scolded or smacked as is the usual school method. They all seemed to do exactly as they liked, and yet the

restraining hand was there, firm yet gentle, but so carefully hidden, that the childish eyes never perceived it.

HAPPY AND CONTENTED

The children were perfectly happy and absorbed, each one with his own mat upon which he sat with his toy letters, box of bricks, beads or frames, with which he learns the rudiments of education. The teacher goes from one to another and "suggests" how the letter A could be made, or how many beads would make four.

THE BEST FROM MONTESSORI AND FROEBEL

The most wonderful part is that the children never forget the lessons they learn in this way. Their small brains are never crammed with an amount of material so bewildering and so tiring to the childish mind. They are not worried with things they do not understand. They just develop naturally. The whole system has been evolved from the very best of the Montessori and Froebel systems.

MANNERS AND COURTESY

The children have their dinner at the School as it is considered part of their education to learn how to eat properly, how to lay the table, how to wait upon other people, etc. It is amusing to watch tiny youngsters of three and four years solemnly carrying the dishes to the table without a drop of soup being spilt or a crumb wasted, and waiting upon one another with the old-fashioned courtesy of a hundred years ago.

THE PROMOTERS OF THE SCHEME

And who, you will say, were the promoters of such a scheme? I was discussing the subject with Mrs Stroud, the Hon. Secretary, who informed me that all honour is due to Miss Belle Rennie as the Promoter, but I think that second place must be given to Mrs Stroud who is working for the scheme with her whole heart and soul. It is a great and noble work upon which they are engaged.

SPECIAL TRAINING COLLEGE FOR STUDENTS

There is a special Training College

attached to these schools, and Mis Stroud informed me that they would be glad to welcome all Indian students to the college to whom the idea appealed for a course of training. The students are especially trained in this novel method of instructing the young, which is already having such wonderful results. The aim of the College is to turn out teachers pre-eminently fitted to deal with every phase of the physical, mental, and spiritual development of the tiny child.

THE ULTIMATE OBJECT

It used to be an old saying here that when children were quiet they were always up to mischief, but this must be ruled out of copybooks now. The children are very quiet indeed in these model schools, for every tiny mite is so intensely interested in something quite new and

fascinating. Everything carried on in the schools is a step onward in the purposes defined, which are—first, the training of the child's nerves, muscles and senses, and second, the training of his character and the bringing out of his individuality.

A WELCOME TO INDIAN STUDENTS

If there are any Indian students who would care to take up a course of training they will be heartily welcomed at the Gipsy Hill Training College and Nursery Schools, Gipsy Hill, London, S E, from whence they can obtain all particulars as to fees, etc.

The scheme is a great one, and worthy of all support, and the results already obtained are far beyond the expectations of the promoters. We hope they will continue the good work.

EVA L. WILLIS

EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN MYSORE AND IN BENGAL A COMPARISON AND A CONTRAST

BY PROFESSOR RADHAKAMAL MOOKERJEE, M A, P R S

THE announcement of Sirdar M Kantaraj Urs, C S I, Dewan of Mysore, before a recent session of the Mysore Representative Assembly that all fees in middle schools should be abolished, all education below the High School grade being imparted absolutely free, has been hailed with delight throughout India, as it has clearly shown the solicitude of a beneficent Indian prince and a progressive and paternal state for the social amelioration of the people. But it has also brought to the front some pressing problems of educational policy which if not tackled successfully at the present stage may lead to educational barrenness, if not suicide. Throughout India the prospects of technological training in all its grades have been woefully neglected and to this is in not a small measure due not only our industrial backwardness but also the predilections of

our *intelligentia* for clerical occupations and the professions to the neglect of the productive pursuits of life*. If we add to this the more or less exclusive pursuit of the literary vocation by the Brahmins which has dominated the educational ideal and outlook of India, we can easily understand the persistence of the exclusively bookish tradition in all grades of

* Cf what Sir Nilratan Sircar, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, said in his second convocation address this year —

"The economic pressure on the *Bhadralok*, however, has succeeded in working the needed change in mind and temper and for the last ten years it would be correct to say that it is the dearth or absence of opportunity for studying technological and agricultural courses in the University that has maintained the dominance of the purely literary or legal studies therein rather than the absence of a disposition on the part of our young men to avail themselves of such opportunities."—Ed, M R

instruction. Nowhere has the bookish tradition been more unmitigated, more arid and barren than in the South. Here the sociological cleavage between the classes and the masses, between the specialist and the layman, between the brain-worker and the manual labourer, between the *parishad* and the *parichari* has led to a cumulative increase of economic and cultural disparity well nigh destroying the harmony of social and political life. A class of specialised workers who think with the spinal cord rather than with the brain, who crowd together in the already overcrowded literary professions with consequent evils of middle class poverty, declining birth-rate and physical degeneration, a class of socially backward and depressed manual labourers, who do not get the requisite social opportunities without which their economic efficiency would mean more drink and more degradation and yet who are weaned from their natural and legitimate vocations to train themselves up in the norms and traditions of life of the intellectual classes that yet deny them entrance,—these are the sociological data which an educationist in the South must seriously ponder over before he can try his experimentation. The whole educational atmosphere in the South is indeed filled with vague but real alarm with opposite and contradictory currents of thought, the dreams of radical reformers and the sighs of conservative reactionaries, and yet the longings for the gradual and healthful reconstruction of life and of society are clearly discernible. Nothing is more essential today than to combat the growing separatist tendencies, which have already brought about an isolation and segregation of cultural interests from those of life and of labour. It is this separatism which has today formed an almost unsurmountable obstacle to the development of a healthy nationalism in the South by easily playing into the hands of zealous Christian missionaries and of scheming administrators and grabbing politicians to the weakness of the whole social fabric and the dismay of real patriots. In the re-orientation of studies from the University down to the secondary

and primary grades of instruction, we should aim at a unification and direction of the abstract analysis or subtle reasoning and the barren intellectualism of the literate castes, and the natural endowment of mechanical skill and dexterity of the proletariat in healthful channels of cure and social endeavour. Educational organisation must have to satisfy this imperative sociological requirement.

Among the directions in which the Calcutta University Commission have recommended a new advance in Indian educational theory and practice are the importance attached to scientific and technological training,* the recognition of the place of the vernacular, the supervision of students' health and welfare and the encouragement of corporate college life and activities, the examination reform, the creation of a teaching and residential university,† the encouragement of research in a teaching university with the colleges of Calcutta taking part in the system of co-operative teaching and the majority of university teachers attached to them. In the postponement of new regional Universities of Bengal, in the organisation and control of secondary and intermediate education, the constitution of the machinery of co-operation between the University and the different Colleges of Calcutta, the Commission, however, have taken only half measures and shown either a disrespect of modern democratic ideals demanding a control of all the stages of education by the people and public opinion or an unpractical and needless compromise leading to a bewildering complication of the machinery which involves serious financial and administrative difficulties. But these are questions on which public attention will be

* The Commission's recommendations are quite half-hearted on the subject of technological training, as we have shown in our Notes in a previous issue—Ed, M R

† It is a mistake to think that a residential university would be necessarily an advance on existing conditions. If residence were essential for educational advancement, all the new British Universities would have been residential, but as a matter of fact not a single British University established in modern times is residential—Ed, M R

concentrated when the Senate and Post-Graduate Council Committees of the Calcutta University publish their criticism and suggestions. Meanwhile the Dacca Bill, taken up isolated and piece-meal from the different changes which the Commission recommended that they should be effected simultaneously has been introduced in the Supreme Council, and is awaiting public opinion [the present article was written at the time the Bill was introduced]. 'The trying period of uncertainty and unrest with few compensating advantages' which the Commission anticipated in case of the creation of the University of Dacca without direct amendment of the Universities Act, has been all the more anxious, as in the Dacca Bill, in the system of governance proposed and some other aspects of educational organisation and administration, reactionary and orthodox elements and interests show themselves which may be indicative of government views that will ultimately control the re-constitution of the University of Calcutta. These may be local problems in Bengal, but in their solution lies largely the future of the Universities of Madras, Bombay, Allahabad and Lahore, as well as the 'potential universities'. It is well-known that both the Indian Industrial and the Calcutta University Commissions have emphasised the need of adequate technical, scientific and industrial instruction in all grades of teaching. But this merely reiterates the demands of the Indian publicists for more than two decades. The Commission observes 'One of the chief functions of a University is to meet the intellectual needs of the industrial and commercial world and to establish such contacts between different groups of investigators and of students as will make the whole academic body an active school of thought, of citizenship and public service'. It is only under such conditions that the University discharges its responsibility to the industrial and commercial communities, and to the industries which these subserve.

And here we must emphasise regional requirements as the basis of technological instruction as we have emphasised socio-

logical requirements in another field. In a great industrial and commercial city like Calcutta, it will be altogether inadequate if the University College of Science and the Sir Taraknath Palit Laboratory merely revel themselves in the analysis of gases and the enunciation of theoretical laws, the analysis of the physical concepts and the morphology of plants, while specialists from abroad required for the management of industrial, chemical, electrical and mining concerns utilise our capital, our resources and our labour, while our vast agricultural and forest products, our vegetable dyes, tanning materials and drugs are running into waste, while our agriculture is a victim of preventible pests and our sericulture a prey to pestilence. The Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore where some Bengalee students work has already achieved important results in applied physics and chemistry which will be fruitful as industrial applications in Mysore, thus serving as an eye-opener to the Bengalee physicist and chemist whose and whose pupils' specialised knowledge is of no solution to the all-engrossing bread-problem of Bengal. It is social inspiration and regional initiative that add the much-needed zest and grace to original research. In the Southern universities of Madras and Mysore the industrial and commercial conditions offer fewer opportunities to a technological department, but both Madras and Mysore are evidently convenient and suitable centres for the advanced training of students to meet the requirements of their tanning and leather industries, their mining and engineering works (in Mysore), some branches of the textile industry as well as research in forestry, sericulture and veterinary science, industrial and applied chemistry, including for example colour chemistry and the preparation of dyes, gas analysis, oils and distillation, also agricultural chemistry in connection with a university agricultural course and farm. The Agricultural College at Coimbatore the proposed agricultural college at Mysore and the National College at Adyar might usefully promulgate the results of research at Pusa, Poona, Cawnpore or other agricultural stations and

determine their regional applications, training young graduates in agriculture and various agricultural occupations. In view of the great economic initiatives and experiments and the forward policy of the Ex-Dewan, Sir M. Visvesvaraya, in the development and organisation of the industrial and mineral resources of Mysore which has since been steadily and progressively pursued, the new university must have to address itself more adequately to the task of supplying Mysore with new industrialists, mechanics, mining and irrigation engineers, work-shop managers and *entrepreneurs* for her workshops and factories, her engineering iron works and mining establishments, her great water-falls, dams and preserved forests, her mulberry fields and agricultural experimental stations. Maintaining the departments in Science and Engineering on old lines, and establishing new departments of Botany, Zoology and Agriculture on the models of the older universities which will be engaged in pure science, will not meet the demands of the situation and will lead to disappointment and ultimate reaction against the university itself. The Mysore State has moved to a new conception of its duties and responsibilities to develop by paternal legislation and administration the industrial resources and economic well-being of the average people. An old university in a new state will be totally out of place. Again among the provinces of India, Madras is least fitted to develop along the lines of western industrialism, while both natural resources in minerals and water power as well as state encouragement are easily establishing the industrial predominance of Mysore. Thus the Mysore University is bound sooner or later to outgrow the limitations of its birth, and its nurture in the lap of the agricultural alma mater, to develop along the lines of scientific, technological and industrial work, work on the industrial applications of science and the improvements of the arts, industries, manufactures and agriculture of the state, which the far-sighted policy of several illustrious Dewans has emphasised so much and in fact has forced upon the University. The Dewan of Mysore in his address to the

Mysore Representative Assembly has referred to 'the criticism levelled at our industrial policy', that it is largely one-sided and is a matter of the state running a few concerns in which the public have no share, as not altogether unfounded. It is only when the university creates an industrial atmosphere necessary for the birth and growth of sound schemes of industrial advancement that private initiative and enterprise will come forward to reap the full benefits of direct state aid and encouragement to industries.

But a more important instrument for the creation of the industrial atmosphere than a university, truly regional and civic, is the school where the syllabuses should be so oriented as to increase the industrial bias in student life. In the field of education India needs above everything else a modernised secondary education in which science and vocational instruction and guidance are indispensable. Calcutta wanted not a University Commission, but a Primary and Secondary Education Commission to consider the problems that pressed for an immediate solution.

It is to be regretted that primary education and the earlier parts of secondary education were placed beyond the scope of the Calcutta University Commission. For it is difficult to over-estimate the importance of providing our country with the right kind of practical school instruction. To give a practical bent to education, it is the primary and secondary schools rather than the universities, to which the statesman and the administrator must look.

The recent memorandum on education published by the Mysore Government, is remarkable in Mysore for the breadth and clearness with which the I. G. of Education, Mr C. R. Reddy, has expressed his views with regard to the Polytechnic type of schools in Mysore. The essential features of Mr Reddy's scheme of educational organisation are (1) a system of Kindergarten in the Primary Schools, (2) agricultural education in the rural middle schools with an alternative industrial course in urban middle schools, or, as a modification, training in agri-

culture and one industry in the rural middle schools and two industries in the City middle schools, (3) revision for a three years' course in industries of agriculture as optional within the curriculum combined with general education in the High Schools, (4) specialised technical schools for more advanced courses as well as continuation classes for adult workmen.

Such a scheme would provide for a well-ordered gradation of technical education combined with general education. It will develop among the students a technical sense which will enable them to adopt themselves more easily to the more advanced courses in applied science and technology at the University. It will create a taste for independent livelihood, the appreciation and the demand for an industrial career, which are now so essential sociological requirements in India. It is for this reason that I think the scheme enthusiastically advocated by Mr. Reddy on which he has brought to bear his wide and accurate first-hand knowledge of the recent educational organisation of Germany, America, Canada and Japan, as well as his sympathy with and keen and quick perception of the new social and economic motives of the masses marks a development of critical importance to the history of educational policy and ideals in India. The Mysore University, on the other hand, represents the last term of an obsolete series, a new institution bending under the weight of old wrappings. Nothing is more interesting in the Calcutta University Commission Report than the description of the stages of the development of western education in this country, characterised by a close imitation of the models of the older University of London exactly when by a curious irony those models were being rejected in England. If we must imitate the west, let us imitate not the obsolete west, but the new and the changing west. And yet in Mysore, in spite of the fundamental reconstruction of the Indian university system and organisation that is now going on, we find the university absolutely impervious to those definite advances in Indian educational theory and practice, just before enumerated,

which will sooner or later revolutionise all the universities in the country on the basis of the Calcutta University Commission's recommendations.

Oxford and Cambridge, London in its older form and its imitations, for example, Calcutta and Madras rather than the new universities, Birmingham or Leeds, Chicago or Wisconsin, are more influential in moulding the ideas of higher education in Mysore, while the newer vices of the state-aided and state-controlled universities are already beginning to appear in the governance of the University by the state-made national—official bureaucracy. In secondary education there is really a serious attempt at 'modernisation'. The educational organisation in the primary and secondary grades of instruction represents a new departure that has important lessons for educationists throughout India, who are all thinking to develop a system of primary and secondary education that will combine literary education with industrial training in all grades.

It is sad to reflect in this connection that even such a distinguished and practical body as the Calcutta University Commission which have grasped the educational situation in India have yet applied disappointing remedies which are worse than no remedies to the reorganisation of our characterless sterile secondary education. Much of the educational backwardness of England has been attributed to the neglect of science and vocational education in the lower grades and both Germany and America have for the last two or three decades been serving as models throughout the world for the introduction of vocational courses as alternatives or optionals in general schools and continuation classes for the working folk. This forms indeed the chief feature of modernised secondary education. The Commission know it very well, and yet have totally neglected the importance of vocational instruction and guidance recognised even in Japan and the Philippines under the guise of securing "and illuminating introduction to science" in teaching which 'practical work and training can be combined'. Nothing in the

whole report is more conservative and reactionary, more untrue to modern democratic ideals of education and more unsatisfactory as we consider India's special requirements, and yet the Commission fully understood the defect in our country arising from the neglect of science and technology which they wanted to remedy by the provision only of *some* technical training among the courses recommended for the *intermediate* colleges. It is difficult to overestimate the dangers of the set-back thus given to educational policy, for in India it seems that everything that comes from the west is accepted without discrimination as an axiomatic truth.

It is a matter for congratulation that in Mysore at any rate in the reorganisation of education they are devising a scheme which will combine general with vocational education right from the very bottom carefully handling the material in its plastic infancy and making transition to higher education easy and natural. It should be noted in this connection that the Mysore memorandum has rightly recognised that compulsory education without adequate provision for vocational instruction may do more harm than good. In Bengal in spite of the Report of Dr Sadler's Commission the cause of the primary schools is being similarly arranged and the work of class V will be of vocational nature and is intended to suit the requirements of those boys whose studies would ordinarily not extend beyond the primary stage.

We find the attempt in a recent memorandum circulated by the Government of Bengal and note with great interest the effort at simplification and unification of the different curricula and the co-ordination of the curriculum which will now comprise a wide range of subjects, a simple knowledge in which is essential for the pupils in our primary schools.

It is right that nature study and kindergarten should now form an essential part of the teaching and that the observations from the region or locality will be utilised in connection with geography, botany, zoology, &c. The practice of daily

weather observations and nature observation in the nature diary that will now be introduced will prove to be of great interest and delight to the pupils whose knowledge will be related to environmental facts and conditions. School gardening will introduce an efficient system of practical instruction.

But besides the garden the school also requires a small workshop. The vocational bias is to be encouraged from the very beginning. Unfortunately the pupils in the Bengal scheme can leave class IV for the higher grade of secondary instruction without going through any vocational instruction. The work of class V will be of a vocational nature, but it is meant for those who do not rise beyond the primary stage. It is true that in primary schools technical subjects such as agriculture, horticulture, handicrafts or industries should not be directly taught, but ideas relating to rural economy and industries should be conveyed through the lessons in the text-books and mainly by practical demonstration in school gardens and workshops. Rural agriculture and village cottage industries with special reference to the region or locality must provide the data, familiar to sons of agriculturists and artisans, through which elementary botany, mechanics, rural husbandry, etc. may be illuminatively introduced.

In the secondary stage direct vocational instruction ought to be more emphasised. In the rural middle schools agriculture should form a compulsory part of the curriculum, while in the urban middle schools, as the bulk of students are not likely to adopt agriculture as their main occupation the course in industrial training ought to be compulsory and more diversified. Nor should our high schools persist in imparting a uniformly barren education. A three years' course in industries or agriculture should be provided as optional within the curriculum in the high school stage, for high schools should train not only for the university but also for the vocations in life. A considerably large part of the student population, whose needs are ignored by our present system, should learn something to go upon when

hey do not ordinarily go beyond this stage. All this is implied in the Mysore G. of Education's scheme.

It will thus be the task of secondary schools to continue the practical course so that the student may earn living without a long course of subsequent special training in polytechnic institutes and workshops. The introduction of music, marching drill and country games as well as hygiene, village sanitation, sick nursing and domestic economy are among other excellent features of the proposed curriculum in Bengal. These assuredly demand recognition in the curriculum for the primary and secondary schools in Mysore.

The problem of the medium of instruction in the primary and middle grades and that of special measures for the promotion and supervision of the education of the backward and depressed classes is discussed with a passion and a bias that will surprise a northerner. But these are South Indian conditions and problems. In this solution the southerner should also find some lessons from the educational experiences of the north. The vernacular is gaining an increasing ascendancy in the secondary schools in Bengal and we look up to a time as near when the vernacular will be used as the medium throughout the secondary schools and intermediate collegiate stage for all subjects other than English and Mathematics. The multiplicity of tongues in the Punjab and Madras in the midst of which none get sufficiently encouraged and developed as to become the medium of secondary education or the ordinary and favourite channel of culture is largely responsible for water-tight compartments in culture and in society and narrowness of vision and ideals which are the bane of social and educational life and organisation in the South. The remedy can only lie in raising the status of the vernacular and giving it its rightful place in a scientific organisation of secondary and university education on the one hand and systematically cultivating vernacular literature as an instrument of culture and its propagation on the other. Nothing is more mischievous and indefensible for a South Indian University than the neglect of the

vernacular, for it is a vernacular, protected and encouraged, and ultimately possessing an educative literature that can alone bridge the yawning gulf between the intellectuals and the masses,—a gulf which the sole English standard will only increase to the confusion and death to all the higher democratic ideals of university education and extension.

A problem more pressing, more imperative is that of *panchama* education. We have the *nama-sudras* and other similar classes in Bengal, but the cultural disparity is not so marked as here, the lack of social and economic opportunities not so emphasised. The solution can come only with the rise of a new social and economic democracy that will restore the balance between worth or service and respectability on the social hierarchy, the sliding scale in social stratification based on the recognition of the virtues of heredity as well as of individual variation and specific talent, the gradual and increasing desire of the *intelligentia* to relate their life and interests to healthy and productive pursuits and not to parasitical professions and explorative means of livelihood,—an economic revolution in which the Brahmins and non-Brahmins will hold their own side by side in arts, industries and labour, the economic uplift of the masses, rise in their standard of comfort and of activities with new social opportunities, the desire for a new social harmony, a new idealism and emotionalism which will react from ceremonious disputations about an abstract God and a far-off heaven but establish the paradise here on earth and now, the birth of a new faith in each man's infinite worth, be he a prince or a pariah. All this implies a new social and civic conscience and educational organisation of the state in the secondary or university grade while it can to some extent lead, it will have very largely to follow it. More useful and unifying than state agencies of education are private civic and social service organisations that evoke and unite sacrifices of the educational dreamers and idealists, whose hopes and fears, aspirations and failures, society and the state ultimately reap the full benefits.

of in the gradual and healthful reconstructions of life by educational initiatives and experiments which will no longer be in advance of public opinion. Their need is very great throughout the South where the bureaucracy exhibits an adamant opposition to new experiments,

but more especially in Mysore where in the fields of education, industry and politics alike the capacity of the people to avail themselves of the opportunities given to them by an enlightened Prince and nationalist Dewans lags far behind the latter's anxiety on their behalf.

AMERICANIZATION

BY MISS M. AUSTINE STANLEY, M. A.,

INSTRUCTOR IN THE HARVARD SCHOOL FOR BOYS, CHICAGO

DURING the early months just following our entrance into the Great War, we in "These United States", began to realize that a large foreign element had come to us in the last generation or two and had chosen to become American citizens. When our regiments sailed away they carried with them the descendants of the old colonial families, the sons of the naturalized Americans, and also thousands upon thousands of young foreigners who had not been long enough in this country to become American citizens.

Then it was, the thought came to us, what had we done for these foreign-born men, that they should wish to share with us the uncertainties of war?

For the most part, in times of peace, the foreigners in our midst were left very much to themselves. Coming here they usually became identified with some particular groups of their own countrymen, among whom they lived and worked. If any wished to become American citizens, we adopted them—elected them mayors of cities, governors of states and even sent them to the United States Congress. If



Children are being examined at a Child-welfare exhibit.

any remained here only a few years, made a little money by hard labour, and then returned to the country from which they came, we never regretted their departure nor missed them after they had gone. Of the foreigners between our shores, we asked only this that they obey our laws and respect our traditions—only this and no more.



American Indian in his primitive state

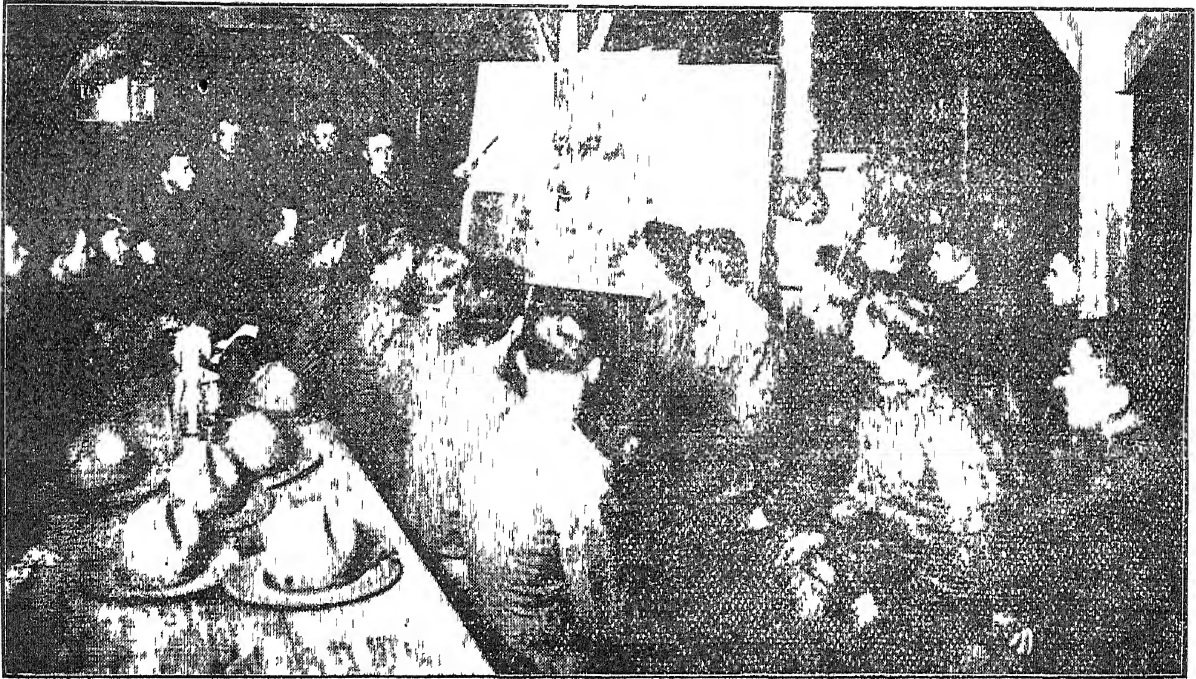
What then united these people to us in time of war? We do not definitely know—yet we have positive evidence of their loyalty in our army, navy, and marines, and earnest support in the Liberty loan bonds, as well as in their liberal subscriptions to the Red Cross and the Salvation Army funds.

Had we been inhospitable and unkind to these would-be American citizens? We had not meant to be inhospitable and unkind. Had they been lonely and homesick in our midst—these voluntary exiles from foreign countries—and we had not comforted them? We had not meant to be thoughtless and unsympathetic and thus unnecessarily add to their loneliness and perhaps even regrets.

No doubt, the fact that we had not understood their various languages and various customs contributed largely to our unconscious neglect and indifference. Yet even these would not altogether excuse us, for in this country education is free for the most part, and we could have insisted upon this—that they learn our language. Thus, we could have more readily understood one another. But as soon as we came to the consciousness that we had neglected the strangers in our midst, we began to prepare to avoid, in the future, such mistakes.

To that end the public evening schools commenced to conduct special classes for the adult foreign-born. Many factories and shops set apart an hour a day, in which to give instruction to their foreign-born employees, in reading and writing English, and in the study of American citizenship. In the public parks the school children gave in the open air patriotic programs to which thousands and thousands of foreign-born mothers and fathers came. In the community centers was established community singing. Here many nationalities met and sang together. In no way can the hearts of the people be so readily reached as through music. Though the words of the song may change, the tune is always the same, which proves that we cannot sing together and be strangers. On the anniversary of our Independence Day all the foreign societies in this country were united to participate in the celebration—and thus they did most willingly. While in the theatres and at the movies were shown pictures of our men in training at the various cantonments.

Over and above all these was the splendid work done by the women. For after all, it is the mothers who make the



Foreign-born Soldiers in the American Army Learning English

spirit of the times. Thus the women's clubs began to hold meetings to which they invited the foreign-born women. At first the experiment was met with doubt, indifference, and even active opposition, but in spite of such conditions there were often represented twenty different languages by women who had become American citizens.

These meetings were always most interesting. Many of the women spoke hesitatingly and in imperfect English, in the discussions, but all were most anxious to learn and to render some patriotic service.

Here were discussed the rights of citizenship, the welfare of the babies, the education of the children, proper food values, first aid to the sick, and other kindred subjects.

Thus, as together these women knitted or sewed for the comfort of their men fighting for the cause, they became united in the common bonds of work and sympathy.

In the summer of 1918, we, in Chicago, had an All American Day to which we invited representatives of all the racial groups in the city. They came—hundreds of people—representing forty different

countries, including India. A program was given in the big ball room of the La Salle Hotel. One of the most attractive things on that program was a pageant, "The Roll Call of the Nations." An American Indian from our army welcomed the representatives. Each came dressed in the native costume of the land of his or her forefathers. Each brought the flag of the country represented. "These guests" were received by "Miss Columbia" and "Uncle Sam", to whom were surrendered the foreign flags, and who gave to each in exchange an American flag. Then a chorus of many nationalities sang the "Star Spangled Banner." It was most impressive.

"Lest We Forget"—In the early fall of this year, we had an All American Exposition under the auspices of a Chicago Citizen's committee of a hundred and seventy-five members headed by the Governor of the State of Illinois, and supported by the United States Government.

It was an attempt to bring about a better understanding between the foreign born and the native born citizens, and to develop a closer relationship that together



A Civics Class for Foreign-born Americanised Citizens

we might form a more perfect government. It was more especially an effort to demonstrate the ideas of the Honorable Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior, who said

"America is a land of but one people, gathered from many countries. Some came for love of money and some for love of freedom. Whatever the lure that brought us, all have come bearing gifts and have laid them on the altar of America. All brought their music, all brought their art and handicraft, and each their poetry, all brought some homelike familiar thing. And all brought hands with which to work, and all brought minds that could conceive, and all brought hearts filled with hopes—stout hearts to drive live minds, live minds to direct willing hands. These were the gifts they brought from many countries."

The places selected for this patriotic experiment was the Coliseum Hall. Because of its bigness in area, it was possible to stage a large and picturesque show. Against a striking historical background, various periods of our development from the colonial period down to the present were depicted by means of small booths set against a huge all-encircling screen on which had been painted choice bits of American scenery. In the center was a beautiful Court of Honor where various entertainments were given twice a day.

One of the chief attractions of the exposition was the exhibit of works of art and handicraft by foreign born citizens. These were classified as to their characters not as to the national descent of the exhibitors. It is hoped from this

exhibit to secure support for a movement in this country to produce, as far as possible, the arts and crafts which we have been accustomed to import.

At one end of the Coliseum was an exhibit of pottery, vases, lamps and clocks—all made in delicate shades of blue, brown and green, and the potter himself at work in his fascinating little shop.

The public library had an interesting exhibit of books in many languages

together with some rare exhibits from their choice collections.

There was a bureau to give information on naturalization, a child's welfare department, where hundreds of babies were weighed, measured and examined and goodly advice given to the mothers on the care of small children, the health department had a special exhibit of charts about tuberculosis, while the agricultural department sent valuable charts containing instruction on raising chickens, and the canning of fruits and vegetables.

In the cafes were served things good to eat from American and foreign receipts, made especially because of their economical or nutritive values.

Much attention was given to the arrangement of the programs that these might be not only entertaining but also instructive, therefore, memorial services were held for those who had served in the wars of this country, there was an Army Day with a general and his staff as guests of honor, a Navy Day with an admiral and some of the sailors from the Great Lakes Training Station accompanying him, there was a Children's Festival of song and dancing, there was an Oriental program, there was an American negro program with their charmingly plaintive folk-lore songs, there was a Colonial banquet at which were worn costumes saved for a hundred and fifty years, and then there were the programs of "Americans by Choice"—those who had



American Indian in his modern state

Private Pontiac Williams, One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Infantry, is a full blooded Ottawa Indian. He was in all the battles of the One Hundred and Twenty-fifth except Soissons. He was wounded at Chateau-Thierry and was given the Distinguished Service Cross for gallant conduct.

come to us from many foreign lands and had become American citizens—for one of the rules of the All American Exposition was this—that no one could have a part either in the exhibition or on the program who was not an American citizen.

There were conferences on child welfare, health, music, and Americanization, while at the end of the evening there were always indoor sports of running, jumping, and wrestling. During the intermissions the All American Band, composed of

American citizens of many nationalities, played popular music.

Two programs were given by the North American Indians. That the children of Chicago might know the historical background of this country there was staged for them a setting of the Primitive North American Indians—a forest with tepees, a kettle boiling on the tripod, a papoose asleep in a cradle on the bough, and Indians in blankets and feathers sitting in a council. A dignified old Indian chief made an impressive and solemn oration in his native dialect, young braves danced to the beating of a small drum, women and children sang soft and tuneful lullabies, while the pipe of peace was offered to the four winds of heaven and then passed around the council circle.

The second program given by the Indians was to show what the Indians of today are doing in that they are not unlike other American citizens. There are Indian members of Congress, lawyers, physicians, teachers, army officers, business men, artists, musicians, and writers, who are only a generation or two removed from the life of the primitive Indians.

We did not forget the Indians from India or Hindustan, as we used to call that country in our school days less than twenty years ago. There are very few from India who become American citizens, but we wished especially to honor those few—some of whom served in our army during the last war. Therefore, Dr. Sudhindia Bose came over from the University of Iowa, and spoke on "World's Debt to India." By special permission Mr. T. Chatterjee recently arrived from India, dressed in the Bengali dress, gave a Sanskrit recitation. From persons who had traveled in India we borrowed their collections of pottery, brass ware and pictures. While Mrs. Pettee sent us from San Francisco a valuable collection of embroideries and draperies.

Why are the people of the United States called Americans? There are other large and important countries on the two American continents whose people might have been called Americans. Yet the South American Republics are Spanish or



A Mixed Class of Foreign-born Men and Women studying English

Portuguese in language and customs, Mexico has a mixed race of Spanish and native Indians, while Canada is essentially British in type. The United States have even in Colonial times a population of various nationalities—English, French, Dutch, and Spanish. Thus in the beginning of our

history a new nationality was formed. Our language, customs, and laws were borrowed from many foreign peoples, and we have enriched these by valuable additions. The Fathers of the American Revolution started a great political experiment and we must carry on their work.

One of the American Indian Senators, Robert L. Owen from Oklahoma, has said

“There is an abundance for everybody in this country—enough to make all of our people happy, well fed, well housed, well dressed, and under a system of good government with fair distribution these results would be accomplished and the ideal of America would appear in concrete form, and not merely as a political philosophy if we could have sympathetic co-operation of all the peoples.”

A MONUMENT TO INDIAN HEROES BY THE THAMES

SUGGESTIONS BY AN INDIAN ARCHITECT

AN instance of how the nationalist impulse is asserting itself among our young men is furnished by Mr. Phirozshah Rattonji Udawadia, who is studying architecture in England. While talking with me the other day he said that if a memorial was to be raised to the Indian soldiers—say by the banks of the Thames—to remind the British how Indians fared forth without the least hesitation to help the Empire in its most critical hour, it should be purely Indian in design. That would be in thorough keeping with the subject, he declared. A monument eastern in design and execution, moreover, would attract far greater attention than one that was purely western or only an attempt at being eastern.

Mr. Udawadia is about 28 years of age. From his earliest youth he has been fired with the zeal to become a great Architect. After studying up to the Matriculation standard of the Bombay University, he joined, nine years ago, the office of the Consulting Architect to the Government of Bombay, where he worked from 10 to 5. In the mornings he studied the

theory and practice of architecture at the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy School of Art under Mr. George Willet, F.R.I.B.A., and Mr. John Mercer, L.R.I.B.A. After three years of hard work he passed his final examination, and was awarded the Lord Mayo medal and the first prize.

So pleased with his work were his teachers at the School and his immediate superiors at the Office that he had little difficulty in securing a scholarship from the Government of Bombay to travel about India for a year to study Indian monuments, and he made a splendid set of measured drawings at Agra, Ahmedabad, Dholka, Ajmer, and Pawagarh. Afterwards he joined the office of the consulting architect, and helped in carrying out various modern buildings.

In August 1916, Mr. Udawadia received a scholarship from the Government of India to study architecture in England. He arrived in September 1916, and at once joined the Architectural Association in London. A year later he passed the intermediate examination of the Royal Institute of British Architects. His

scholarship expired the next year, but as he had not finished his studies, Sir Ratan Tata readily came to his help and gave him a scholarship, which is repayable by instalments after he is settled in life. The last-named scholarship ended last autumn, since which time a generous Parsee lady, Mrs Hodiwalla who has adopted him, has supported him. Mr Udwardia hopes soon to pass the final examination of the Institute, which will enable him to become an Associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects—so far as I know, the first Indian to have that honour.

I asked the young architect what would be the right way to proceed if it was decided to raise, on the bank of the Thames, an Indian monument to the Indians who have fallen in the war. He answered that the work should be entrusted to Indian master builders, who should go to the monuments already existing in India for inspiration. There is, for instance, the Tower of Victory at Chitor. Then there are monuments which, though not designed for the purpose of commemorating victories, might well serve to inspire the architect who wished to carry out the best Indian tradition in architecture in giving England a monument worthy of the great service that Indians rendered to the Empire's cause.

"The only way in which a monument Indian in design and execution can be secured," Mr Udwardia emphasised, "is by employing Indians to design and build it." He thought that there was not the least doubt that there were men in India to-day who could carry out the work from beginning to end, without non-Indian aid, in such a manner as to win the admiration of the whole Western world. If Indian artistic ability were given full scope, the monument should prove to the western world that there are still master-builders in India, in spite of the adverse conditions forced upon them by Western civilisation overlaying Indian civilisation.

Fergusson wrote, many years ago, "architecture in India is still a living Art, practised on the principles which caused its wonderful development in Europe in the 12th and 13th centuries, and there consequently, and there alone, the student of architecture has a chance of seeing the real principles of the art in action." The *Report on Modern Indian Architecture* issued in 1913, shows conclusively that India still has a "living style-tradition" in architecture. The photographs reproduced in that book "should amply prove to anyone who might have a doubt on the point the fact of the survival to the present day of a living tradition." To some it may appear "to be no more than a trace, a shoot which we find in the more retired by-ways of the land." These "shoots", if studied in the light of modern architecture, may be encouraged to grow into a distinctive Indian type that according to Mr J Begg, F R I B A, Consulting Architect to the

Government of India, "can be made to supply all the complex needs of modern India in a manner in conformity at once with sound business principles and with the canons of true art."

A developed Indian architecture, that expert believes, can provide buildings that will be modern, convenient, economical, practical, and



Mr Phirozshah Rattonji Udwardia

not over-ornate. Everything will depend upon the materials that are employed, and the architects who handle them. There is nothing really inherent in Indian art, he says, that demands over-elaboration, unpracticality, or inconvenience, and there is no element necessitating lavish expenditure that cannot be overcome by skill on the part of the designer.

The Indian type of architecture can best be developed by throwing the profession of the architect open to Indian youths, Mr Begg believes. They would bring to it that enthusiasm without which it would be impossible to develop an indigenous form of architecture in India of to-day. These Indian young men should be thoroughly grounded, in the architectural schools of Britain, in the principles of architectural design as they are understood in Europe and America, and, when trained, should apply their minds to designing buildings to meet the complex demands of modern India, drawing their inspiration from the best examples of old and traditional work in their home-land. Thus an indigenous architecture, fulfilling modern requirement and yet distinctively Indian, carrying on the traditions of art and putting life into the building crafts, would be established, based upon the work of indigenous architects.

India has her own traditions of art, and

craftsmen possessed of hereditary skill to execute them. Why waste these precious national assets? Why employ capable Indian craftsmen to create bastard products after the Western manner? Instead of constructing buildings in India of an Orientalised Western type, why not modernise Indian art to make it meet the requirements of to-day and thus insure a style of architecture that will be truly national, and that will express Indian thought and aspirations, will not be an Indianized imitation of ancient Greek or Roman, or Anglo-Saxon styles.

To return to the topic under consideration. The building of a monument to commemorate the undying service rendered to the Empire's

cause by Indians should prove a project in which every true Imperialist should be interested. The British, the Dominioners, and Indians could join hands to pay tribute to the men who were the first among the Empire soldiers to fling themselves into the firing line in the principal theatre of war. The Rajas, Maharajas, and Nawabs of India, who have given large sums of money for various purposes connected with the war, would not, I am sure, hesitate to contribute towards the erection of a memorial that, in the years to come, would remind posterity of the part played, of her own freewill, by India in the great war.

SAINT Nihal Singh

THE QUESTION OF AN ANDHRA UNIVERSITY

IT is somewhat gratifying to learn that additional Universities will be started shortly at Nagpore, Lucknow, Agra and Rangoon. It is an irony of fate (a cruel irony, indeed) that though the question of the Andhra University has been on the tapis for nearly two decades and eminent administrators, scholars and jurists of the type of Sir Thomas Holland, Sir Ashutosh Mukherji and Justice Abdur Rahim have made unequivocal pronouncements on the imperative necessity of multiplying the number of Universities in India and of granting one to the Andhra-desa, and despite the fact that, in accordance with the progressivist tendencies of the times, Universities have already been successfully started at Patna, Mysore and Benares, and they are about to be founded at Dacca and Lucknow. Our Madras Government should live in a paradise of blissful indifference to the real needs of an important section of its people. It is an indubitable fact that the Andhras, possessing a distinctive history, traditions and a language of their own, are also the pioneers of social reform and comprise about half of the total population of the Madras Presidency, numbering about 20 millions out of the aggregate of forty. While Bombay, with a population of about 19 millions, was blessed with a University half a century ago. The Andhra-desa is still without any.

Two main objections were raised by the Local Government when the question was ably mooted by the Hon. Mr. B. H. Venkata-

patnaja in the Madras Legislative Council about two years ago. One was the lack of sufficient number of colleges forming the basis for a new University, and the other was the want of funds. As regards the first it may be stated that Bombay, nearly 20 years after the formation of her University, had only four arts colleges and even in the British Isles, all the three colleges of Sir Andrews' University seem to have come into existence, long after the formation of the University. At Oxford and Cambridge too it was after the formation of the Universities that colleges were instituted to give them permanence and cohesion, *e.g.*, the University College and Balliol College were founded in 1249 and 1263 A.D. respectively while their mother University at Oxford originated towards the close of the 19th century. Coming to Madras itself, it seems to have had only one or two colleges when its University came into being in 1857, all the important colleges, including the Christian College, having been founded subsequently. The Andhra-desa has now 3 first grade colleges and 6 second grade colleges, some at least of the latter having an assured probability of becoming first grade in the near future.

Next coming to the question of finance, it is a well-known fact that over fifty per cent of the revenue is being spent on military purposes and that only four or five per cent is being doled out towards such vital branches as education and sanitation. If Government only will it, it can have ample funds for diverting

to meet such urgent wants. It behoves the local Government therefore to pay heed to the following precious utterance of the Viceroy at the recent Calcutta Convocation and confer on the Andhras at a very early date the blessing of a University of their own. "The best resource of a country is the capacity of its people and the best way of developing its resources is the development of that capacity and the best place for development of that capacity is the University."

'The Hindu' of the 6th February gives an account of what became of the fate of the resolution on the subject of the Andhra University in the Local Legislative Council. Mr Little Hailes, the Director of Public Instruction, while professing lip-sympathy with the proposed Andhra University, urged two objections to the same, viz, (1) That no definite scheme was laid on the table by the mover, and (2) That the subject was one to be tackled by the Imperial Council, since the present Madras University itself was ushered into existence by the Indian University Act of 1857. Two more objections were raised by other Hon'ble members, viz, that the Andhras should raise necessary funds before they could aspire to a University of their own, and, lastly, mass education and better provision for those already engaged in the task of education should be the first concern of the Government prior to creating additional universities.

To take these objections seriatim, regarding the first, (viz, want of a definite scheme) it is perhaps as much the duty of the Director to evolve a scheme calculated to subserve the educational interests of about 20 millions of the Andhras, as that of the mover who is a layman in educational matters. If the Director be really as sympathetic as he professes to be, why could he not have suggested the formation of a committee of professional experts and laymen to devise a practicable scheme? Moreover, such a scheme may as well be brought out after the proposal receives legislative sanction.

As regards the second objection, the Madras University, no doubt, came into existence under the Indian University Act, but it was the first time when universities were started in the different provinces of India almost simultaneously, for which the prior sanction of the Indian Government was needed. But this is no reason why a Provincial Government should consider itself as incompetent to create an additional university, when the needs of an important section of its people demand it. Hence this objection seems to have been meant rather to evade the issue than to face it in a bold and sympathetic spirit.

The last two objections also evince a similar lack of sympathy and imagination on the part of those who raised them. For example, how could the Government have found money to raise the salaries of the already over-paid I C S, I M S and Police officers and for the creation of additional Inspectors of schools? Again are the people concerned collecting funds for all the beneficent measures passed by Government? Was any such collection made by the people concerned for the older universities and for the recent Dacca University?

Regarding the greater urgency of mass education, &c, it is no doubt an undeniable fact, but if the Government evince real zeal and genuine sympathy, it can find means both for promoting mass education and the starting of the Andhra University, by the retrenchment of extravagant expenditure in the Military Department and Public Works Department, &c, and by the abstention from summer exodus to the hills. If mass education really has, in the eye of the bureaucracy, the first claim on the public purse, how is it that the Imperial Council is about to give legal sanction to a very costly Dacca University scheme and a still more expensive Calcutta University Reconstruction scheme?

M VIRABHADRA RAO

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[N B Contributions meant for this section should not exceed 500 words in length.]

Professor Foucher and the "Nationalists"

We have received three communications on the subject of Professor Foucher's reference to the "nationalists" in his Calcutta University

lectures, of which the substance is given below in the words of the writers.

I Mr Surendranath Sen Writes

"I attended Prof Foucher's lectures regularly. It is true that he had mentioned Mr Arun Sen in his introductory lecture, but his manner was

far from contemptuous or disparaging. At least that is the impression of me and my friends, some of whom are considered as authorities on Ancient Indian History both in India and abroad."

II Dr Ramesh Chandra Majumdar writes "The February issue of *Modern Review* contains a short note with regard to M Foucher's lectures in the Calcutta University, in which, among other things, M Foucher is alleged to have referred to Mr Arun Sen in a contemptuous manner. This is absolutely untrue. He no doubt referred to Mr Arun Sen and Mr K P Jayaswal, and expressed his dissent from their views on questions of Indian art, but there was nothing in his statement which could be construed, by any means, as contempt, either towards Mr Sen, or the "Nationalists" as a class. I was present in all the lectures. It will not be out of place to state that I had several private interviews with M Foucher and sometimes carried on prolonged discussion with him. But although I supported the so-called nationalist point of view he was always courteous and polite in his answers. From what I have seen of him on these occasions, I am decidedly of opinion that he is a perfect gentleman, incapable of using contemptuous language towards anybody, whatever may be his differences with him."

III Mr Ramaprasad Chanda writes "I heard the remarks of the amiable French savant, Professor Foucher. I found nothing caustic in his remarks about 'nationalists', and his allusion to Mr Arun Sen, whom he named along with Mr Jayaswal, did not sound either belittling or contemptuous. I have also consulted other friends of mine who heard Professor Foucher, and they unanimously declare that there was nothing offensive in his language."

Mr. Lajpat Rai on the Relation Between the Sexes.

We have an able presentation of women's case in an instructive article published in the February number of the *Modern Review* from the pen of Mr Lajpat Rai, but one or two points seem to call for some comments.

1 Mr Rai says that some of the educated Indians still hold the ideal of woman which was prevalent in the West in the 1st half of the 19th century and since that ideal has changed in the West in the last half of the 19th century, he sees no reason why we should retain the same ideal. The suggestion is that we should adopt the ideal of the present day West, this again implies that we should look to the West for our ideals, —at least in this matter. I do not object to importing to our land any ideal, provided it is good, from any part of the world, but I do not believe that the wholesale transplantation of Western ideals on Indian soil will be for the good of our country or of the world, nor do I

think it to be a healthy sign of our national mind to look up always to the West for our ideals. This attitude of mind should be deprecated in the strongest terms. Can not India evolve her own ideals? Has her physical dependence resulted in the death of her spirit also?

2 Mr Rai condemns the idea that the desire for children can be a justification for marriage. He calls it a superstition. I confess, I am a victim to this superstition in a more or less modified form. Although he admits that it is a social duty to get children, he lays exclusive emphasis on the development of personality which marriage is to accomplish. He forgets that children contribute very materially to the development of the personality of their parents. Personality cannot be rightly and fully developed without children, whose presence imposes duties and discipline on the parents. It is not very clear, moreover, how the development of one's personality would suffer seriously if one is not brought into relation with a member of the opposite sex. It may be replied that the wife influences the husband and the husband the wife and that they are complementary to each other and thus help in developing each other's personality. But children also are helpful in the development of personality. There, even if the development of personality be the only object kept in view, one must get not only a husband or a wife but children also. It is very clear that, without such conjugal relationship, what Mr Rai calls a social duty will remain unfulfilled. If on the strength of this fact, the desire for children is put forward as an adequate justification for marriage, it seems utterly arbitrary to call this a superstition. Mr Rai seems to have missed entirely the significance of the birth of a child, it is not simply the result of man's physical desire—the child is not a commodity delivered to the society in fulfilment of a contract, but it is the incarnation of the spirit creating itself anew. It is in this sense that I think it a religious duty to get children. It is the purpose of God implanted in our soul which cries for fulfilment in our desire for marriage and realises itself in our children and unless it can be conclusively proved to me that none of my descendants even in the remote future are going to contribute anything to the betterment of the world or for the glory of God, I shall continue to believe that the strongest argument for me in favour of marriage would be the implicit desire for children—the desire, namely, to fulfil the purpose of God.

I recognise that a certain type of good is to be realised in our conjugal relation, but we do not see its crowning phase till the couple is blessed with children. Parenthood seems to be the very fruition and consummation of married life. The ideal of family happiness is to be realised in the trinitarian relation of husband, wife and child, the dual relation is always incomplete. Mr Rai seems to think that the ideal of woman

in married life is metely the wife This may be Western and as such may recommend itself as perfect to Mr Rai in his sojourn in the West, but it is neither Indian nor true The wife mother with her trials and tribulations stands

on a much higher level than the mere wife with her life of comparative ease

The above remarks however do not take away anything from my sincere appreciation of Mr Rai's article as a whole

"DEVADATTA "

HINDU PARLIAMENT AND SAISUNAKA STATUES

BY RAMAPRASAD CHANDA

HINDU PARLIAMENT

THE February issue of the *Modern Review* opens with an article by Mr K P Jayaswal with the heading, "The Hindu Parliament under Hindu Monarchy" and the sub-heading, "The Jānapada or the Realm Assembly and the Paura or the Assembly of the Capital City Period 600 B C to 600 A C" The existence of the "realm assembly" or parliament is based by Mr Jayaswal not on any account, description or definition of such an institution found in any source whatever, but on the occurrence of the word *Janapada* He writes —

"The expression Jānapada, a derivative from 'Janapada', we find occurring in the Pali canon, the Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata and other books, and in inscriptions In our day it has been taken to mean 'an (inhabitant) of Janapada' Its use as a technical term has been missed" (P 122)

I do not understand what Mr Jayaswal means by "in our day" As far as I can see, before the year 1917 when Mr Jayaswal wrote his first article on the Hathigumpha inscription, the word *Jānapada* was never "taken to mean" any other thing than "an inhabitant of janapada" except when it was treated as a synonym of *jānapada* as in the lexicons *Viśva* and *Medini* Mr Jayaswal admits that *Jānapada* is a derivative of *Janapada* The former is derived from the latter by the addition of a *taddhita* suffix Sanskrit grammarians carefully define the meanings for expressing which *taddhita* suffixes are added According to the grammarians *jānapada* is derived from *janapada* (and *paura* from *pura*) by adding a suffix in the sense of *tatra bhavah*, 'who lives there' It is possible to ascribe other meanings known to grammarians to such derivatives But the sense which Mr Jayaswal proposes to ascribe to the derivatives *jānapada* and *paura* on the strength of a *taddhita* suffix, "a representative assembly (*sabha* or *samiti*) therein" is unknown to Sanskrit grammar and is therefore quite inadmissible The great Panini himself uses the term *janapada*

and of course in the only sense in which it is capable of being used One of his *sutras* (V 4 104) runs —

Brahmano jānapadākhyāyam.

"(The suffix *tach* is added to) *brahman* when denoting a *janapada*"

The rule relates to a *tatpuruṣa* (determinative) compound of which the second member is *brahman* (*Brahman*) and which denotes that the *Brahman* is a *jānapada* (*Brahmano janapada-tvam akhyayate — Kāśika*) As examples of such compounds are mentioned *Surāshtra-brahmah* 'a *Brahman* of *Surāshtra*, *Avantibrahmah* 'a *Brahman* of *Avanti*' So *jānapada* in this *sutra* means 'belonging to a *janapada* or country'

For traditional explanation of words used in ancient texts we have to rely on authoritative commentaries One such commentary is *Vyānesvara's Mitāksharā* in *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* I shall cite a line of *Yājñavalkya* (II 36) to show in what sense *Vyānesvara* takes *jānapada* (in singular)—

Deyam chaura-hritam dravyam rājñā janapadāya tu

"The king should hand over the stolen property (when recovered) to *janapada*"

Here *jānapada* is thus explained by *Vyānesvara*—

Jānapadāya swadesa-nivasine yasya tat dravyam tasmai

"To the *jānapada* or the inhabitant of his own country to him whose property it is"

Of course Mr Jayaswal does not follow the commentator Under the heading 'compensation bills of Janapada to the crown,' he writes, "The refund bills were presented according to *Yājñavalkya* to the *Jānapada*, as it is to them that he enjoins on the king to pay the compensation" (p 130) without even referring to the opinion of *Vyānesvara* I believe it will not be possible for Mr Jayaswal to cite any known commentator who takes *jānapada* and *paura* in the sense of realm and city assemblies The ignorance of the commentators, the depositories of traditions that were handed on from teacher to teacher (*gaurā-parāmpara*), regarding the realm and city assemblies is opposed to

Mr Jayaswal's claim that these institutions are referred to in the post-Vedic Brahmanic literature

I shall now turn to some of the other evidences adduced by Mr Jayaswal in support of his parliament. He asserts, "The technical significance of the Janapada as a collective institution has now been established by Kharavela's inscription of 165 B C" (p 122). Let us see how it has been established. Line 7 of Kharavela's Hathigumpha inscription opens with a sentence which is thus read and translated by Bhagavanlal Indraji —

Anugaha anekāni sata sahasāni visajati pora-janapadam

"(And thus) he showered hundreds of thousands of favours on the people of the town and the country"

Pora (the Prakrit equivalent of the Sanskrit *paura*) is here taken as a part of a copulative compound *pora-janapadam*. Mr Jayaswal reads *poram* instead of *pora* on the ground that there is an *anusvara* above *ra* in the inscription and on this *anusvara* he bases the fabrics of his city and realm assemblies (J B O R S, III, pp 448, 456). But in the facsimile of the inscription taken by Mr R D Banerji and published by Mr Jayaswal, this part of the line is clear. Here we find no trace of the sign of *anusvara* above the *ra* of *pora*, but there is a big hole of very irregular shape above the following *ja* which is evidently mistaken for *anusvara* by Mr Jayaswal. Mr Jayaswal may say in reply that he has examined the stone and found the *anusvara* all right. Those who have experience of deciphering inscriptions know well that paper impressions where the writing is found in black and white enable one to read such records better than on the stone where the colour is uniform. Mr Jayaswal translates the sentence thus — "(He) bestows numerous privileges—by hundreds and thousands—on (the corporate bodies) the *Paura* and the *Janapada*". The rendering of *anugaha* (*anugraha*) as privilege is also forced. In the foregoing lines of the inscription no such privileges are referred to but there are mentioned the various acts of public utility done by Kharavela which are evidently described in the sentence in question as hundreds and thousands of favours conferred on the inhabitants of the city and the kingdom. The meaning of *paura* (*pora*) as used in the ancient Brahmi inscriptions is clearly brought out in the following compound of the great Nasik cave *prasasti* of Gautamiputra Satakarni—(Epigraphia Indica, VIII, p 60) —

Porajana-nivisesa sama sukha-dukhaha
"Who sympathised with the weal and woe of all the citizens"

Pora or *paura* means *paurajana*, 'one living in the *pura* or city,' and not a representative assembly of the city. In support of his interpretation of *paura* Mr Jayaswal adds, "In the corporate sense it is clearly mentioned in the

Divyavadana where Kunala is supposed to have entered the *Paura* (used in the singular), that is the *Paura* assembly" (p 123). Where and by whom is Kunala supposed to have entered the *Paura* (used in singular)? In the Divyavadana it is narrated that when Tishyarakshita got her forged letter ordering Kunala's eyes to be taken out sealed by Asoka's teeth, Asoka, who was asleep, dreamt in succession two dreams, the first was, that two vultures plucked out the eyes of Kunala, and the second dream was, Asoka saw Kunala entering *Paura* with overgrown hair, nails and beard (p 410). This is evidently Mr Jayaswal's *Paura* assembly which Kunala entered. But such an interpretation is impossible. Asoka in his dreams saw what actually happened later on. The *paura* that Kunala entered with overgrown hair and nails is the city of Pataliputra. In the sequel to the story blind Kunala is led back to the city of Pataliputra with his wife Kanchanamala (p 413). There is not a word about any assembly. *Paura* in this passage means *Pura*—city, the taddhita suffix is added in the original sense of the word. Mr Jayaswal again writes, "The Pauras alone of Takshasila, the capital of the North (Uttarapatha) in the time of Asoka, are related to have become hostile &c" (p 127). This is not accurate. Mr Jayaswal has himself quoted the passage in note 75 where the rebellion is thus described —

Takshasila-nagaram viruddham

"The city of Takshasila revolted," which means the inhabitants of Takshasila revolted. Here *nagaram* is used and not *pauram*. About Kunala's step-mother Tishyarakshita's letter Mr Jayaswal writes, "Tishyarakshita addressed her letter, according to the Divyavadana, to the Pauras, i e, an organised body" (p 123). The original runs —

Tayā kapata-lekho likhitas-Takshasilakānām paurānām Kunālasya nayanam vinasayitavyam iti

"By her was written a forged letter to the citizens of Takshasila that the eyes of Kunala should be destroyed"

The meaning of the term *pauras* of Takshasila is made quite clear in the stanza that follows in the text —

Raja hyasoko valavan prachanda

ajnapayat Takshasila-janam hi,

Uddharayatam lochanamasya

satroi Mouryasya vamsasya kalanka eshah

"The fearful and mighty King Asoka orders the inhabitants of Takshasila, uproot the eyes of this enemy, he is a stigma on the Maurja family"

Here the author makes quite clear that by the *pauras* of Takshasila he denotes *Takshasila-janam*, the inhabitants of the city taken collectively. The period of the history of Northern India to which Mr Jayaswal refers on his Hindu Parliament, B C 600 to A D 600, is characterised by the rise of great military

monarchies According to tradition preserved in the purāṇas the period begins with the rise of Mahāpadma-Nanda (about 375 B C) and in the Purāṇas the change is described as the substitution of the Sudra rule for the ancient Kshatriya regime What was this ancient regime? Before the conquests of Nanda-Mahāpadma Northern India was divided into a number of small states—sixteen in number according to the Buddhist texts Most of these states were ruled by Kshatriya Rajas with a number of outlying states heterodox in culture from the standpoint of Brahmanism, and ruled by *ganas* or Kshatriya oligarchies The ancient Kshatriya monarchies were limited in character The power of the censecrated Raja was limited by that of the *Samiti*—assembly, which probably mainly consisted of the men of his own clan, by the rights and privileges enjoyed by the Brahmins who according to the proclamation at the Rajasuya ceremony were excluded from the jurisdiction of the Raja, and by the Vises (*vaśyas*) or common free people also In a passage of the Satapatha Brahmana (VII I 4) it is said —

Yasma u vai kshatriyo viśa samvidāno'syam
avasānam dadāti tat sudattam

Sāyana's commentary—

Loke hi 'Kshatriyah' rāja 'viśa' swakīyaya
prajāya 'samvidānah' sanjānānah aikamatyam
praptah san 'asyam' prithivyam yasmai
purushaya 'avasānam' 'dadāti', tasya tat
sudattam sobhanadattam bhavati

"And to whomsoever the Raja (Kshatriya), with the approval of the Vises, grants a settlement, that (settlement) is properly given"

So it was incumbent upon the Raja to secure the approval of his common subjects or Vises (*Vaśyas*) before making a gift of any land within his dominion The great military monarchy of Magadha, the foundation of which was perhaps laid down by the later Saisunaka kings and the superstructure of which was erected by Nanda-Mahāpadma, overthrew most of the ancient states and overshadowed others The political consequences following the rise of the Magadhan monarchy in Northern India resemble in several points the political changes that ensued in the Greek world as a result of the rise of the Macedonian monarchy at about the same time Though some of the old type of states such as the Kshaudrakas, Mālavas, and Yaudheyas survived¹ long, the political interest now centred round a succession of imperial dynasties, both Indian and foreign, that held sway in Northern India from the second half of the fourth century B C to the middle of the seventh century A D Whether there were any popular assemblies or not, there is evidence to show that the common people were not devoid of political feeling Bāna in his *Harsha-charita* (chapter VII) gives a picturesque account of Harsha's march from Sthanisvara to Kanauj after his brother's death In course of this

account Bāna writes of some of the people through whose land the army marched, "others, despondent at the plunder of their ripe grain, had come forth wives and all to bemoan their estates, and to the imminent risk of their lives, grief dismissing fear, had begun to censure their sovereign, crying 'Where's the king?' 'What right has he to be king?' 'What a king?'" (Cowell and Thomas's Eng tr) Bāna joined later on, so he could not have accompanied Harsha in this his first expedition But Bāna must have overheard such conversations when he accompanied the emperor in his later expeditions and so his testimony deserves credence In a copper grant of King Dharmmapāla of Bengal who reigned probably in the first half of the ninth century A D it is said of his father Gopala, "That the people (*Prakritibhi*) elected him king with a view to put an end to anarchy" Though the epigraphic records tell us of this solitary instance of an election of the king by the people, it must have been much commoner in practice In this grant we catch an echo of what is said in the Satapatha Brahmana about the king's duty to consult the people before making a gift of land After enumeration of the various official and non-official bodies to whom the grant is addressed it is said—

Matam astu bhavatām

"Let this be approved by you"

The materials for the ancient political history of our people are very scanty and scattered It is only by critical sifting of this evidence with infinite patience and not by giving free play to imagination and sentiment and ascribing to words meanings unknown to tradition, that we can hope to reconstruct a bare outline of our ancient political life

II TWO PRE-MOURYAN STATUES

Under the heading "Indian Periodicals" appears "a layman's hurried summary" of articles in the Journal in the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, December, 1919 Some of the remarks with which our "layman" introduces his summary deserves serious consideration He writes —

"The discovery which Mr Jayaswal claims to have made, would upset the conclusions of Indologists who had hitherto considered the ancient Hindus to be incapable of evolving any school of sculpture of their own These conclusions do not affect our forefathers' sculptural and artistic capacity alone, they are, in fact, links in a chain of reasonings calculated to keep our ancestors, in the world's opinion, indebted to foreigners in all the elements of culture and civilisation It is for this reason that whenever any Indian student of the ancient history of his country ventures to differ from European savants he is snubbed a 'nationalist' and, therefore, as undoubtedly carried away to the regions of error by his patriotic bias But may not "imperialistic bias", "race superiority bias", &c ,

be also sources of error, and often of more serious errors" (p 200)

In the case of Mr Jayaswal's discoveries at least it may be said that he has been very hospitably received by European savants. One of these savants, His Honour Sir Edward Gait, has, as Mr Jayaswal himself admits, rendered the making of these discoveries possible. Another of the European savants Dr Vincent A Smith, who in his *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon* upheld the theory of Greek influence on Indian art, had been doing his best to support Mr Jayaswal's theories and to advertise them in Europe. In the joint meeting of the Asiatic Societies of Great Britain, France, Italy and America held in London Dr V A Smith called attention to the theories of Mr Jayaswal. Professor Barnett, while rising to oppose these theories, said—

"Mr K P Jayaswal by his learned and

able paper on "Statues of Two Saisunaka Emperors" (J B O R S, V pt I, pp 88ff) has rendered such a service to the study of history and antiquities that I feel the utmost diffidence in expressing any opinions at variance with his theories. But as I have been honoured by a request to contribute some notes on the important subjects which he has raised, I do so with the prayer *kshamantu sādhanavah*" (J B O R S, V pt IV, p 513). English scholars who approach theories like Mr Jayaswal's calculated to prove the originality of our ancestors in regard to all the elements of culture and civilisation in such spirit cannot be accused of "imperialistic" or "race superiority bias."

[The writer of the summary feels that he has been unjust to some foreign indologists, and apologises to them.]

MORTALITY IN INDIA

BY RAI BAHADUR THAKUR DATTA, RETIRED DISTRICT JUDGE.

A FEW weeks back "United India" published an article by Sir Sankaran Nair, K C I E, on "Poverty in India," in which the late Member of the Government of India for Education and Sanitation said

"The increasing death-rate was also one of the points always pressed by the late Mr Gokhale in the Legislative Council. The figures which must have been supplied by the Sanitary Commissioner of the Government of India along with the Census returns, must place this matter beyond dispute and we can scarcely understand the reason for the non-publication of such returns, and the conclusion to be drawn from them by the Government. The withholding of these and other papers, to which we have already referred, has raised a good deal of comment in the Indian press, and needs explanation."

I had recently occasion to see a high British officer who had compiled one of the Provincial census reports, and happened to tell him that the most telling indictment which the Nationalist brought against bureaucratic rule in India, was that the vitality of the people and their power of resisting disease had decreased as evidenced by the rising death-rate. He could not believe it and asked me to send him the statistics. I have taken some trouble in looking up the various

Reports in the Punjab Public Library, and as there is a good deal of ignorance as regards the correct figures, both among English officials and Indian Publicists, I send them to you in the hope that the discussion may draw the attention of the Press and public to this most important subject, and lead them to study the question in all its bearings.

2 "The Indian Empire" which forms vol I of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* published in 1907, under the authority of the Secretary of State for India, has a table showing the Mortality-rate per 1000 of the population for the last twenty years 1881-1900. I copy here the figures given on p 512, as also the remarks of the official compiler on pages 513, 515, and 517.

P 512 "Mortality-rates per thousand in the chief provinces of British India, 1881-1900

| Province | Recorded Mean for | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|---------|------------|
| | 1881-90 | 1891-95 | 1896-1900. |
| Bengal | 22 1 | 30 7 | 30 18 |
| Assam | 26 7 | 30 2 | 36 9 |
| United Provinces | 32 8 | 32 2 | 33 1 |
| Punjab | 31 3 | 34 5 | 32 4 |
| Central Provinces | 33 0 | 33 8 | 45 6 |
| Berars | 33 2 | 38 8 | 48 5 |
| Madras | 20 5 | 20 7 | 22 1 |
| Bombay | 26 2 | 29 6 | 41 3 |
| Lower Burma | 17 5 | 20 7 | 26 2 |

P. 513. "We see first that in spite of the defective registration the recorded rates are generally very high and exhibit a progressive rise, they are indeed much above the European standard, if Austria-Hungary and Italy be excluded. In all respects the greatest contrast is presented to the English statistics, and this as we have seen applies equally to the birth-rate."

P 515 "Estimated mortality per thousand living

| | Males | Females | All |
|-----------------|-------|---------|--------|
| India | 40 6 | 38 6 | 29 6 |
| England & Wales | 20 2 | 18 0 | 19 1 " |

P 517 "Starting from Ireland and progressing east and south there is a gradual and regular rise in the mortality of infants, until in India under ordinary circumstances probably about one-third of those born die within the first year of life."

Comments on the above figures are superfluous, it will be seen that the rise in the mean death-rates during 1896-1900 over those of 1881-90 was nearly 40 per cent in Bengal, Assam, and Central Provinces, 46 per cent in Berars, and 50 per cent in Lower Burma

3 The Director General of Commercial Intelligence, India, publishes every year big volumes dealing with the statistics of British India. The figures which I shall now give are taken from part five "Public Health"

The first issue gives the vital statistics for 1906-07 and preceding years, thereafter a volume was published annually, and the last which I could find was the tenth issue for 1916-17, published apparently in 1919. For the whole of British India the figures given are since 1885, but for the provinces only those for 1897 and future years were forthcoming

| Year | British India Population in which deaths were registered | No of deaths | Rate per mille (1000) |
|------|---|-----------------|--------------------------|
| 1885 | Milions 194 | 51,14,848 | 26 37 |
| 1886 | | 49,45,171 | 25 51 |
| 1887 | | 54,30,726 | 28 03 |
| 1888 | | 51,12,833 | 26 41 |
| 1889 | | 54,59,703 | 28 21 |
| 1890 | | 58,45,927 | 30 12 |
| 1891 | 207 | 58,83,478 | 28 4 |
| 1892 | 213 | 69,22,767 | 32 51 |
| 1893 | | 54,98,750 | 25 75 |
| 1894 | | 72,58,148 | 33 48 |
| 1895 | 212 | 61,78,357 | 28 94 |
| 1896 | | 68,14,337 | 32 04 |
| 1897 | 214 | 76,58,642 | 36 03 |
| 1898 | | 56,58,838 | 26 56 |
| 1899 | | 64,36,413 | 30 01 |
| 1900 | | 83,34,155 | 38 91 |
| 1901 | 223 | 65,96,377 | 29 45 |

| | | | |
|------|-----|-----------|-------|
| 1902 | | 70,62,417 | 31 67 |
| 1903 | | 73,18,183 | 34 91 |
| 1904 | | 83,80,801 | 38 05 |
| 1905 | | 80,52,230 | 36 14 |
| 1906 | | 77,75,837 | 34 83 |
| 1907 | 226 | 83,99,623 | 37 18 |
| 1908 | | 86,53,007 | 38 21 |
| 1909 | | 69,98,014 | 30 91 |
| 1910 | | 75,18,034 | 33 2 |
| 1911 | 238 | 76,39,544 | 32 01 |
| 1912 | | 70,90,991 | 29 71 |
| 1913 | | 68,45,018 | 25 72 |
| 1914 | | 71,55,770 | 30 00 |
| 1915 | | 71,42,413 | 29 94 |
| 1916 | | 69,40,430 | 29 10 |
| 1917 | | 78,03,830 | 32 72 |

The highest mortality was in 1900, 1904 and 1908 when the death-rate exceeded 38 per 1000, the lowest was in 1886, 1893 and 1913 when it was less than 26 per mille. It may be useful to compare these figures with the death-rates per mille in some of the European countries for 1912, given in the reports. They are England and Wales (1913) 13 7, Holland, 12 3, Denmark, 13 0, Norway, 13 5, Sweden, 14 2, Scotland, 15 26, Prussia, 15 5, Ireland, 16 5, France, 17 5.

4 It is not necessary to give for the Provinces the population figures or the total number of deaths, the ratios per mile for the past twenty years are the chief thing and I copy these for seven of the Provinces to which the Reform Scheme will apply. Behar and Orissa is a new province, the N W Frontier Province was separated from the Punjab in November 1901.

| Year | Central Provinces and Berars | Bengal | Bihar and Orissa | Bombay | Punjab | N West Frontier Province | United Provinces | Madras |
|------|------------------------------|--------|------------------|--------|--------|--------------------------|------------------|--------|
| 1898 | 23 40 | 26 57 | | 29 16 | 31 1 | | 27 38 | 21 00 |
| 1899 | 27 65 | 31 31 | | 35 72 | 29 6 | | 33 19 | 20 10 |
| 1900 | 57 82 | 36 63 | | 70 07 | 47 7 | | 31 23 | 23 40 |
| 1901 | 23 46 | 21 04 | | 37 12 | 36 01 | 19 2 | 30 30 | 21 30 |
| 1902 | 25 32 | 33 43 | | 39 04 | 44 1 | 24 4 | 32 54 | 20 12 |
| 1903 | 35 52 | 35 33 | | 46 91 | 49 01 | 28 4 | 40 25 | 22 20 |
| 1904 | 32 06 | 32 45 | | 41 39 | 49 36 | 28 68 | 34 70 | 22 80 |
| 1905 | 37 21 | 38 33 | | 31 34 | 47 6 | 26 8 | 44 05 | 21 40 |
| 1906 | 43 47 | 36 08 | | 35 06 | 36 94 | 33 73 | 38 07 | 27 40 |
| 1907 | 41 70 | 37 72 | | 32 82 | 62 1 | 35 12 | 43 46 | 24 30 |
| 1908 | 38 12 | 38 56 | | 27 15 | 50 7 | 35 8 | 52 73 | 26 20 |
| 1909 | 33 09 | 31 35 | | 27 38 | 30 9 | 26 6 | 37 84 | 21 80 |
| 1910 | 44 88 | 33 11 | | 30 30 | 33 3 | 26 9 | 38 67 | 24 70 |
| 1911 | 34 67 | 32 69 | | 25 35 | 34 1 | 23 3 | 44 95 | 22 10 |
| 1912 | 42 34 | 29 77 | 31 01 | 34 89 | 26 0 | 23 4 | 29 91 | 24 30 |
| 1913 | 30 28 | 29 35 | 29 14 | 26 63 | 30 12 | 24 7 | 34 84 | 21 40 |
| 1914 | 36 69 | 31 57 | 28 3 | 29 45 | 32 0 | 24 7 | 34 40 | 25 3 |
| 1915 | 35 90 | 32 83 | 32 2 | 26 12 | 36 60 | 28 8 | 30 04 | 22 00 |
| 1916 | 39 95 | 28 37 | 32 8 | 33 32 | 30 70 | 30 01 | 29 50 | 21 90 |
| 1917 | 36 06 | 26 19 | 35 2 | 40 76 | 37 9 | 29 9 | 37 91 | 26 20 |

Taking the decennial periods the recorded mean of the mortality-rates in the five larger Provinces were

| | 1881-90 | 1891-1900 | 1901-10 |
|------------------|---------|-----------|---------|
| Bengal | 22 1 | 30 75 | 34 60 |
| United Provinces | 32 8 | 32 51 | 39 35 |
| Punjab | 31 3 | 33 45 | 44 04 |
| Bombay | 26 2 | 35 45 | 35 10 |
| Madras | 20 5 | 21 4 | 23 23 |

These figures show that compared with the first decade, 1881-90, for which figures are forthcoming, the third decade, 1901-10, shows considerable increase in the mean death-rate everywhere, the rise ranges from 13 per cent in Madras, 20 per cent in United Provinces, 34 per cent in Bombay to 41 per cent in the Punjab and 56 per cent in Bengal. For the whole of British India the figures are

| | |
|-----------|-------|
| 1885-90 | 27 44 |
| 1891-1900 | 31 31 |
| 1901-1910 | 34 55 |

or an increase of 26 per cent. In all other civilized countries whether in Europe, America or Asia, the mortality rates are being considerably reduced. In England and Wales the death-rate per thousand was 21.3 in 1861-1870, 19.1 in 1881-90, 18.5 in 1891-95, since when the fall has been very rapid as that it was 13.7 in 1913 and 13.3 in 1916 (see Daily Mail Year Book for 1919 pp 270). Since 1912 the mortality statistics of India began to show some improvements, the lowest death-rate being in 1913, but the sixty-six lakhs of deaths due to influenza in 1918, will add greatly to the mean death-rate for the decade 1911-20. In 1918 the death-rate in the Punjab, due to the havoc of this terrible epidemic, was as high as 81 per mille. In 1916 in England and Wales with a death-rate of 13.3 per thousand the average duration of life was 75 years, while in India with a death-rate of 29.10 during the same year it was less than one half.

5 The number of patients admitted into the various Lunatic Asylums in British India are also noted in the (Public Health) statistics, and I give figures for the quinquennial years

| | | | |
|------|------|------|------|
| 1885 | 1212 | 1910 | 1517 |
| 1890 | 1125 | 1915 | 2225 |
| 1895 | 1199 | 1916 | 2263 |
| 1900 | 1191 | 1917 | 2423 |
| 1905 | 1667 | | |

It will be seen that between 1885 and 1900 the number of lunatics admitted was about 1200 a year, but in 1905 the number rose to 1667 and the increase continued until in 1917 it reached 2423, or nearly double of what it was in the first twenty years. Is there any satisfactory explanation of this increase, except that we in common with most civilized nations, are experiencing the baneful effects of pitiless materialism and hard competition which have increased the struggle and worry of life with the greater use and curse of drink and drugs? What a pity that the Fates have given us the evils of the present Industrial age, but have brought us no compensating good in improving the staying power of the people!

6 Contagious diseases, of which the ravages are so insignificant in countries where people have great vitality and live under better sanitary conditions, exacted a very heavy toll in India. From 1897 to 1917 the deaths registered as due to cholera were 77,74,361, during the same period the mortality from plague aggregated 81,97,010, from small-pox it was 18,40,082 deaths. If we add to these the influenza mortality, we have the terrible total of nearly 25 million deaths in 21 years due to these contagious diseases or an average of over 11½ lakh deaths a year. The number of deaths due to other preventible causes—malarial fevers and famines—is appalling, the figures under these heads are available, but it is not necessary to quote them here, as they will be discussed in another article. According to the highest sanitary authorities three-fourths of these deaths would not have occurred if the people had more education, better hygiene and greater wealth. What are the casualties of war compared to these figures? It is computed that in all the wars in Europe, America and Asia during the past one hundred and fifty years—including the Napoleonic battles, the American civil war, the Russo-Turkish and Russo-Japanese wars, as also the Great War which has recently ended, the number of persons killed or of those who died of wounds did not equal one-third the mortality from preventible causes, viz, malaria, contagious diseases, and famines in India during the past fifty years, i.e., since the first regular Census of 1871.

7 There are no means of ascertaining how much sickness prevails among the general population of India. There were in 1916

some three thousand hospitals and dispensaries which treated thirty-four millions of patients and performed fourteen lakhs of operations, they are doing very useful work in relieving pain, but as they provide accommodation for an infinitesimal part of the people suffering from disease their returns are of little value. The Army units and the jails are, however, in charge of trained medical officers who are required to keep record of the number of admissions into hospital, of the daily sick list and of deaths in each group, they have to submit monthly and annual statements giving full particulars to superior authority. The Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India publishes every year a report giving the statistics for the whole of India. The following table compiled from these reports is taken from p 171 of the Indian Year Book for 1919 edited by Sir Stanley Reed, LL D

| Ratio per mille of Strength | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------|-------|-------|-------|
| British Troops | | | | |
| | 1908-12 | 1913 | 1914 | 1915 |
| Admission into hospital | 638.4 | 58.5 | 614.1 | 823.1 |
| Constantly Sick | 60.3 | 29.7 | 31.8 | 39.1 |
| Deaths | 6.1 | 3.3 | 4.3 | 5.94 |
| Indian Troops | | | | |
| | 1908-12 | 1913 | 1914 | 1915 |
| Admission into hospital | 578.3 | 531.7 | 566.5 | 741.4 |
| Constantly Sick | 20.9 | 21.4 | 20.9 | 33.9 |
| Deaths | 5.4 | 4.2 | 4.2 | 8.55 |

The mortality figures thus become an index to sickness. Roughly speaking, for every death there were ten persons constantly sick among British troops, but we may leave these out of account as they are in the tropics presumably more prone to sickness than natives of the soil. The figures for Indian troops show that for every death among them over one hundred persons are admitted in hospitals and five (as against ten among British troops) are "constantly sick." As these proportions are found to be almost constant from year to year in a large body of men (nearly two lakhs) stationed in different places, it will serve our purpose if we take them as a rough data for estimating the amount of sickness in the land. The army we know is composed mostly of vigorous men in the prime of life, selected for their good physique, they live in cantonments away from crowded and insanitary surroundings in barracks or lines built by Military engineers, they receive good nourishing food and are actively employed on drill or on guard duties, they

are when sick treated by experienced doctors who have all the appliances of Medical Science at their command, they enjoy sick leave and are retired as soon as they show signs of advancing age or of deteriorated health. It is therefore no wonder that the mortality (5.57 per 1000 strength for the eight years 1908 to 1915) among them was less than one-fifth of the death-rate (31.12 per 1000) of British India during the same period. We shall not, therefore, be far wrong if we assume that the proportion of the sick among the people—men, women and children—who have to live under insanitary conditions without good houses, without wholesome food, suffering from splenitis due to malaria, from consumption and nervous diseases in towns, from diabetes, rheumatism, heart disease, from dyspepsia, diseased teeth and defective eyes, diseases from which the troops are almost immune and with no medical treatment worth the name, was double the sick-rate of the army. But as it is possible that the general population comprising infants, children, young and old persons have a lower vitality and less resisting power and they succumb more quickly under the onslaughts of disease, we shall take it that their sickness bears the same ratio to deaths as that of the Indian troops. Taking for comparison the Punjab with its virile races, who furnish a large quota of men to the army where famines are rare and the canal colonies produce an abundance of food-stuffs for export, the mean mortality-rate of 44.04 (in 1901-10) means that out of every 1000 persons living 220 or more than one-fifth were "constantly sick" day and night and that if there were sufficient hospital accommodation in towns and villages there would be in the Punjab for every 1000 inhabitants 440.4 admissions during the year or 12 each day, every one of the patients remaining on an average 18.3 days sick. These figures however give no idea of the sickness prevailing in a population of 238 millions. During the eight years 1908-15, 7.38 millions people on an average died annually in British India and hence taking the army ratio as our standard we have 36 millions who were "constantly sick" throughout the year and 73.8 millions who were attacked with disease each year. Can nothing be done to reduce this appalling sickness to eradicate the germs of contagious diseases, to mitigate the ravages of malaria, or to provide medical treatment

for the vast majority of the unfortunate people who fall sick?

8 "Health is the statesman's first duty" said Lord Beaconsfield. The blessings of Peace and of safety from invasion are invaluable, good laws and the rigorous administration of justice do conduce to the greater security of life and property, trade and industry, helped by good roads and other means of communi-

cation—Post Office, Telegraphs, Railways, Steamers, etc., may lead to the economic betterment of certain classes, but in the eyes of all thoughtful persons the value of these gifts is greatly diminished if not counterbalanced and nullified, when these are coupled with constant fear of disease, with greater sickness, with higher mortality, with lower vitality and with a decreasing duration of life

INDIAN PERIODICALS

How to Bring on the Golden Age

In reviewing Mr F S Marvin's book "The Century of Hope" in the *Indian Review*, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar says, in part

GOLDEN AGE IS IN FUTURE, NOT IN PAST

Further, all the activities and movements of the nineteenth century, which were directed to the realisation of the humanitarian ideals of the eighteenth by raising the outlook and uplifting the status of the masses and promoting the flow of one life among them and the higher classes, rested their "golden age" in the future, not in the past. It is a commonplace that we cannot break with the past. That commonplace has often proved a hindrance to progress, especially in India. The conflict between the past on the one hand and the present and future on the other is always with us, and progress is realised by a reconciliation between the two. The reconciliation, however, can be effected only by choosing the best of the past and building the future on so much of it as is righteous and as such *sanatana* as our Rishis call it, that is to say, ancient, and ever abiding as the enduring principle both of individual and of national life.

He asks

Is the nineteenth century, which Mr Marvin holds out for the West as "the Century of Hope", equally so for India?

The good and bad of that century have no doubt affected India. But a hundred years of progress are too short a period for a vast and ancient country such as India to afford a guarantee that the coming years will be therefore necessarily a continuity of that progress and its hopes.

Making use of and referring to the catching appellation of protestant movements within the pale of Hinduism coined by Ranade, Sir Narayan observes

The roots of all these protestant movements of Hinduism from the Upanishads to Buddhism, from Buddhism to *Bhakti* lay in the Vedas, because the central point of the Vedas rested in their gospel of *Gita*, the law of righteousness, and first, it is the seed of that gospel that fructified according to the Upanishads, as righteousness meaning to be right with God by contemplation, next, according to Buddhism, as right conduct by self-restraint and service of humanity, and lastly, according to the *Bhakti* school, as a life lived by faith in and love of God and the service of man. This is "the living past" which has moved India for twenty centuries. It is living in the present of India with the ideal of progress as humanity because, in the midst of much that darkens India's civilisation during the last 20 centuries, the fact stands to its signal credit that the labour of those centuries has resulted in the gospel of *Ahimsa paramo dharma*—abstention from injury to others is the highest religion or duty, and in the gospel of peace as the creed of creeds.

DEFECTS OF INDIA'S PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENTS

It is true that this ideal, which from the living past has been struggling across these 20 centuries to move India's life up to now, has failed to realise itself actively in several departments of that life. For one thing, the Hindu, in the name of the gospel of *Ahimsa*, refuses to be cruel to and killing the bug or the serpent, but does not see the cruelty of infant marriage, enforced widowhood, the rigid exclusiveness of caste, and so forth, he tamely submits to despots in politics and priestcraft in religion and moves listless in face of autocracy, whether in the state or society.

Why has not the humanitarian ideal of India fructified?

Briefly, the humanitarian ideal of India has not fructified especially in her political conditions of the last 20 centuries, first, because it has been in practice of a passive character. It was

unfortunate for India that that ideal was formulated in the word *Ahimsa*. Phrases, whatever the men who pride themselves on being practical may say in ridicule of them, have made and unmade men, nations, kingdoms, and institutions. It is a great thing for a people to have their ideal put into the tabloid of a catching phrase. The word indeed must be made flesh or else it withers. But before it is made flesh it must be conceived in the womb of society. So a great idea condensed into a catching phrase rouses better than anything else the emotions of the ideal in the average man and appeals to him most effectively as the 'tremendous dialectic' or audacious logic of his unsophisticated mind and heart. It was good, therefore, that India's ideal of humanity was phrased in a formula which has become a household word. But, unfortunately it was so phrased as to give the ideal the impress of a negative character and tend to make it a passive virtue. When an ideal takes a passive turn, it loses half its vigour. Under its influence men acquire the habit of temporising with its obligations whenever the calls for its practice arise. It makes us Hamlets, not Hampdens. Hence "the mild Hindu", of whom Sir William Hunter wrote as "the product of Buddhistic teachings incorporated into Hinduism." This passive spirit of humanity signified by the word *Ahimsa* was apparently perceived by the Bhakti school. Its saints either do not use the word but express the idea of humanity by the terms *Daya*, *Kshama* and *Shanti* (love, forgiveness and peace) which are positive virtues bringing out the active character of the ideal or, when they do use it they, as for instance the Maratha saint Jnaneshvara who is regarded as the father of Maratha nationality, distinctly explain that *Ahimsa* means not merely abstaining from injury to others but actively doing good to and uplifting the low, the ignorant, the weak, the sinful, the fallen, and the despised.

1. NO ORGANIC UNION OF PEOPLE

This *Bhakti* movement, however, lasted for too short a time—for only 60 years—to repair the defect. And the habit of temporising with the ideal which was its necessary result led to timidity, that timidity led in its turn to a cleavage between the intellectual classes and the toiling masses. As pointed out by Dr Hoernle and Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, Buddhism collapsed because there was no organic union between its priesthood and laity, no inseparable bond with the broad strata of the secular life of the people to make the gospel of humanity flow as one stream boldly and fertilise all the ranks and gradations from top to bottom. When Buddhism collapsed and was replaced by Brahmanism, the mischief became worse. The great Shankaracharya says in one of his works that he has to compromise truth as he really discerns it to please "the

ignorant people." It was not the philosopher and the prophet raising the average man to his level but rather going down to the level of the latter and lowering his ideal to put them in good humour. We see the tradition and trace of it in the gospel of those who now either oppose political and social reform or are indifferent to it. They say "We must take the people with us." Instead of taking the people with them, they allow the people to guide them. The humanitarian ideal, which is the inherent condition of progress, is a spiritual ideal, because society as a union of men is a spiritual cohesion, i.e., a union of their spirit materialised in their organisations and institutions. And the first condition of a spiritual cohesion is the spirit of fearlessness in the pursuit of an ideal. That is why the *Bhagavad Gita* places *abhayam*, i.e., fearlessness, as the first of the virtues of a commonwealth. Hence Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar was right when in 1895, in explaining why India's progressive movement with its ideal of humanity from the time of the Upanishads down to the years of the Bhakti period had failed to fructify as it deserved, pointed out that it was marred by "the want of that dashing and fearless spirit which carries out the convictions of the heart in spite of external resistance."

Sir Narayan concludes by pointing out that the Kaliyuga is India's Golden Age of hope.

THE KALIYUGA IS INDIA'S GOLDEN AGE OF HOPE.

He might have added that it failed also because for centuries the philosophers and thinkers of India have let the masses to rest the Golden Age in the past, not in the future, by constantly dinning into their ears the doctrine that this age as the age of Kali is the age of sin, decay, and corruption. That false auto-suggestion has weakened the national mind by robbing it of all hope. It is the poets and saints of the Bhakti school who protested against that label on the *Kaliyug* and deified it as the Age of Hope. In their religious teachings we see the ideal of humanity inherent in progress emphasised as it had not been before in India as the ideal towards which the *Kaliyug* more than the ages which preceded it was marching with its watchwords of humanity and progress and all as equals before God and Man.

To India, therefore, that century may be described as "the Century of Hope", provided we build our future on the aspirations of the present by improving on the Vedic ideal of righteousness developed into the Bhakti ideal of humanity as the constituent element of progress. But for that we must possess and practise the virtue of fearlessness emphasised by the *Gita* as the prime condition of national

growth. The virtue of the democratic spirit of the Bhakti school carried into and spiritualising our political, social, and economic, in fact, all the sides and strata of our national life is our hope for the future

The Method of the Indian Artist

In the February issue of the *Arya*, Mr Archer's attack on Indian Art has been criticised, and we think his position has been successfully assailed. The *Arya* thus characterises the method of the Indian Artist —

A seeing in the self accordingly becomes the characteristic method of the Indian artist and it is directly enjoined on him by the canon. He has to see first in his spiritual being the truth of the thing he must express and to create its form in his intuitive mind, he is not bound to look out first on outward life and Nature for his model, his authority, his rule, his teacher or his fountain of suggestions. Why should he when it is something quite inward he has to bring out into expression? It is not an idea in the intellect, a mental imagination, an outward emotion on which he has to depend for his stimulants, but an idea, image, emotion of the spirit, and the mental equivalents are subordinate things for help in the transmission and give only a part of the colouring and the shape. A material form, colour, line and design are his physical means of the expression, but in using them he is not bound to an imitation of Nature, but has to make the form and all else significant of his vision, and if that can only be done or can best be done by some modification, some pose, some touch or symbolic variation which is not found in physical Nature, he is at perfect liberty to use it, since truth to his vision, the unity of the thing he is seeing and expressing is his only business. The line, colour and the rest are not his first, but his last preoccupation, because they have to carry on them a world of things which have already taken spiritual form in his mind. He has not for instance to recreate for us the human face and body of the Buddha or some one passion or incident of his life, but to reveal the calm of Nirvana through a figure of the Buddha, and every detail and accessory must be turned into a means or an aid of his purpose. And even when it is some human passion or incident he has to portray, it is not usually that alone, but also or more something else in the soul to which it points or from which it starts or some power behind the action that has to enter into the spirit of his design and is often really the main thing. And through the eye that looks on his work he has to appeal not merely to an excitement of the outward soul, but to the inner self, *antaratman*. One may well say that beyond the ordinary cultiva-

tion of the aesthetic instinct necessary to all artistic appreciation there is a spiritual insight or culture needed if we are to enter into the whole meaning of Indian artistic creation, otherwise we get only at the surface external things or at the most at things only just below the surface. It is an intuitive and spiritual art and must be seen with the intuitive and spiritual eye

Children's Right

To the *Hindustan Review* for January Dr Arthur R S Roy, Ph D, has contributed an article of sterling merit on "Children's Right". The whole article—and it is a short one—deserves to be quoted, but we have space only for a few paragraphs

The savage thinks he has a perfect right to kill his child. To-day the law in civilised countries hangs the parent who kills his offspring. There are still parents, who think that they can punish and thrash their children as they like. Most parents think so. In this matter, they are only a little better than savages. In theory, we have progressed somewhat. To-day, there is a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, but they cannot do much because the child-beaters are mostly cowards. They beat the poor, helpless, innocent beings in the privacy of their homes, where outsiders cannot see them. They do not dare to beat their children in the open. They are afraid of people calling them "brutal." But they do not hesitate to pollute the sweetness of their homes by the cry of pain and fear that their ill-treatment forces from the lips of the weak and helpless entrusted to their care.

"To prevent mischief," these parents say in excuse, to justify their cruelty. It is a slur on the parents' intelligence if the child falls into mischief. It merely proves, that the parents did not possess sufficient sense to provide the child with diversion enough to occupy its mind. The mischievous child proves the brightness of his own mind and the fertility of his imagination and at the same time the stupidity of his parents, who cannot employ the activity of the budding mind.

Why are children thrashed?

The child asks too many questions, the parents cannot answer. They get angry and the child is thrashed for disturbing. It is only a confession of the parents' ignorance.

The child is told to keep quiet. His growing muscles twitch, his active mind is bored by inoccupation, his youthful exuberance bursts forth and he suddenly laughs out, or makes a noise. He is punished for disobedience! He is really punished for his parents' stupidity.

A child refuses to obey. He is immediately thrashed. Any fool, any savage can thrash a child into obedience in ten minutes, but it takes a clever and intelligent man hours to compel a child to do his bidding, by showing him the folly of his refusal and the wisdom of his obedience.

When a full grown man obstinately refuses to do something, he is either admired for being a determined man of high spirit, possessing a strong will, or his friends reason with him for hours and days. But the child is thrashed. The child also has rights, as much and as many as his elders.

Those rights are recognised when the children grow older—not because the parents think them wiser, but because the children are strong enough to demand due respect to their rights. In other words parents beat their children only so long as they can do it with impunity—in short they are mere bullies.

The evil results of the brutality of parents have not been exaggerated by the writer in the least.

The brutality of parents break the spirit of children, who grow up to be insignificant, cringing persons, without initiative, without courage.

The cruelty and injustice of parents produce a race of men, who cannot think of right except in the terms of might. Thus ignorant, bullying parents impede the march of civilisation and lower the spirit and moral standard of humanity.

Sugar from the Palmyra Palm

In the *Agricultural Journal of India* Mr Manmathanath Ghose, M A, draws attention to "A Neglected Source of Sugar in Bihar." Says he

Bengal has a considerable industry in date-palm sugar, but no great attention seems to have been paid to the palmyra palm as a sugar-producer. Nor has it received any recognition in Bihar where the richly saccharine juices yielded by this tree are converted into toddy which supplies a cheap intoxicating drink for the low class people. The tree flourishes fairly abundantly and if the juice is collected judiciously it can supply a large part of the sugar consumed by the people. Not even 10 per cent of the trees are tapped, so that, even allowing the people their drink, a considerable commercial possibility exists, and in April and May when the flow of the juice is most abundant, toddy sells so cheap that there can be little doubt that the manufacture of sugar will pay. In the Madras Presidency large quantities of sugar are annually produced from this source and though its commercial success is assured there, the climatic conditions of Bihar being apparently different from those

of Madras during the juice-yielding season, it is considered worth while to study the question here.

We learn from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* that by means of scientific cultivation beet has been made in Germany to yield 12.79 per cent of its weight of sugar, whereas originally it yielded only from 4 to 6 per cent. Mr Ghose says of the composition of the palmyra palm juice, that "the percentage of sucrose, average 12.5 per cent [ranging from 12.05 to 15.76 per cent], is remarkably constant throughout the season." So that palmyra palm sugar may be rightly said to have a good future. Mr Ghose gives a detailed description of the process of tapping, flow of the juice, collection of the juice, composition of the juice, and of the making of *gur* and refined sugar.

Mr. C F Andrews on Swami Dayananda Saraswati

The Vedic Magazine for February contains an appreciation of Swami Dayananda Saraswati's life and work by Mr C F Andrews. The spirit in which he writes is made clear in the introductory paragraph.

I consider that this request which has been made to me, who am a Christian, to write my impressions of the great Rishi, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, is due to the fact that we are coming more and more to recognise in India that the pure religious heart of man is united, even while sects and creeds still keep man far asunder. It is in that spirit of unity that I write what I am going to say. I wish to speak only of those things that unite. I wish to show how I, who am a Christian, can truly love and revere Swami Dayananda Saraswati, who was a Hindu.

He then goes on to say

I have always put in the first place, among the things that I reverence in Swami Dayananda's character, his manly adherence to the truth as it came home to his own conscience. This is seen in his early boyhood when he refused any longer to believe in idolatry when once he had seen the way in which the food offered to the idol was consumed by the mice in the temple.

The other traits in the character of the Swami mentioned by Mr Andrews are his manly courage, his intense and burning patriotism, and his reforming zeal.

He was not content to sit in idleness and to leave things alone, in a selfish hope to attain to God apart from his fellowmen. He, on the contrary, put the whole of his spirit force into

reform Starting from religious reform, he went on from religious reform to social reform

Mr Andrews conveys a warning to the members of the Arya Samaj in the following paragraph

There appears to me to be a danger, in these perilous days of hurry and change on the one hand, and of rapid money-making and worldly success on the other, that the peace and calm and joy which comes from religious meditation may be neglected and lost sight of in the stress of worldly activity I would be the last to underestimate the need of action An active life is good for a man and it is only by action that many wrongs can be righted But, side by side with action (which has a special attraction to the Punjabis) I would wish to see a deeper religious spirit of peace and inward joy and meditation and devotion to God To many in the Punjab this inner life of the soul is far more difficult than the active life of the body But the just Rishi, Swami Dayananda Saraswati, who founded the Arya Samaj combined both these sides of character in his own person He spent years in solitary meditation he spent years in active work for the welfare of mankind He did not neglect either the one, or the other And I would earnestly wish that his followers might follow him in this

Truth and Beauty

Mr Walter Baylis, M A, writes in *East and West*

"Beauty is truth, truth is beauty,"—the words with which Keats sums up the lesson of his immortal Grecian Urn—may seem to many to be merely the paradox of a poet There is no doubt, however, that Keats deliberately held that view, as is shown by his correspondence, in which he repeats his conviction "What the imagination seizes as Beauty must be Truth, whether it existed before or not" It is no less certain that from a philosophical point of view his opinion can be amply justified

He draws a distinction between facts and truth

At first sight, indeed, to affirm that whatever is true is beautiful, seems to be a flagrant contradiction In real life there are so many ugly facts, and facts are commonly considered to be the equivalent of truth Most of us live almost wholly in the concrete and for us the stern brutal "facts" are the most important The malady of the age, so far as western nations are concerned, is that it is too exclusively active and very little interested in contemplation or in the abstract We are all trying to do something or to get somewhere, and mere contemplation or meditation is regarded by most of us as a waste of time Probably our modern

London or New York would have been looked upon as a horrible nightmare by an antique or medieval man One sympathises with Landor's cry, "How much time we waste in business!"

Some, indeed, deliberately scout the cultivation of the imagination as a useless and even dangerous pursuit Like Dickens's famous Mr Gradgrind, in "Hard Times", they want nothing but "facts" Gradgrind, indeed, is still active in Britain, and has been heard to denounce the reading even of Dickens's own works "What is the use," he asks, "of a lot of stories which are not true?"

Philosophers and poets, on the other hand, hold that merely individual facts, which may be quite trivial or unpleasant, have not the significance of truth In order to attain the dignity of Truth, facts must be generalised, abstracted, in short changed into *ideas* Schiller tells us in one of his poems that the really great immortal things are those which have never actually happened they are the abstraction, in forms of beauty, of many individual experiences

The life of the imagination transcends the actual life of the world, and has a truth of its own

Ship-building Industry for Indians.

Prof Gilbert Slater says of a ship-building industry for Indians, in the *Young Men of India*

Industrial development must include development in the three fields of Agriculture, Manufacture, and Transport Land transport is in India peculiarly a matter for Government, which in one form or other is almost entirely responsible for both roads and railways But the sea lies open to private enterprise I am therefore not surprised that Indian industrial ambitions are continually pointing towards the creation of a great Indian ship-building industry and the establishment of Indian steamship lines But on the whole I fear I must warn you against hastily putting money into companies for this purpose at present Established lines have an awkward habit of resenting the coming of a new competitor, and, if that newcomer is not very strong, of endeavouring to crush it out of existence The general idea I would like to suggest to you here is the desirability of building on an existing foundation The building of sailing-ships is an industry which has never ceased in India, and such ships make reasonably profitable trips from one Indian port to another, and even go further afield Would not the next step in development be the building of somewhat bigger ships, equipped with auxiliary motors, either petrol or Diesel oil engines which could make way in a calm or against moderate head-wind, while still exploiting the advantages which the com-

parative reliability of Indian winds affords to sailing-ships pure and simple? Such a development would not excite the jealousy of the British India Steam Navigation Company, and if it were sufficiently successful might serve for a fresh starting-point later on

The Tariff Question.

On the tariff question he writes in the same journal

A good many people have complained to me that in my two previous lectures I said nothing about the tariff question, and that, they consider, is the very root of the matter of Indian industrial development. Now rather more than three years ago, when I had newly arrived in Madras, I spoke upon this subject. I then expressed the opinion that, as Indians appeared to be so unanimous in desiring a protective duty on cotton goods, this ought to be conceded, both because the refusal makes it appear as though Lancashire interests weighed more with the Secretary of the State than Indian wishes, and also because as long as Indians believed that the tariff was the one thing necessary they were not likely to face the real problem until they were allowed to try their remedy. Since then the Government of India has moved, in my opinion quite rightly, in that direction, and we have now had, for some time, a protective import tax of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent *ad valorem* on all imported cotton goods. The real effect of this will be seen later. Hitherto a $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent tax has been a small matter compared with the difficulties of manufacture and transport created by the war, and still persisting since its close. I am bound, however, to confess that the response of the Indian manufacturer to the opportunities created for him by the difficulty of securing foreign goods, and to the need for increased production of Indian goods, has been somewhat disappointing.

Nevertheless a tax upon imported cotton cloth appears to me to have merits of another character. Since the Indian handloom weaver and the Indian mills supply the cheapest and coarsest clothes used in India, a tax on imported cloth is a tax on those who are best able to pay. It is tolerably well graduated according to income, whereas an income-tax proper is very unsatisfactory in India in consequence of the extreme difficulty in ascertaining what people's incomes are.

He also points out a probable menace to Indian industrial enterprise arising out of the tariff.

The question will have to be determined whether the small beginnings of a Protective Tariff already established in India shall be further developed. The modest $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent may be greatly increased. What will be the effect

of that? In my opinion, simply that foreign capitalists will come into India and set up their factories here. The share of Indian firms in the industrial activities carried on in India would, I think, be reduced instead of increased. How are you going to deal with that difficulty? Obviously it can only be met by developing the capacities of the Indian people themselves.

So, therefore, stating the matter as seen from the broadest point of view, the problem of Indian industrial development is two-fold, it is the problem of conserving and developing the natural resources of the country, and then of conserving and developing its human resources. Let us take the former first.

Are we conserving the natural resources of the country? Are we not rather allowing some of the most important of them to be destroyed recklessly?

Conservation of Forests.

As an instance Prof Slater speaks of India's forests

India was at one time, there can be little doubt, almost entirely covered by forest. By slow degrees the greater part of the country has been cleared and brought under cultivation. That is good, up to a certain point. It is calculated that in a temperate climate like that of France or Germany three quarters of the area may properly be cleared, but one quarter should be kept forested. In a tropical country like India the need of forest is probably greater, especially on hill and mountain slopes where the soil is washed away by the heavy rains wherever unprotected by tree roots. But India, leaving out Burma, has only 12 per cent of its area under forest. Further, much that is called forest, and which was forest once, is now treeless waste, producing nothing but rocks, prickly pear, euphorbia, land ruined and devastated beyond hope of recovery.

I think that one of the most discouraging features of Indian life is the manner in which this question is handled by the speakers and writers who have taken on themselves the responsibility of guiding and expressing Indian opinion. Never does one find a speech delivered in the Legislative Council, or an article in the Indian Press, urging upon Government more effective conservation of the forests. It is the officials of the Forest Department alone who are struggling to conserve this most valuable heritage of the Indian people, and they have every man's hand against them. The peasant of neighbouring villages claims a fancied right to pasture his cattle on forests which by right belong just as much to villages at a greater distance. Forest is land bearing a growing crop of trees, just as much entitled to, and just as much requiring protection as a growing crop of rice, or wheat, or cholam. For one village to turn cattle—and still

worse goats—into a forest which ought to serve many villages as a source of timber and fuel, is like one ryot in a village turning cattle to graze over the growing corn crops of the whole village. For a very small immediate profit to a few people the permanent interests of a whole community are sacrificed.

India must learn to be less tender of individual interests, more resolved to vindicate the general rights of the community. Her economic salvation depends upon it.

Education Too Bookish.

A school-boy in Allahabad was once asked to define a river and he succeeded in doing so. But when he was asked whether he had seen a river, his face wore a blank expression, though he was an inhabitant of the city which stands on the banks of the Ganges and the Jumna. Prof Slater writes of a similar experience in England.

Yesterday I happened to look into a book about my native county of Devonshire by the well known novelist, Mr Baring Gould. He described how he went into a school nestling below the hills of Dartmoor with His Majesty's Inspector. First the Inspector asked the children questions. He asked them to name the rivers of Siberia and they did. He asked them to name the highest mountains of Africa and they did. He asked them to give the height of the highest mountain of Africa, and they did. And the Inspector was pleased. Then Mr Baring Gould asked questions. He asked them to give the name of the river which flowed through their village, and they could not. He asked them to give the name of the hill that overhung the valley, and they could not. He asked them how high the hill was, and they did not know. He asked the name of a common wild flower he had picked in the lane, and no one knew it. "This," he cried, "is the rubbish which we inflict on the children and call education." Is there nothing of that unreal unimaginative bookish quality in Indian education?

The Right Use of Industries

Prof Slater's observations on the right use of industries are very valuable.

India might hum from end to end with the machinery of cotton mills and woolen mills and silk mills. Her stores of coal and iron might be exploited to the utmost, her ports might be crowded with ships of her own building, carrying her manufactures all over the world, and yet the average Indian might be no better and no happier than he is to-day. Industrial development gives economic power. Economic power is neither good nor evil in itself. All

depends on the use which is made of it. The Western world has been too absorbed in its pursuit of industrial efficiency and material power, too little careful about the application of such power to the best and highest uses, and it has received a terrible lesson. India needs to put more effort, more intelligence, and more conscientiousness into industry. But India must also realise the importance of securing the just distribution of the fruits of industry, and of wise use of economic power to promote health, happiness, intellectual culture, and spiritual advance.

Music as a Factor in Education.

In an article on "Music as a Factor in Education" by Mr K John in the *Educational Review* of Madras, it is said:

Music is a science as well as an art. As science it teaches us the theoretical principles, the laws that govern the composition of melody and harmony. As an art it makes us acquaint ourselves with playing on musical instruments. In learning music, our mental faculties develop, reading music from a book requires practice, rapid thinking and prompt expression and the effort required for the correctness of playing a piece of music, necessitates the use of the powers of judgment and discretion no less than concentration of mind. Further, in singing, clearness and distinctness of articulation are attained. Children do not articulate fully. But singing gives the right way of articulation. Boys or girls who feel shy to sing alone have an excellent opportunity to get rid of their shyness by combining their voices in a chorus, and gradually their shyness will wear out, and they will come to see singing a great pleasure to themselves as well as to others.

In music, the ear, the eye, and the voice play the prominent part. By the training of the ear, a boy or girl acquires the power of discriminating the harsh from the pleasant, the harmonious from the dissonant. By the training of the eye, the pupil acquires the rapidity of reading two or more bars before he proceeds to play on any musical instrument. By the training of the voice, the pupil is enabled to articulate properly and to sing audibly and clearly. This will ultimately train him to sing softly and melodiously.

Music contributes to physical well-being.

By pressing the pedals of the harmonium the calf muscles of the leg get exercise. The fingers get nimble and drilled by constant play on the piano. In the violin the wrist and the whole of the right hand are always in play. In playing on a trumpet or clarion, or Indian melam, exercise is given to our lungs, and in drumming, to our hands, and above all in vocal music our internal muscles and especially those of the larynx are strengthened resulting in a good

voice, and thus we find that we are taking exercise all unawares

It is also morally beneficial

Music necessarily imparts moral education provided it is rightly cultivated. The tastes of a child who has heard nothing but the comic songs and the ugly ribaldries of the drama and the gin-shop are not likely to be refined. Music is the expression of deep feelings. It is the expression of ideas in soft and soothing melody. There is a grandeur in its harmony and a solemnness that thrills the deepest chords of human heart. Music awakens love, joy, anger, hatred, repentance, pity, sorrow, and what not.

Music is a balm to the wounded mind. It is a stimulus to the dull and inactive spirits of human nature. Its refining influence on the character of man is invaluable and enduring. To music we owe intense patriotism and moral feeling.

The Heart of Education.

Sir M E Sadler's articles on "Education in England" in *Indian Education* are always instructive reading. The one contributed to the January number is particularly thoughtful and informing. In it he asks, "Is Education 'to serve a spiritual purpose or to be dominated by the desire of increasing material goods?' This is the question which challenges modern civilisation." The writer then describes different theories of the aims of education.

Simplest to state as a doctrine is the view that education aims at enlightenment. This view is well put by Locke, in his little book on *the Conduct of the Understanding*. "The business of education," he writes, "is not to make the young perfect in any one of the sciences, but so to open and dispose their minds as may best make them capable of any, when they shall apply themselves to it. If men are for a long time accustomed only to one sort or method of thought, their minds grow stiff in it and do not readily turn to another. It is, therefore, to give them this freedom that I think they should be made to look into all sorts of knowledge and exercise their understandings in so wide a variety and stock of knowledge. But I do not propose it as a variety and stock of knowledge but as a variety and freedom of thinking, as increase of the powers and activity of the mind, not as an enlargement of its possessions."

The same idea was in Huxley's mind when he defined education as "the instruction of the intellect in the laws of Nature." "Under the name of the laws of Nature I include not merely things and their forces but men and their ways,

and the fashioning of the affections and of the will into an earnest and living desire to move in harmony with those laws." "That man, I think, has had a liberal education who has been so trained in youth that his body is the ready servant of his will and does with ease and pleasure all the work that, as a mechanism, it is capable of, whose intellect is a clear, cold, logic engine with all its parts of equal strength and in smooth working order, ready, like a steam engine, to be turned to any kind of work and spin the gossamers as well as forge the anchors of the mind, whose mind is stored with a knowledge of the great and fundamental truths of Nature and of the laws of her operations, one who, no stunted ascetic, is full of life and fire, but whose passions are trained to come to heel by a vigorous will, the servant of a tender conscience, who has learned to love all beauty, whether of nature or of art, to hate vileness, and to respect others as himself. Such an one, and no other I conceive, has had a liberal education, for he is, as completely as a man can be, in harmony with Nature. He will make the best of her and she of him. They will get on together rarely, she as his ever-beneficent mother, he as her mouth-piece, her conscious self, her minister and interpreter."

He then turns to a very different theory of education, which "has been carried by Germany to the furthest point yet reached of logical completeness. It holds that by means of education a whole people should be brought to conform with an ideal of national effort and duty." "The world has good reason to rue the success of the German experiment."

Lastly, Sir Michael turns to "a third and far deeper conception of the aims of education. It is the idea of initiation, of admitting the individual's mind and soul to something transcendent, over-ruling and illuminative." Summing up and commenting on these theories, Sir Michael says

We are now in a position to review these three doctrines as to the aim of education—the doctrine that its fundamental purpose is enlightenment, the doctrine that its fundamental purpose is, by means of suggestion, to secure conformity to an ideal, and the doctrine that its fundamental purpose is initiation. I submit that each doctrine has a measure of truth, but that the two first are rightly to be considered as subsidiary to the third. Enlightenment in any narrowly intellectual sense of the word is inadequate, because knowledge, apart from conscience, is in itself unable to determine conduct, and conduct is the test of education. To induce acceptance of a prescribed ideal is an inadequate statement of educational aims, because the ideal prescribed may be mischievous or evil, and the final test of education is the deliberate choice, if need

be, in defiance of authority, of the most choice-worthy end. But enlightenment and guidance through suggestion are both incidentally valuable in so far as they prepare for the initiation of mind and heart into the mysteries of life and duty. It is this initiation, however, which is the highest purpose and achievement of education and the consummate boon which it can confer. It is this, and this alone, which gives the power of revaluation. It is through the union of the individual mind with the central and eternal power of Truth and Beauty that new forces flow into life and break down the obstacles to spiritual and mental growth.

Such initiation may be achieved by means which are apparently simple, but really profound. Its consequences can be soon, have actually at all times been witnessed, in the case of quite simple and, in one sense of the word, uncultured people. The supreme benefit which education can bestow comes from a right attitude of mind and heart to the truths which are waiting to be seen and received. Its reception is followed by the acceptance of a way of life. Its criterion is peace of mind. It manifests itself in conduct, in human relationships, in the spirit of service and self-surrender, in courageous protest against what is at enmity with the moral law.

India and Indians in "World-Culture"

The section devoted to the "World of Culture" is a commendable addition to the features of the *Collegian*. We compile a few items from it relating to India and Indians.

Indian Art in America

DURING the winter of 1918-19 Mr. Fyzee-Rahamin, the artist of Poona, was all but lionized in the art-circles of New York. There were two exhibitions of his water-colors, one of which was held at the Knoedler Galleries. Some of these have been reproduced in the monthly magazine, *Asia*, for March 1919. He delivered also a lecture at Columbia University on the paintings at Ajanta. Lectures on Hindu music with song illustrations were offered before several women's clubs by Mrs. Fyzee Rahamin, who is the author of a book on *Indian Music*. Last spring the *Shakoontala* (in English) was staged by the Greenwich Village Theatre of New York. It drew large audiences. The Indian Section of the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston is being re-organized under the directions of A. K. Coomaraswamy as keeper. He has lectured also at the New York Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts.

American Scholarship in Indology

AMONG the recent articles of the *American Oriental Society's Journal* Indian antiquarians will be interested in W. N. Brown's monograph on the *Panchatantra* (Feb. 1919) and W. E. Clark's on "Sakadvipa and Svetadvipa" (Oct. 1919). Both are bibliographical masterpieces.

Research in Philosophy.

H. HALDAR's article on the "Absolute and Finite Self" in the *Philosophical Review* for July 1918 is one of the very few contributions of Indian intellect to modern philosophical investigations. It is a matter of regret that in India students of philosophy should be far behind their comrades in the fields of positive science whose original researches in mathematics, physics, and chemistry are reported quite often in the leading scientific periodicals of the world. We shall be glad to see S. K. Maitra's thesis on *The Neo-Romantic Movement in Contemporary Philosophy* in print.

Asia in American Universities and Academies.

AMERICA is taking an academic interest in the methods and problems of Oriental culture. During the last three years B. K. Sarkar was invited to give lectures on the politics and civilization of Egypt, Persia, India, China and Japan at the State Universities of California and Iowa, Western Reserve University, University of Pittsburg, Clark and Columbia Universities and Amherst College. The Journals of American learned societies also have published about a dozen articles from his pen. By favourable comments on Mr. Sarkar's thesis in his book on *Hindu Achievements in Exact Science* the scientific magazines like the *Journal of American Chemical Society*, *Educational Review*, *Pedagogical Seminary* and *American Journal of Sociology* have brought the material attainments of Orientals to the notice of Occidental scholars.

Islam and the Far East.

THE political institutions of Islam have been rendered accessible to students of comparative politics by the publication of N. P. Agnihides' *Mohammedan Theories of Finance* (N. Y. 1916). Students of Hindu *neeti-shastras* will find bibliographical material on the Moslem theory of kingship in the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (ed. by Hastings), Vol. VII.

Moslem Influence on Dante.

ISLAMIC elements in the *Divine Comedy* have been minutely analyzed by Professor Asin of Madrid in *La Escatologia Mussulmana en la Divina Comedia*.

A Tibetan Treatise on Hindu Painting.

NOR many Sanskrit books on art have been rendered accessible in modern languages. The publication (Leipzig 1913) of *Das Chitralakshana* in the *Documente der Indischen Kunst* Series of the Bavarian Academy has therefore been of considerable help to orientalists in understanding the theoretical ideas of the Hindu *shilpa-shastra* in regard to the *lakshana* (marks or criteria) of a *chitra* (painting). It should be of immense interest to historians also who have been investigating the expansion of India in medieval times, since the Tibetan treatise (in the Tanjur collection) of which the German rendering has been offered by Berthold Laufer was but a translation from the Sanskrit original which seems to have been lost. Laufer contributes a learned introduction and his notes also are illuminating, especially as he is one of those very few scholars who have paid almost as much attention to indology as

to sinology. Many researchers in Bombay and Bengal can now read German with ease. Steps should be taken therefore by some Research Society to bring out an English translation of this extremely useful book, which, *en passant*, covers only about 140 pages of Royal 8vo (excluding the Tibetan text). Permission might be secured by corresponding with the author at the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.

Hindu Political Philosophy in South America

THE *neeti-shastras* of ancient India are attracting attention among the scholars of the republics of South America. The *Revista Argentina de Ciencias Politicas* of Buenos Aires has in its issue of April 1919 given a short summary in Spanish of B. K. Sarkar's article on "Hindu Political Philosophy" that appeared in the *Political Science Quarterly* (Columbia University, N. Y.) for Dec. 1918. The Argentinian reviewer is evidently interested in "city states", oriental and occidental.

Comparative Religion

THE *Open Court* (Chicago) for November 1919 prints an article on "Confucianism, Buddhism and Christianity" by Benoy Kumar Sarkar. The paper

analyzes Christlore in history and uses it as a peg on which to hang the discussion of three world religions in their psychological relations. Mr. Sarkar is the author of *Chinese Religion Through Hindu Eyes* (Shanghai and Tokyo 1916).

Women Poets of India.

POETRY lovers of America have been treated to several instalments of Bengali verse through the columns of the New York literary monthly, the *Bookman* (1917). Three women poets have thereby been introduced in its pages. The article gave translations and appreciative estimates of Kamini Roy, Mankumari Devi and Anangamohini Devi.

Pali Scholarship at Harvard

BUDDHA-GHOSHA's *Papanchasudani*, commentary on the *Majjhima-Nikaya* (the second book of the *Sutta Pitaka*) is being edited at Harvard University. The mss. are in Sinhalese characters. Mr. Dharm-ananda Kosambi, late of the National Council of Education, Bengal, and of Fergusson College, Poona, is working on the material together with James H. Woods, professor of philosophy. The work is likely to take four years and will be published by the Pali Text Society of Great Britain.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Japan's Discovery of a New Fibre.

The Japanese take cotton from India to Japan and, manufacturing cotton goods there, bring them to India and sell them at a lower price than are demanded for Indian and British cotton goods. Such is their enterprise. Now comes the news, through the pages of the *Japan Magazine*, that

Japan has discovered a new fibre to mix with cotton, which promises to cause a revolution in cheap fabrics in the Far East. It is a kind of sea grass known as sugamo, which, when properly treated and mixed with raw cotton, makes a thread strong and useful for cheapening the material, which is now so high in price.

The annual value of raw cotton imports to Japan is about 300,000,000 *yen*, with about 18,000,000 *yen* for ramie and 52,000,000 for wool. But if the mixing of raw cotton with sea grass proves a success, such large imports of raw cotton will not be necessary.

This sea grass flourishes plentifully about the shores of Japan, so that there will be no difficulty in obtaining a sufficient supply if it comes into general use among spinners. The botanical name of this grass is *phyllospadix scouleri*, or sugamo in Japanese, but in the different places where it grows different names are used by the Japanese, such as umisuge, ebino, ryuguno and so on. The quantity available is believed to be unlimited.

The use of this weed in cotton spinning has only just begun and is not on a very extensive scale as yet. It was first tried in making material for rough horse blankets, and was found so practicable that its use in other ways is now contemplated.

This discovery is sure to give a great stimulus to the cotton industry of Japan.

Japan's Food Scarcity.

There being food scarcity in Japan, F. Miyamoto writes in the *Japan Magazine* "the question of ample food supply has been occupying the attention of our people for some time, and is becoming a serious question in national politics."

Food, of course, must be the paramount question for all nations, and in it are involved some important considerations, as, for instance, the sources of production, the relation between prices of labour and food prices, the importation of rice and so on. Last year the total value of our rice imports was over 100,000,000 *yen*.

Rice is the principal food of the Japanese, and the writer mentions various considerations which "militates very seriously against any possibility of substituting bread or other cereals for rice in" Japan. He then asks, if rice continues to be the staple food of Japan, how is the

yield to keep pace with consumption.' His answer is—

This important question is answered in various ways. It is believed that there is room for considerable extension of rice fields by land reclamation and the utilization of lands now used for other purposes or lying waste. The present acreage of paddy fields can be cultivated more intensively by further employment of fertilizers, the imports of which even now amount in value to about 150,000,000 *yen* a year. By engaging in the cultivation of rice in a more intensive and scientific manner the annual crop could no doubt be much increased. As to further imports from abroad, the possibilities are always available, though foreign rice is not popular and is used only in case of necessity.

There is shortage of food in India too. And we have made the above extracts to show how earnestly and by what means an independent people are trying to tackle this vital problem.

Internal and External Sovereignty in Ancient Hindu Politics.

In an article on the Hindu Theory of International Relations contributed to the *American Political Science Review*, Professor Benoykumar Sarkar writes—

The conception of "external" sovereignty was well established in the Hindu philosophy of the state. The Hindu thinkers not only analyzed sovereignty with regard to the constituent elements in a single state. They realized also that sovereignty is not complete unless it is external as well as internal, that is, unless the state can exercise its internal authority unobstructed by and independently of other states.

"Great misery," says Shookra, "comes of dependence on others. There is no greater happiness than that from self rule." This is one of the maxims of the *Shookra-neeti* bearing on the freedom of the *rastriya*, or the land and the people in a state. Kautilya also in his remarks on "foreign rule" expresses the same idea in a negative manner. Under it, we are told in his *Artha-shastra*, the country is not treated as one's own land, it is impoverished, its wealth carried off, or it is treated "as a commercial article." The description is suggestive of John Stuart Mill's metaphor of the "cattle farm" applied to the 'government of one people by another'.

Indian Ministers and the Temperance Question

We learn from *Abkari* that at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association held in London last December,

Sir Sankaran Nair stated that under the Act as passed by Parliament, Excise would be wholly transferred to the control of Indian Ministers responsible to the Provincial Legislative Councils. He was confident that they would, without delay, formulate

a policy which would be in general harmony with the ideals of that Association. In view of the Regulations under the Act (to be issued next April or May) and the probable election of the first Councils in November, it should be the aim of the Temperance organisations and other bodies in India to ascertain the opinions on this subject of intending candidates, with a view to the adoption of a progressive temperance policy, including local option, and leading up to ultimate Prohibition. He thought that Indian politicians would, for the most part, accept and advocate proposals along these lines, notwithstanding the temporary loss of revenue which such a policy might involve.

Suffragist Movement in the Philippines

The Philippine Review writes—

One of the recommendations of the Governor General in his annual message to the Philippine Legislature is the enactment of a law granting women the right to vote, "not only in recognition of the public equality of the two sexes, but also having regard to the high standards of the Filipino woman, and as a means of stimulating public interest in many social and moral reforms." It is conceded that the Filipino woman is in every way capable of taking part in shaping the political destiny of the Islands, but from every quarter there comes forth the argument that she does not sincerely desire to exercise the right of suffrage. At the woman suffrage mass meeting held on November 7, at the Malacanang Palace under the auspices of Mrs. Francis Burton Harrison, wife of the Governor General, President Quezon of the Philippine Senate sounded this significant note: "We leave it to our wives to decide whether they want suffrage."

The other speakers of the occasion were Mrs. Palma, wife of the Secretary of the Interior, Mrs. Calderon, wife of the Director of the Philippine General Hospital, Mrs. Alvero, directress of the Instituto de Mujeres, and Mrs. Francis Burton Harrison.

Mrs. Palma declared that,

The Filipino woman must not be insensible to the progress going on in other parts of the world, especially in the United States in connection with the emancipation of woman from her position of inequality with men in political affairs. She further stated that in other countries a great deal of harm and suffering was experienced in the efforts of woman to put through the adoption of woman suffrage, but she predicted that no such thing will be experienced here. If woman suffrage has been a success in other countries, she asked, why should it not be a success in the Philippines?

Senate President Quezon stated that,

He advocated woman suffrage because he is convinced of the capacity, intelligence and moderation and ability of the Filipino woman and because giving them the right to vote would redound to the great benefit of the country. He said

"The Filipino public is not only composed of men, but also of women, and if the allegation be true that women are more important than men, to which theory I gladly subscribe, why not give the women the privilege of the

ballot the same as the man? There is no reason why man should arbitrarily express the political views of the family when part of it, when his other half disagrees with him. Whether she agrees or not with her husband on political questions, the woman should be given the liberty and freedom to express her own view through the ballot. It is not fair that women who do not marry and whose fathers are dead and who are thus left unrepresented at the polls, especially if they have property, are thus left without a voice in the government."

Mrs Rosa Sevilla de Alvero declared that,

Woman is the heart of humanity as man is the brain. "If this is the case," she argued, "why handicap humanity by amputating its heart on questions political?" The statement is made that women should not so degrade themselves as to go down to the level of politics. I cannot believe this is so because this is an admission that politics here is dirty and I believe that it is not dirty. If it is, then let women come and purify it."

Mrs Francis Buiton Harrison asserted that,

Women are under the same laws as men. "If it is so," she declared, "then it is but right that they both take part in framing them." She cited the names of renowned women in the governmental administration of many countries of the world and mentioned the great work undertaken by the women during the last World War.

The Editor of the *Philippine Review* observes —

This movement of lifting women from the abyss to which they have been relegated by tradition is becoming more and more general. The women of the West have become triumphant, as a consequence of man's recognition of their forces in the affairs of human society. The women of the East are gradually rising from their seclusion to assert their rights. In India, China, and Japan women are clamoring for the vote. But in the Philippines, there is a greater chance for the fair sex to realize their desire, for the Filipino statesmen only expect their more ardent manifestation of their desire to exercise the right of suffrage. Out of man's love and respect for woman, he hesitates to place upon her shoulders a part of the political burden, but, if she really desires to fulfil her share in the great task, he is but too willing to grant her the right in obedience to the dictates of justice.

Japan's Post-bellum Trade with India and the South Seas.

There is in Tokyo, Japan, an association called "the Indo-Japanese Association." In "the object of the Indo-Japanese Association" it is stated

The Indo-Japanese Association takes upon itself, so far as in it lies, to promote friendship between the two countries and promises to provide every possible

facility and opportunity to help both peoples to work in concert, whenever investigations have to be made with regard to commerce, industry, religion, science or the arts.

As the welfare of both countries is sought to be promoted, the membership should be approximately equal. But we find that the president, the two vice-presidents, the five members of the executive committee and sixty out of the sixty-one members of the board of councillors are Japanese, and one solitary member of the board, Mr M C Mallick, is probably an Indian. Under the circumstances, it does not seem probable that the Association can promote the welfare of India.

The Journal of the Association, dated October, 1919, has recently reached us. It opens with an article entitled "Our Post-bellum Trade with India and the South Seas" by Marquis S. Okuma. The first section has the heading, "Politics should not be involved in Trade." But has not Japan used political power and means to protect and push on her trade? The Marquis writes

Our trade with India and the South Seas, making rapid development during the great war, saw in 1918 the total exports and imports of 780 million yen against 300 millions of pre-war years. The exports, in particular, which showed a remarkable rate of increase, reached 356 million yen, as compared with 53 millions before the war, while the excess of imports have decreased since the outbreak of the war, from 200 millions gradually down to about 100 millions, the figure for last year showing only 70 millions. But this development is not so much due to the real and national development of our trade, as it is attributable to the war, which either stopped the transportation of our rivals or kept them too busy to attend to trade in the Orient. Should the self-supplying principle be adopted and heavy duties be levied on foreign articles, for the protection of home productions, the result would be that the means of distribution is cut off and trade declines.

But has not Japan levied heavy duties on foreign articles?

The Fate of Old Manuscripts.

India has lost innumerable manuscripts of great value. But in other countries also, many manuscripts have been lost. *Chambers's Journal* writes —

Of those literary treasures which classical authors bequeathed to the world, only a small portion have been preserved. Time, spite, and ignorance have contrived for us, the heirs, an irreparable loss, and if it be asked how this has happened, it can be replied, 'The character of the destroyer suits equally well the bigot, the blockhead, and the barbarian.' How great is the loss may be surmised when we recollect that Livy's *History* originally consisted of one hundred and forty-two books,

of which but thirty-five remain. Of the twelve books of Tacitus's *Histories* there are only four extant. Chance has saved for us nineteen out of the eighty or ninety dramas of Euripides. Plautus is credited with one hundred and thirty comedies, and of these one hundred and ten have been lost. The same fate has overtaken the autographs of the Bible, and we are dependent in some instances upon manuscripts prepared many centuries after the books were first written. Nor has fortune been much kinder in the case of the writings of certain modern authors. Louis XIV destroyed with his own hands works of Fénélon. The letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu were burned by her mother, though her Turkish correspondence was saved. Some valuable family manuscripts belonging to the Duke of Bridgewater were also destroyed by fire because, it is reported, he wished to conceal his descent from mean antecedents.

Of all the wealth of literature, far more has perished than industrious research is ever likely to recover. Yet, much as we regret the loss of so many works of genius, we are at the same time provided with the very interesting story which attaches to their fate. The splendid library at Alexandria was destroyed by religious fanaticism, both Christian and Mohammedan. Four thousand manuscripts (so the story goes) were used for heating the stoves by the master of the baths in the time of Caliph Omar. At Granada Ximenes burned five thousand Korans. Twelve thousand copies of the Talmud perished in the flames at Cremona. The Persians destroyed the literature of Phœnicia and Egypt, the Jesuits that of Bohemia. Many manuscripts in the quaint Peruvian picture-writing were lost for ever owing to the bigotry of Roman Catholic priests. The brilliant writings of Origen were burned by the orthodox. The ancient learning of the Irish monasteries suffered at the hands of invaders. And the ruin of what escaped the malice of man was completed by the not less certain process of decay. Part of our impoverishment is due to neglect.

News Relating to Education in Many Countries

The article headed "Christian Education 1914 to 1918" in the *International Review of Missions* contains much useful information relating to education in various countries. For instance, regarding Japan we learn

In Japan during the war schools of all grades have been overcrowded. Eagerness for higher education has become keener than ever. To meet the growing demand the Government has launched a great scheme of expansion. In December 1918 it announced its intention of establishing thirty-three new higher schools (Koto Gakko) and higher special schools (Semmon Gakko) and six one-department universities, and to add one college to each of four imperial universities. Yen 44,000,000 will be appropriated for this purpose during the next six years, and this sum will be augmented by contributions from the provincial and municipal authorities where the new schools are to be located. The emperor has given Yen 10,000,000 for the scheme and wealthy men are also subscribing money for private schools not in the government programme. As means of providing competent teachers for the proposed expansion the Government is establishing about

400 scholarships in the imperial universities for students who expect become teachers, and a similar number of students are to be sent abroad for advanced work (1 yen Rs 1-10).

It will be noticed that in Japan there is no intention to reduce the number of university students in order to improve the quality of university education. What foolishness! Japan ought really to take lessons in educational policy from Anglo-Indian bureaucrats or rather, we ought to say that Japanese statesmen know what to do for their own country and what for a dependent foreign country, as will be clear from the following sentences relating to Korea —

While in Japan itself, where a national system of education is securely established, the tendency is to allow greater freedom to private effort, in Korea new drastic regulations were promulgated in 1915 requiring that all private schools should follow exactly the government curriculum and prohibiting all religious teaching and religious ceremonies in schools. The Japanese authorities disclaim any wish to interfere with religious freedom or to restrict religious propaganda, but it is held that education is an affair of the State and must be absolutely controlled by the State in order to educate the people for its own ends. In existing conditions in Korea the authorities are not prepared, as in Japan itself, to leave a place for private schools giving their own special type of education. All schools must be secularized and conform exactly to the government model or be closed.

However, it is good to note that in addition to establishing 400 scholarships in the imperial universities for would-be teachers, the Japanese Government will send 400 students abroad for advanced work. Will the Government of India take note?

In spite of the internal dissensions in China with the resulting disorder and lack of settled government,

The statistics issued by the Ministry of education show that in 1915-16, the last for which figures are available, the number of pupils under instruction was five per cent more than in 1914-15, and nearly 70 per cent more than in 1912-13.

Even Turkey, which has been frequently described as a God-forsaken land, has some progress to show.

One of the most striking developments during the war in the Turkish Empire has been a remarkable impulse given to the education of women, new high schools and normal schools for girls being started in different parts of the country.

Conversion of Outcastes to Christianity.

The following ought to provoke thought in

the minds of all Hindus, whether pro-reform or anti-reform —

In India the widespread movement of the outcasts towards the Christian Church has continued unabated. In mass movement areas in North and South India the number of baptisms is still only limited by the possibility of instructing the thousands of inquirers who desire to join the Church. In one year, as we noted at the time, an American mission reported 150,000 inquirers and nearly 30,000 baptisms. Baptism was refused to 40,000 persons for whose instruction no provision could be made. The areas of the movement have extended. In Hyderabad in the Nizam's Dominions—to take one instance out of many—a British mission reports that a movement which began in 1915 has spread 'like an infection from village to village', over 3,000 adults and an equal number of children were baptized in 1918, and over 4,000 more are under instruction for baptism.

It is mainly the social and economic condition of the outcasts which makes them enter the Christian fold

The Christian Churches in the War.

A committee of clergy and laymen sat to ascertain the attitude of soldiers toward the 'padre'. *The Nation* of London writes about its conclusions as follows

In the rude dramatization of war for the civilian people the 'padre' has had a fairly conspicuous role, and the attitude of Tommy toward this functionary of the spiritual life has been a frequent topic of reflective or of humorous comment. But merely journalistic or literary treatment of such a topic is not likely to yield much reliable testimony of a representative kind. This consideration gives importance to the results of a more orderly inquiry made by a committee of clergy and laymen of various denominations into the religion of our army as disclosed in the stress of the war. Nearly three hundred memoranda, based on the evidence of many hundred witnesses, were obtained from men of all ranks, 'Generals down to privates, chaplains, doctors, nurses, hut leaders, and workers, and a careful sifting of the material thus got has yielded a very interesting report, drafted by Dr. Cairns, and published, with a preface by the Bishop of Winchester, under the title, *The Army and Religion* (Macmillan & Co.)

Directed to ascertain 'What the men are thinking about Religion, Morality, and Society,' 'The changes in moral and religious outlook made by the war,' and 'The relation of the men to the churches,' and bearing in mind that the 'men' in question are the virile portion of the nation, the confession before us has deep significance. On every page it bears the mark of a confession. For, though there are wide divergencies and contradictions in some matters of valuation, there is everywhere a frank agreement upon two fundamental judgments. The first is that Christianity in any acknowledged sense has very little hold indeed upon the great majority of the men. The second is that the churches have a heavy and a prime responsibility for this failure. Indeed, the admission of their dereliction of duty in

this failure appears to us too abject, for a reason to which we will presently advert.

Again.

There is an interesting consensus of evidence in favor of the view that there is a dim sort of religious consciousness generally prevalent. But it belongs to what would be called the sphere of natural rather than of revealed religion, and has no dogmatic or ecclesiastical attachment.

A saying, to which this inquiry gives just prominence, holds that 'The soldier has got religion, I am not so sure that he has got Christianity.' What religion has he 'got'? If 'got' implies a firm and conscious possession, it is too strong a term to describe the vague flicker of beliefs and feelings revealed by this 'cloud' of witness. There is, however, by general assent, a belief in God and a 'respect' for the character of Jesus Christ. But in both cases the conception of these beings and of the part they play in the moral government of the world is quite vague, while the particular tenets of the Christian faith with its scheme of salvation have no place whatever in their mind. 'They have not the foggiest notion of what it is all about.' The Incarnation and Atonement mean nothing to them.

In the Report there is no proper answer to the questions,

Where is the Almighty Father in this business?

Why did God permit the war?

Why are the innocent punished along with the guilty?

We will conclude by making another extract,

What did the ministers of the gospel of love do (1) to keep down hate and the propaganda of hate, (2) to favor the earliest possibility of a good peace? (3) to urge just and healing terms in the peace that was imposed? Our newspapers have been full of headlines of the aspirations of the churches toward the 'Brotherhood of Nations'. Where has this sense of brotherhood been lying during the last five years, when brother has been stamping out the life of brother and spitting poison at him across the spiritual and material barriers? The representatives of the churches here confess, 'We could do little we would like to have done more, but we were so weak, our want of earnest, strenuous endeavor in the past deprived us of the faith in ourselves and others needed for any great work.' They add, 'We must do better in the future.'

But will they? Here, as always, they raise the cry, 'Materialism'. But what is materialism? It is the preference of the physical to the spiritual, the worship of the dead substance instead of the living power. Now materialism, as an operative element in the art of life, means the reliance upon physical instead of moral force. Thus war is the supreme exhibition of materialism. For though the antinomy of physical and spiritual force may not be ultimate and absolute the charge of materialism, so far as it is valid, consists in the reversion to a course of conduct in which spiritual influences are at a minimum. And this is war, where the settlement of the profoundest issues, involving the justice and happiness of men are submitted to a strictly materialistic determination. Perhaps the worst moral feature in such a process is the jugglery sophistication by

which statesmen, peoples, and, above all, their spiritual pastors and masters, persuade themselves and others that the real combatants are spiritual ideals and that somehow, ordeal by battle still holds good as an orderly process in the moral government of the world

It is the utter and complete failure of the churches, as reflected even in the well-meaning spiritual fumbling of such an inquiry as lies before us, to perceive the incompatibility of the two terms, army and religion, which they thus bring together, that is the crowning proof of that 'unreality' which they admit is the charge the soldiers bring against the Christianity of the churches. How could it be otherwise? The presentation of Christ in khaki at the front carries a feeling of moral and intellectual blasphemy to most sincere minded men

and women, which is not really overcome, though it may be modified, by the deep conviction of the inherent righteousness of our cause, which is always entertained by all the warring nations who introduce on to the battlefield their tribal gods, with an equal insistence that this time the tribal cause is that of unconditional justice and humanity. War may or may not be an eternal necessity. We hold that it is not. But if and so long as it be necessary, let Christianity be kept out of the affair, and above all let nobody pretend that anything but evil to the spiritual life can come out of this devil's game. We feel certain that this is the representative feeling of the men who have been players in this game

SMALL-POX—HISTORY AND TREATMENT

1. History of its Ravages.

THE troops of Napoleon received various reports of the superhuman strength and blood-thirsty nature of the Cossacks and sat chop-fallen. Napoleon confronted them with the picture of a Cossack and assured them that the Cossacks were but mortals and before a disciplined army like theirs would fly like chaff before a wind. His prophecy was fulfilled when his army enlivened by his words fell upon the enemy with renewed vigour. The prevalence of small-pox in this city seems to have created a panic and people are thinking of running away to their villages to avoid an attack. This foolish attempt to spread the disease will cease if they know what small-pox is and how easily it can and has been prevented in countries where preventive measures are efficiently adopted.

The disease begins with rigor, fever, violent pains about the head, spine and other places and other troubles which are followed by eruptions after 48 hours. The eruptions resemble *masur dal* when ripe and were termed *masurika* by the Ayurvedic sages. In Bengal it is called *basanta* perhaps owing to the fact its attack is most violent during the spring season. In the North-Western provinces they call it *mātīyī*. Bishop Marius is said to have applied to it the term *variola*, from

varus a pimple. It is called in English small-pox to distinguish it from Syphilis which was termed *French* or *great* pox. It was first mentioned in Ireland under the designation of *bolgagh* in 675 A.D. It was evidently known to Shakespeare, for in "Love's Labours Lost" Rosaline exclaims, "O, that your face were not so full of O's!", to which Katharine replies, "A pox of that jest!" The general prevalence of the disease and the havoc it played in England is best realised by a perusal of Ben Jonson's "Epigram to the Small-pox" in which the following lines appear: "Envious and foul disease! could there not be one beauty in an age, and free from thee?" In Mexico it is said to have surpassed the cruelties of the conquest, "suddenly smiting down 3, 500,000 population, and having none to bury them." In Brazil, in 1563, "it extirpated whole races of men." Even so late as a century ago George Bell of Edinburgh said:

"The small-pox, one of the most severe and dangerous diseases to which mankind is subject, ever since its introduction into Europe, more than a thousand years ago, has descended with undiminished violence from generation to generation, and every effort hitherto made to extirpate it has failed."

In India small-pox was mentioned as an infectious disease by the earliest Ayurvedic writers and classified under the heading of epidemic जनपदीय रोग. The earliest mention

of small-pox epidemic in Calcutta was that made by Mr Blacquire in or about the year 1795-6 during the months of January and February, "during which the mortality was great among men and cattle of all sorts"

2 How We Help Small-pox Attack

To thwart a formidable foe we must know and guard all the strategic points. Our invisible foes, the small-pox microbes, swarm in the air of the patient's room, in his clothes, furniture and excretions and in the flies feeding on his discharges. During the epidemic of 1894-95 the largest centres of infections were brothels and huts occupied by brick masons, coolies and servants and next to them, laundries. It was observed that among the Mahomedans customs prevailed (1) of carrying the dead in a wooden coffin covered with shawls and bringing them back from the burial ground to some *Musjid* for future use without any disinfection, and (2) of distributing the clothes of the dead, though infected, among a class of mendicants called *hadjins*. The Hindus used to throw the beddings of the deceased on the streets which were picked up by the *doms* or rag-sellers. The Marwaris, according to Sir Kailaschandra Bose, Kt., used to send by post small-pox crusts to their friends, as a remedy for multiple abscesses. Patients with dried up eruptions are allowed to mix freely with others or walk in the street on the supposition that the disease is innocuous in this stage. But as a matter of fact the crusts are most infectious. This fact was known to our *tikadars* of old who performed inoculation with a paste prepared from these crusts. It was only the other day I found a lunatic covered with small-pox crusts lying in front of Kamalalaya, a big cloth shop in the College Street Market. The police though informed took no notice of the case and the patient was not removed until the District Health Officer Dr Roy was phoned.

3 The Treatment of Small-pox

(1) Treatment by *Sitala* Priests—most dangerous

The treatment of small-pox may be divided into (1) Curative and (2) Preventive. (1) The current idea that there

is no treatment for small-pox according to the Western method is most erroneous. Simply because we are honest enough to confess that we have no specific for small-pox like quinine in malaria, people throw themselves at the mercy of quacks known as *Sitala* priests whose knowledge of the disease is derived from a few worm-eaten leaves of prescription formulated by their great-great-grand-fathers. I know several cases which ended fatally owing to their wrong diagnosis and treatment. Small-pox by itself is not a fatal disease, it is only the complications such as sepsis, pneumonia, bleeding, pus-poisoning, &c, to which the patients succumb and which these quacks can neither diagnose or treat. Moreover they spread the disease broadcast as they use no disinfectants either for themselves or for their patients. The cases which under their treatment escape death do not escape the lifelong misery of blindness and lameness, common sequelae of virulent types of the disease, on the other hand it was found during the epidemic of 1894-5 that there was nearly 80 per cent recovery under the allopathic mode of treatment. Our external applications are not only curative and soothing but keep off flies which are potent factors in the dissemination of the disease. They also prevent septic poisoning by foreign germs which cause multiple abscesses, destruction of joints and various other complications found in cases treated by quacks. Bleeding from different organs which hasten death may speedily be checked by injections. At a stage when swallowing is impossible owing to paralysis of the throat and all other methods are helpless, we provide nutrition and medication through the rectum, skin and veins. But superstition dies hard. I have known even some medical practitioners recommending treatment by *Sitala* priests and Anglo-Indians bowing before the decision of the latter and tolerating the worship of *Sitala* and the use of Ganges water. Such is the terrorizing power of the King of Terrors! Every day the patients and their friends have to listen to the following invocation of the goddess —

Namāmi *Sitalā*-devīm rāsabhasthām digamvarīm

Mārjanī-kalasopetām sūrpalankrita-mastakām,
 Sitala tanujān rogān nringān haratī dustaran,
 Bisfotaka-visirnānām twamekamritavarshini
 Galaganda-grahā-roga ve chānye dāruṇa nringām,
 Iwad-anudhyāna mātrena Sitala yanti te kshayam

It is quite providential that Sitala comes slowly riding on an ass thus giving us sufficient time to prepare ourselves for the attack and to adopt previous protective measures. It is those foolish persons who remain unprotected that are swept away by the broomstick which she holds in one of her hands.

(2) India First to Practise Protective Inoculation

The Preventive treatment however is more important and certain than the curative. Even so recently as the eighteenth century owing to the influence of the Sydenham hypotheses "the wildest visionary could never hope," according to Haygarth, "to retard the progress of the destructive disease except by prayers and by recourse to the merciful interposition of Providence." In the tenth or eleventh century, small-pox in England was guarded against by amulets and prayers. Amulets inscribed with the name of St Nicaise and consecrated with a Latin prayer were worn as a protection against the small-pox. It must be several centuries before the birth of Christ that our forefathers forestalled the Western savants in their attempt to baffle a severe attack of the disease by the induction of a milder attack in a scientific method. Even in the eighteenth century children in Scotland were sometimes put to bed with small-pox patients or woollen threads saturated with the contents of small-pox pustules were tied round their wrists to induce a mild attack of the disease. But in India as Stevenson and Murphy observe "In most respects the Brahmin method of what we would now call attenuation of virus, and of general treatment, was as nearly perfect as later experience ever made it, and it was only after many years' elaborate blundering that the Eastern simplicity was finally returned to." Inoculation must have travelled from India to Circassia where it was practised at a very early date and thence to Constantinople.

The Circassian operation was done by old women. The practice was called "Buying the small-pox" owing to some trifling present being made to the child from whom matter was taken. It was motherhood again which asserted itself in the protection of children in England. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu had her own child inoculated in Constantinople in 1717 and recommended the method in a letter. On her return home she introduced the operation for the first time in April, 1721, by having her second child inoculated by Mr Maitland. So protection against small pox in England was a Montagu Reform.

But an objection which militated strongly against the universal adoption of inoculation was the danger to life owing to the infectivity of the disease produced by the operation. The consequent numerous deaths, severe attacks, serious sequelae and permanent disfiguration in many cases led the British Parliament to prohibit it in 1840. Owing to the exertions made by my revered *Guru* the late Edmonston Charles, Professor of Midwifery, inoculation was prohibited by law in 1865.

Jenner Poisoning His Own Child With Cow-pox Virus

It was Motherhood again which provided a food for reflection leading to a discovery which startled the whole world and benefited humanity at large. About the year 1768, a young woman calling for advice at a country doctor's surgery in a Gloucestershire village, observed in the course of conversation about small-pox that she could not take the disease as she had had cow-pox. The doctor forgot it, but not his assistant Edward Jenner, to whom the remark was not a casual talk but a Heavenly inspiration. When he himself became a doctor he cogitated, discussed the matter at "Medico Convivial" meetings, enquired among dairy folk and made experimental investigations. His publication in 1798 threw the whole world into convulsions. This greatest benefactor of humanity discovered the surest method of killing one of our greatest enemies with a mere speck on the point of

a scalpel. He was not one of those who experimented on others to prove their own pet theory. In May 1796 he performed the operation on his own child. Instances are not rare of the votaries of Science sacrificing their children, like Karna at the altar of Duty. Carried by an enthusiasm to review the vaccine lymph from cows supposed to have been attacked with cow-pox, Mr Furnell of Sylhet experimented on his own child with poison taken from the affected cows. The disease however was in reality rinderpest which was no protection against small-pox. The latter disease was raging in Sylhet at that time which attacked the child immediately after the operation and carried it off to the disappointment and chagrin of the over-confident father.

In 1802, under the auspices of Lord Clive, the Jennerian antidote arrived by a circuitous route of Vienna, Constantinople, Bagdad, Bussra and Bombay. A present of £4,000 was transmitted in May 1806 to Dr Jenner from the principal inhabitants of Calcutta and its dependencies, as a testimonial of their gratitude for the benefits which this settlement, in common with the rest of mankind, had derived from his inestimable discovery of a preventive of the small-pox. Madras and Bombay together made a present of £3,383-1-10. The greatest obstacle to the progress of vaccination was the avowed hostility of the Indian inoculators. To conciliate them, Dr Shoolbred of the "Native Hospital" instructed two of the principal inoculators in the art of vaccination. Being convinced by their own observations, of the anti-small-pox power of the vaccine disease, 26 of them signed a document in favour of vaccination before the then chief Magistrate Mr Blacquire. One of them was rewarded subsequently with a pension of Rs 26 per mensem. To the professional skill and conciliatory firmness and high character of Dr Shoolbred must be ascribed the magic conversion of the bigoted worshippers of Sitala to a new faith. Various objections on religious grounds were raised against vaccination even up to 1856.

Vidyasagar to the Rescue of Vaccination

It was under the influence of Vidyasagar,

whose name is identified with every cause that alleviates human misery, that in 1856, Maharaja Srischandra of Navadwip convened a meeting of pundits to discuss the propriety of vaccination with calf lymph. "Being convinced by the crushing arguments of the learned reformer, the pundits signed a document in favour of vaccination." Sir Raja Radhakanta Deb introduced it in his family in that year and justified his action by a reference to Dhanvantari's Sakteya Grantha from which he quoted the following:

Dhenu-stanya-masurikā narāṅgacha masurikā,
Taj-jalam vahu mūlāch-cha sastrāntena grihitavān,
Vāhu-mūle cha sastrāni raktotpatti-karāṇi cha,
Taj-jalam rakta-militam ślotaka-jwara-sambhavam

"The lymph taken with the end of a lancet from a pock on the human arm or the teat of a cow, when mixed with the blood let out from the arm by that lancet, gives rise to pock and fever."

It is for the antiquarians to decide whether Sakteya-grantha is a myth or a reality. But it is a fact that the above quotation quieted the parrot cry of "religion in danger."

Our experience extending over a century and a quarter throughout the whole world has proved the efficacy of vaccination as a protective against small-pox. Without relying on what others say in other parts of the world, I quote below a few figures from my lecture on Small-pox and Vaccination delivered at a meeting of the Calcutta Medical Society in 1896, which prove conclusively how vaccination has checked the ravages of small-pox.

Small-pox Deaths in 34 years in Calcutta
1832-65 (Inoculation in vogue) 24513
1866-89 (Inoculation prohibited) 8785
(Reduced to nearly one-third)

Mean Annual Death-Rate in Calcutta per mille

| | | |
|---|----------------------|------|
| | All causes Small-pox | |
| 1876-80 (Vaccination optional) | 31.5 | 1172 |
| 1881-85 (Vaccination compulsory) | 28.6 | 395 |
| 1889-93 (Vaccination supervised by Medical Inspectors) | 26.4 | 378 |

The improvement due to vaccination reducing the small-pox mortality to one-third cannot be credited to general sanitation which could not reduce the deaths from all causes in the same proportion.

The small-pox mortality during 16 years from 1880 (year of compulsory

vaccination) to 1895 was less than 4000, i.e., less than that of a single epidemic in 1849-50 (6154) or 1864-65 (5256) (*Small-pox and Vaccination* by the writer)

Jenner himself confessed that to attribute to a single vaccination lifelong protection, would be to claim for it something supernatural. Re-vaccination every 4th or 5th year is absolutely necessary. Germany, the only country where vaccination is compulsory, is quite free from small-pox

Neglecting Vaccination is Aiding Conflagration

So instead of trying to run away from the enemy and help its egress through the vulnerable points in your system and in that of your village folk, protect your citadel by re-vaccination and like Tolstoy's Ivan do not under compulsion repent too late and exclaim

"A spark neglected burns the house"

SUNDARIMOCHAN DAS

UNREST IN BRITISH-RULED INDIA, PAST AND PRESENT

AT the Salon held on December 4, 1919, at Government House, Calcutta, for a private view of the exhibits of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, His Excellency the Governor of Bengal delivered an address, in the course of which His Excellency said —

I have diagnosed the root cause of Indian unrest as a clash of ideals. I have no doubt in my own mind as to the correctness of my diagnosis

So far as our present knowledge and understanding of the matter goes, we think that Lord Ronaldshay's diagnosis is in the main wrong, though in one sense there may be said to be a modicum of truth in it. At present the ideal of life pursued by our rich land-holding and other classes can be realised only in cities. The main elements of this ideal are plenty of creature comforts, luxury, and the seeking of selfish pleasures—often of a debasing character. These draw the wealthy to the cities. Formerly when the villages were inhabited by a greater number of rich people, the villagers, who form the bulk of the people, had more remunerative employment, the village tanks and wells and paths were better kept, and the indigenous theatricals and athletic performances patronised by the rich afforded plenty of entertainment, *gratis*, to all village folk. The present-day rich men may individually have more

exciting pleasures and entertainments, but they feel less often than their ancestors the happiness of giving to their neighbours joy in widest commonalty spread. There were, therefore, in former times much more colour and joyous movement and bustle in the lives of the people than now. The people at present lead more cheerless lives than formerly. This result has been aggravated by a real change in the religious beliefs and ideals of a considerable proportion of the people. Appearances to the contrary notwithstanding, orthodoxy has lost its former hold on the people. In the case of a minority of the educated and the well-to-do classes, the old orthodoxy has given place to a purer and more spiritual faith, though that, too, is somewhat cold and devoid of brightness and colour. In the case of a majority of them, the old beliefs are gone leaving a dreary vacuity behind. Festive occasions are, therefore, of rarer occurrence in the country now than in days gone by.

The old beliefs had their artistic and economic value, too. They necessitated the use of particular kinds of cloth, copper and brass vessels and utensils, earthen and metal lamps and pots, shell bracelets and other ornaments, lac dyes (*āltā*) for the feet of women and their finger-tips, decorations for the images of gods and goddesses, metal bells and gongs, &c.

These gave employment to numerous craftsmen. The excavation of tanks, the planting of shady trees, &c., were looked upon as religious duties.

There are people who feel unhappy and have gloomy forebodings at the passing of the old order of things,—though this state of mind can scarcely be spoken of as unrest.

But probably when His Excellency spoke of unrest, he was not thinking of the dull colourless lives the people lead owing to the circumstances referred to above. And, therefore, we have ventured to say that in the main his diagnosis is not correct. And at present so few people care for Art, that the unrest is certainly not due in the least to the clash of the artistic ideals of the East and the West. In our opinion, so far as the mass of the people is concerned, the cause of the unrest is mainly economic. As there is no clear line of demarcation between economics and politics and as there have been of late certain clear indications of the awakening of political consciousness among even the illiterate poor, and among women, too, the unrest among them is also to some extent of a political character. Among the higher strata of the people, the political cause of the unrest is more pronounced and clearly discernible, though in their case, too, the economic factor of the causes of unrest is certainly more potent. So that, adapting the words used by Mr Lloyd George on a recent occasion, we may say that unrest may be to a great extent fought with abundance, and for the rest with political justice.

Anglo-Indians (old style) have been generally blind to the causes which are responsible for unrest in India. Many of them have attributed it to the newspaper editors, failed B.A.'s, and disappointed place-hunters. But they are mere quacks who consider the above as sufficient to account for the unrest. They have not been able to feel the pulse rightly or probe the ulcer to its very core who attribute it to the causes referred to above. No, the causes of the unrest are inseparably connected with what Mr Dadabhai Naoroji called the "un-British" mode of Governing

India. The founders and builders of the British Empire knew it and tried their best to check it. Did not Warren Hastings and other experienced Anglo-Indian witnesses who appeared before the Parliamentary Committee appointed on the occasion of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1813 depose that there would be disaffection produced in India by the free influx of Europeans into that country, by the adoption of free trade in the commercial intercourse with India, by giving education to Indians and lastly sending missionaries to try to convert them to Christianity? We see in their full force all the evil consequences of the free influx of Europeans—they are so patent that it is useless to enumerate them. By the adoption of a one-sided free trade policy, Indian industries and manufactures have been ruined and the artisan class destroyed, and their members have been thrown for their subsistence on land, which is unable to maintain them in comfort. As a result, ever-recurring famines, epidemics, and chronic innutrition are sweeping away hundreds of thousands almost every year and adding to the miseries of the Indian people. Poverty is the lot of almost every household of this vast country.

But besides the above there are other causes, too, of the unrest. Mr John Dickinson, Junior, in his pamphlet on "the Government of India under a Bureaucracy" published in 1853, explained these causes so lucidly that we are tempted to quote them *in extenso*. Some of them are no longer operative, but as their evil effects remain, we have not omitted them. He wrote —

The more I study the subject the more I feel a growing conviction that the natives were happier, not merely under their good princes, but happier under the average of their native sovereigns, than they have been under an English Bureaucracy.

In discussing this point, we have always hitherto had the advantage of being the judges in our own cause, therefore because we first acquired power in India during a revolutionary period, we have assumed that the normal condition of Indian Governments was a

* See the *Modern Review* for November 1907 on the "Genesis of the British idea of civilizing India," and also for January, February and March 1908 on the other subjects.

chronic state of revolution, and we have assumed that the mass of the people must have been miserable, because we can prove that many of their native sovereigns were warlike, bigoted, &c. But we must recollect that India is as large as the whole of Europe, and suppose we were to apply the same ingenious process of crimination to Europe that we do to India,—suppose we were to reckon up the wars and acts of oppression of European princes, as we do for the native princes, down to the end of the eighteenth century, and calculate the amount of bloodshed and human misery caused by their ambition and selfish indifference to the fate of the masses, suppose we were to rake out of a few centuries of history, for Europe as we do for India, all the deliberate cruelties inflicted on mankind by religious fanaticism,—finally, suppose we were to see what the memoir-writers of the time say of the condition of the great bulk of the people in Europe, down to the period of the French revolution?

If we were to do this with any good faith, we should begin to find it impossible to cast the first stone at India. We should begin to admit that if there had been wars, if there had been bigotry, if there had been misgovernment in India, there had been such things elsewhere. But there had been many compensations in India, there had been long established Governments, and a great mass of contented subjects, the Mohammedan conquerors had settled in the country, and identified themselves with the interests and sympathies of its inhabitants, they had, as the rule, respected the customs, and religion, and private landed property of the people, and any infraction of the rule was condemned by their own historians as it would be by Europeans, they had preserved the municipal institutions, and arbitration system, and excellent police, which gave the people the best security for person and property at the least cost, they never burthened the country with a national debt and had spent great sums out of the taxes for the people, on public works and grants for education, and had not attempted to destroy their native aristocracy, whose capital was the support of the labourers, manufacturers, and merchants of India, finally, they had not treated the people as an inferior race of beings, they had maintained a free social intercourse with them, they had not confined them to such low ill paid offices as they could not fill themselves, they had frequently left the most important share of the civil offices of State in their hands and had allowed them to rise daily from among the lower orders to all ranks of civil and military employment, which "kept up the spirit of the people", said Mr Elphinstone.

In short, the Mohammedans did not, by dividing the community into two distinct bodies of privileged foreigners and native serfs, systematically degrade a whole people. In a long course of time and among a hundred millions of men, they had oppressed many, but they had left hope to all, they had thrown open to all their subjects prizes of honest ambition, and allowed every man of talent, industry, and courage to aspire to titles of honour or political power, or high military commands, with corresponding grants of land.

Very different from this has been the government of the English conquerors of India.

We have kept the peace in the country for our own sakes, and this has, of course, to a certain extent, increased cultivation and commerce, because the instinctive efforts of men to better their condition will always ensure the material progress of any people,

until they reach the point where misgovernment sets a limit to progress.

But this benefit of keeping the peace in India is the only one our rule has conferred on the natives, to make up for the loss of all the compensations mentioned above, and if I show this to be the case—if against one benefit is to be set our systematic impoverishment and degradation of a whole people, what will after ages say of our passion for aggrandizement in India? Will it be sufficient to have changed the mode of extortion, to have substituted the dry rot of English Bureaucracy for the violence of Roman proconsuls, to prevent posterity from condemning with one voice our selfish policy in India? I deeply feel that it will not. I feel painfully that, although for a while the system may deceive or corrupt contemporary opinion, and triumph over such feeble protests as mine, its triumph will one day be appealed against in a higher court of opinion, and be reversed by the judgment of history, and in that day the verdict of the whole civilised world will be given against England and the curse of many nations will fall upon her, for her selfish treatment of India.

However, the passion for aggrandizement above mentioned is both excused and denied. It is excused on the ground that our territorial extension in India cannot be helped, that it is "in the natural course of things." Why, of course it is, so long as we take every precaution in constituting the Home Government to ensure its grasping tendency, which is our present policy.

We now make a Home Government which must theoretically know and care little about the natives, and covet any immediate increase of revenue and patronage. But suppose we made the Home Government on a totally different theory, suppose its very constitution ensured its knowing and caring a good deal about the natives, and proportionably less for patronage, and caring more for the ultimate than the immediate increase of revenue—more for its real than its apparent value, if we did this, it would then be as much "in the natural course of things" for the Government not to be grasping, as it now is for it to be so.

Again, the passion for aggrandizement is denied, and it is said that our wars in India were defensive wars, by way of disproving the fact. Defensive wars! Why, the least scrupulous of European conquerors, Louis XIV, Napoleon, all have found the same cloak for their ambition, and called their wars defensive measures with the same assurance, so that, with the Scinde and Afghanistan wars fresh in the readers's memory, this exploded old state fiction is not worth answering, as it is not wars alone that prove this passion for aggrandizement.

The reader must recollect that it is not by conquest from enemies, but by cessions extorted from friends, from our unfortunate allies, that a great part of our territory has always been, and continues to be obtained. The amount of territory taken by Lord Wellesley in time of peace was prodigious, and at the present day, with profound internal peace, the process of absorbing the native States is going on steadily, not at the expense of enemies but of friends. It is no security to the native Princes to have treaties with us or to recall times when their alliance was hailed by us as a signal good fortune in a critical period. On some we impose contingents, which keep them in bondage, ruin their finances, force them to oppress their subjects and end by furnishing us an excuse for interference and annexation. In the case of

others, we coolly set aside the lawful succession at their deaths, turn the heirs adrift, and seize on their inheritance. In the same spirit we are confiscating the estates of the landed aristocracy, and it is believed that, what with surreptions of *inams*, and rent-free lands and lapses of *jagheers*, we have, since 1819, appropriated landed property of the value of three million sterling of annual revenue. And why, for what purpose, is this incessant aggrandizement? Is it to give the natives "the Blessing of the British rule"? Let us see what these blessings have been.

1stly, In Bengal by one of the most sweeping confiscations the world ever saw, we transferred the whole landed property of the community to a body of tax-gatherers, but under such conditions that this body of newly invented landlords were ruined almost to a man, and sold up by our Collectors, and their estates transferred to new men within ten or twelve years, and in making the new landlords, we promised legislative protection to their tenants, yet we have left them from that day to this at the mercy of the Zemindars, and only the other day it was said by the "*Friend of India*", Sept. 16th, 1852—"A whole century will scarcely be sufficient to remedy the evils of that Perpetual Settlement, and we have not yet begun the task. Under its baneful influence a population of more than twenty millions have been reduced to a state of such utter wretchedness of condition, and such abjectness of feeling as it would be difficult to parallel in any other country."

2ndly, In Madras, by another sweeping confiscation, perhaps without a precedent in history, we assumed that the Government was the owner of all property in land, and that in the words of Government, we should "avoid all material evil if the surplus produce was in all cases made the utmost extent of our demand," this being the landlord's rent, and leaving to the cultivator only a bare sufficiency for his own subsistence, and this surplus produce being demanded from the ryots, not as a corn rent, but as a money rent, and being assessed and collected in districts averaging 7000 square miles and 150,000 individual tenants by one or two Europeans, assisted by informers, with notoriously incorrect surveys.

3rdly, When this Ryotwar system had ruined Madras, we forced it upon Bombay, in spite of Mr. Elphinstone's opposition, and nowhere did we at any time lower our assessments until the agriculturists were beggared, and we retain the system to this day.

4thly, We established and maintained for the better part of a century, transit duties, which broke the manufacturers, decayed the towns, and demoralised the people of India, and left it a matter of wonder that any trade could be carried on at all.

5thly, We destroyed those municipal institutions which had, according to Mr. Elphinstone, "preserved the people of India through all their revolutions, and conducted in a high degree to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence." We destroyed these, and with them the excellent arbitration system and native police which gave the people full security for person and property at the least possible cost, and we set up instead an exotic system of English law, which has so utterly deprived the people of security, besides corrupting their morals, that in our civil courts, which give every opening for fraud, perjury, and forgery, "all the most important interests of the country have been rapidly

converted and transferred, and no man's estate is safe, and in our criminal courts nothing but his most singular ill luck can bring an accomplished criminal to justice, and even within a circle of sixty or seventy miles round our capital city of Calcutta, no man of property can retire to rest without danger of being the victim of Dacoits before morning.

6thly, We levied great taxes on the people, and drained away one-seventh of their net revenue to England, at the same time burthening them with a load of national debt for the first time in their history, and yet in spite of their admitted rights and necessities, we gave them back next to nothing in public works, never anything for education, unless forced by pressure from without and the vigorous initiative of private individuals, and then as little as possible, and in most districts beyond comparison less for roads, bridges, tanks, &c., than has been given by wealthy native merchants and country gentlemen.

7thly, We have long been systematically destroying the native aristocracy, who furnished consumers for the articles of commerce and luxury, who stimulated the production of the labourers, the manufacturers and the merchants, who were the patrons of art, the promoters of agricultural improvement, the co-operators in public works, and the only class who could enable us to carry out any comprehensive amelioration of native society, and we are extinguishing the native States, of which the effect is, according to Sir Thomas Munro, "in place of raising to debase the whole people," and according to the Duke of Wellington, "to degrade and beggar the natives, making them all enemies," and meanwhile, our threat of absorption hanging over their heads, deprives both princes and aristocracy of any inducement to improve their country.

8thly, We regard the natives rather as vassals and servants than as the ancient owners and masters of the country, we have as little as possible of social intercourse with them, and although we allow them to do above ninety seven per cent of the work of administration, we monopolise the credit and emoluments of it, and keep every high office for ourselves. The establishment of our rule in any part of India at once shuts the door on the honest and laudable ambition of the natives, all prospect of enjoying those honours and distinctions, and lucrative situations of trust and power, which reconcile men to the oppressions of arbitrary rulers in native States, is thenceforward cut off, we divide the community into a government of foreign officials on the one hand, and a nation of serfs on the other, of foreigners, constantly shifting their quarters, having no permanent connection with the country, and always looking forward to the day when they shall return to England with a fortune, and of serfs, who are the natives of the land, linked and identified with its interests and sympathies, and many of whom are regarded as little better than menial, who might have been governors of provinces but for us, all of whom as a rule are confined to such low, ill paid offices, as the Covenanted Civil Service disdains to accept.

And therefore is the spirit of India broken under the Company's government—therefore do we hear of robberies and oppressions in Oude and Hyderabad, and yet the people do not fly to us, because hope is with them, and the future is not a blank, instead of flying into our territory, they go from it, often in flocks, come into it they never do only the other day

some important works on the Kistnah were stopped because the people of the country fled en masse into the Nizam's dominions

And why do they prefer to live under "effete" native Governments? Because they do not feel themselves degraded as they do under us, for it is not the arbitrary power of a national sovereign, but subjugation to a foreign one, that destroys national power and extinguishes national spirit, and with this the mainspring of whatever is laudable both in public and private life, but we make them feel the rule of the stranger to their heart's core, we set a barrier of privilege between the natives and their foreign masters, the lowest European officer in a black or red coat, is above every native gentleman, though the latter may be the descendant of a line of princes, and is often a man of the most chivalrous feelings and the highest accomplishments, nevertheless, we treat them as an inferior race of beings and we are making them so, our monopoly of every high office, from generation to generation, is systematically degrading the people of India, the deterioration of native character under our rule is manifest to every one and Sir Thomas Munro went so far as to say, "it would be more desirable that we should be expelled from the country altogether, than that the result of our system of Government should be such an abasement of a whole people." Here are samples of "the blessings of the British rule!"

I have not the skill to state the case in eloquent language, and cannot express what I feel about it, but a man of imagination who pleaded this cause would often bring tears into his reader's eyes, however, I do beseech the reader to consider this series of facts, told in the plainest, simplest manner, and to say whether such "blessings" can justify our passion for aggrandizement in India!

And I have not done. I have yet to describe the means and the end of gratifying this passion, because considering that our bureaucratic, irresponsible Government of India, has lately shown that it would no longer respect the clearest rights and treaties when it could find a pretext for grasping a little more revenue and patronage, and considering that Malcolm, Elphinstone, Metcalfe, Russell, Munro, the Duke of Wellington, and most of our great India statesmen, have emphatically condemned the absorption of the native States, and that our unfortunate allies, above 250 native Princes, in the presence of an overwhelming army, with no tribunal before which they can carry their complaints, and placed as a class out of the pale of the law, that they have now confiscation always hanging over their heads, I must explain the outrageous breach of faith involved in our absorption of native States, and show what the Duke meant when he said it "degraded and beggared the natives and made them all enemies."

The means now employed by the Government to absorb the native States are to deny the right of adoption. Probably the reader is aware that adoption is one of the most solemn duties of religion in India, in the case of failure of sons which continually happens in the reigning families. By this ceremony the adopted son becomes as much an heir as an heir of the body, and no foundation for drawing a distinction between succession to a political power, in the force and effect of adoption, but the adopted son acquires all and every one of the rights of a legitimate heir of the body.

Of course this right of adoption is the dearest privilege of the native Princes, and the most necessary

to them, as their States would soon fall into our hands without it, and this right has been given to the people of India in express words, by an early Act of Parliament, and has been formally asserted by Governors General, as Lords Amherst, Metcalfe, and Auckland, and asserted by the law officers of the Government and the courts of Bengal over and over again, and has been admitted by us for many years in the succession of native States, without any requiring of previous notice, or any reserve or qualification whatsoever in a great number of precedents.

Nevertheless, the Government has at length decided with the object avowed without disguise, of getting more revenue, that, as the paramount power in India succeeding to the authority of the Emperor of Delhi, its sanction to an act of adoption is necessary, and it is essential to withhold this sanction, and accordingly it has within the last few years set aside three adoptions and confiscated the native States of Sattarah, Colabah, and Mandavie, although in each of these three cases there were collateral blood relations and heirs of the deceased prince, after the adopted son.

Now I will first say a few words about the Emperor of Delhi, and put him out of the way, for he has no more to do with the question than the man in the moon. When the poor Emperor came into our hands, as Scindiah's prisoner, blinded twenty years before, did we restore him to his empire? Certainly not! Did he then give us a grant of his paramount power in India? If so, how came we to make treaties with his feudatories as independent Princes? The fact is, as all the world knows, our paramount power was won, and is kept, by the sword. And such are the "blessings of the British rule," that we are obliged to remain armed to the teeth to keep it, and we had better not forget that we keep it by the sword of a native army, which has a strong personal interest in the right of adoption.

I now come to the question of the sanction. Undoubtedly where there is a dispute or doubt as to the succession, the sanction of the paramount power is necessary, because the paramount power is entitled and bound to keep the peace in India and to prevent any violation of rights, or outrage on the feelings of the people, which may endanger the public safety, and in a disputed or doubtful case of succession, its sanction is necessary to prove that an adoption is legal and regular and to award the succession to the rightful claimant.

But this sanction of the paramount power is a judicial sanction, it is the same thing as the Lord Chancellor's decision on a will, and when the sanction of the paramount power is required or requested in allied States, not subject or belonging to it, but connected with it by treaties, its duty is to find out the heir, and to give the succession to the heir, not to seize on the inheritance itself, in defiance of all the heirs.

It was as much an act of robbery for us to appropriate the principalities of Sattarah, Colabah, and Mandavie, in defiance of all the heirs, as it would be for the Lord Chancellor to pocket a legacy because it was being litigated in his court. We are improving upon a precedent set by Caligula, in our violation of the right of adoption. When Caligula was invited to a nuptial feast, he carried away his friend's wife when the British resident is invited to the death bed of a native Prince, he turns his friend's

widow and orphan out of doors, and confiscates their inheritance

And they do not take the e things so quietly in the country as we do here. We hear of the absorption of a native State and go about our business and think no more of the matter, like a ship's crew, who duly note in log, "run down a vessel in the night all hands lost", then pursue their voyage and forget it. But these things lodge and rankle in men's minds in India, where too many of our troops are interested in this question of adoption, and, as I said, I am convinced that the Government will some day regret the system that is making so many enemies. It will some day absorb a native State too many, and feel a pang like one who has put a fruit into his mouth with a hornet in it. We must not expect the Rajput Princes to lie still like oysters, waiting to be dredged. They are and ever were a high-spirited, martial race, prompt to appeal to the sword, and just the men to say, in a fit of exasperation, "better an end with fear than fear without an end."

Meanwhile the natives have a stereotyped expression for their communications with us, which gives us a false confidence, we tread on ice, and forget the current of passion flowing beneath, which imperils our footing. The natives seem what they know we expect them to appear, and we do not see their real feelings. We know not how hot the stove may be under its polished surface. For the fire is not out, we are obliged to keep it up by our native army, which may blaze into a conflagration, and burn the empire. There may be some *Picoida*, matchless in diplomatic art and tenacity of purpose who will travel for years to knit enemies against us, who will mine the ground under our feet, and lay the train of combustibles there may be some outrage, which will suddenly raise a cry, terrible as that which broke forth when the bells of Monreale were sounding to vespers, a cry of "Death to the Englishmen!" there may be some conspiracy, of which, as at Vellore, we have not even a suspicion, until the native regiments open their fire on our barracks and, as a merchant who is obliged to throw all his treasure overboard to save the ship, a storm may arise in India which will cost us more to maintain our power than all we have gained or can ever hope to gain, by our confiscation.

Nor does the injury stop with the families of the Princes. Native States support a numerous class of civil and military functionaries, who cannot find employment under us, besides the holders of *jagheers*, *inams*, &c, who know that their property is doomed when they fall under our rule. And in a State like the last absorbed, in place of thirty or forty natives exercising the civil administration of affairs, with salaries of from 100 to 200 rupees a month which they spend in the country, we substitute one or two Europeans, receiving from 2000 to 3000 rupees a month, and remitting the bulk of their salaries to England. Moreover, the bread of almost every man in and about the capital of a native State depends on the expenditure of the native Government, and not only many thousands of natives directly dependent upon it, but the manufacturers and shopkeepers dependent upon them, are nearly all ruined by our absorption, and their distress reacts on the cultivators of the soil. This is why the

Duke said that absorption "degrades and beggars the natives, and makes them all enemies."

Similar results follow in proportion, from the resumption of the landed estates of the aristocracy. Shore says "To bring the subject home to an English heart and mind, let us turn our thoughts to our native land, and compare the effects produced by individual example and influence there, with what might have been the case here. Let us represent to ourselves an English country gentleman, overlooking his estate, promoting the improvement of agriculture, superintending the roads and public buildings, and subscribing to the local charities, as a neighbour, opening his house, and by his hospitality affording the means of social intercourse to his neighbours, all the different members of his family contributing their share to the general good. Contrast the picture with the state of things in India. The upper classes of the natives, who used to occupy the above situations, ruined, and their places supplied by foreigners who keep aloof from the people, and whose ultimate object is to return to England with a fortune." He adds "As to the number of respectable people who have suffered let any one leave the English stations, few and far between, and go into the country towns and villages and there see the innumerable houses which not many years ago were in good repair and inhabited by men who lived in the style of gentlemen, keeping up establishments of servants, horses, elephants and equipages but which are now all falling to decay, while their owners or their descendants are dwelling in mud huts, with little more than the merest necessities of life." And let the reader recollect that the destruction of the native aristocracy is still going on with unremitting vigour, as one of "the blessings of the British rule."

How can we reconcile it to our conscience or our reason to treat the natives in this manner? It was a beautiful fiction of the Greeks that Ulysses could no longer feign madness when his child was thrown before his plough, but we who have allowed a Bureaucracy to plough over India till the "iron has entered into the soul" of her people, we have been essentially mad without seeming so.

However, I believe there is a secret cause why the English public feel so little sympathy for the natives, which is entirely founded on a misunderstanding, and on ignorance of the native character. Lord Ellenborough said last session, that "no intelligent people would submit to our government" and though alone he would say it, I am satisfied in my own mind that many think it and that my countrymen in their hearts despise the natives of India because they do submit to our Government.

Nevertheless, this submission does not argue cowardice in those who submit. You enforce submission by an overwhelming mercenary army, and as long as that army is faithful, submission is a matter of necessity, but although, under such circumstances they submit to our government, there is not a race on the face of the earth who possess more personal courage than the men of India and the fact is not altered by their subjection to us because the bravest people in the world may be subjugated by foreigners when they are divided against themselves, which was the case with the natives of India when we founded our empire there.

And not only were they divided, but for half a century before an opening was given for our supremacy,

the great powers of the country had been shattered by wars, which may be called wars of giants, from the magnitude of their operations. In the last great battle, in 1798, which decided the contest between the Mahrattas and Rajputs, the forces brought into the field by the latter were 125,500 strong, and by the former 111,000 strong, large bodies of the troops on both sides being armed and disciplined in the European fashion, and I will quote the description of a charge of cavalry in this action, taken from the mouth of an eye-witness, Colonel Skinner, to show the gallantry of the men — "We now saw Chevalier Dudennaig's brigade or division which was on the left, charged by the Rahtors. He received them nobly, but was cut to pieces by them. Out of 8000 men he had not 200 left. The Rahtors, more than ten thousand in number, were seen approaching from a distance, the tramp of their immense and compact body, rising like thunder over the roar of the battle. They came on first at a slow hand canter, which increased in speed as they advanced. The well served guns of the brigade showered grape upon their dense mass, cutting down hundreds at each discharge, but this had no effect in arresting their progress. On they came, like a whirlwind, trampling over 1500 of their own body, destroyed by the cannon of the brigade. Neither the murderous volleys from the muskets nor the serried hedge of bayonets, could check or shake them, they poured like a torrent on and over the brigade, and rode it fairly down, leaving scarcely a vestige of it remaining, as if the sheer weight of the mass had ground it to pieces." Again, we are accustomed to consider the battle of Waterloo one of the most sanguinary that ever was fought, yet our loss in some Indian battles has been about double the loss at Waterloo. The proportion of killed and wounded at Waterloo was one to six, that of Assaye was just double, one to three and several have been near it, and the loss in the Sutlej battles, in 1846, was much more severe than that of Waterloo, being in the proportion of one to five.

I could add many other proofs of the personal bravery of the natives, but it has always been conspicuous so I will merely remind the reader of the brilliant native armies of Clive, Lawrence and Coote, which carved out our way to empire. And yet those armies, unrivalled for valour and loyalty, were officered by native gentlemen with only one or two Europeans to a brigade, and this was our original system in India, until the thirst for patronage, as usual, surmounted every other consideration, and substituted European for native officers.

Of late years sheer financial necessity has forced us to return to some extent to the old system, which is copied in our "irregular corps" and the admirable state of efficiency and discipline of these "irregular corps" shows that we can employ the natives when we choose in situations of trust and power, and that it answers perfectly to do so.

To return to my subject, I think I have said enough to show that we should do very wrong to refuse our sympathy to the natives from a doubt of their courage, and they have many other qualities which entitle them to our warm and kind consideration. I have noticed in the chapter on public works, their disposition to found benevolent institutions, and they are remarkable for a degree of charity in private life which renders the poor independent of public relief in India. "Their large family circles," says Mr Campbell, "assist and

support one another to an admirable extent. Families generally live together as on the continent, and the young men who go out to service return, and remit money most dutifully to their families." The native merchants are particularly distinguished for their honorable mode of doing business, as well as for their enterprise, and Englishmen who have resided in native States bear witness to the simplicity and straightforward manner of the agricultural classes both in their dealings with them and amongst each other. It is only when they are corrupted by external influences, by a demoralising judicial system or oppressive taxation, that art and cunning are substituted for candour, as the only protection against the hand of injustice and power, and I will add that those who have had much intercourse with the natives, in a commercial, political, or military character, almost invariably speak of them in very high terms, it is only among such judicial functionaries as have centred their observations on the most vicious classes of native society, and have overlooked the rest, that their detractors are to be found.

Finally, it has been said by one of the most experienced members of the Indian service, that, "for the transaction of business, whether in accounts, diplomatic correspondence, or the conduct of judicial, magisterial, or financial affairs, the natives are seldom surpassed. They are, on the whole, an intelligent, tractable, and loyal people, not deficient in energy when there is a motive for exertion, and eminently calculated to promote the arts of civil life."

And now I have done. I have shown that although there may be more complaint of the Government of England in one year, than we hear of the Government of India during two or three Charters, yet there has been suffering, not loud but deep, in the latter country, its cup of grief has filled silently to the brim, ay, it has filled to running over, though few individuals complained of it in England. The unfortunate natives have had their rights of property confiscated. Their claims on our justice and humanity trampled underfoot, their manufacturers, towns, and agriculturists beggared, their excellent municipal institutions broken up, their judicial security taken away, their morality corrupted, their patrons systematically destroyed and even their religious customs violated, by what are conventionally called the "blessings of the British rule." These great results at once strike the eye of any man who goes seriously into the question of our Indian administration, like the tombs by the side of the road at the entrance of ancient cities, these monuments of the power of Bureaucracy are the first things we see and in them lie buried the hopes of India.

And as abuses were maintained in the provinces of the Roman Republic because the patricians who retired from their magistracy were shielded by the Senate, so is the Indian Government regularly shielded by the Parliament. Nay, at this hour it is an understood thing that the ministry intends to seal the misery of India by leasing her out for another term of years to the Company's Government, which will again be exhorted to govern paternally, just as Isaac Walton exhorts his angler, in hooking a worm, "to handle him as if he loved him." The Legislature would not dare openly and directly to oppress India, yet dares to vote others the power to do so.

I cannot help warning my countrymen that if they stand by, and look quietly on while this political

martyrdom is once more consummated, their censuring unto the deed will leave a heavy debt of vengeance against them, not only on earth but in heaven, it will provoke that retributive justice which frequently allows an individual to escape, but never fails to overtake a nation. Let them weigh this well before they say, "On our heads and on our children's be it!" It is true that we have an overwhelming mercenary army, and the word is passed, no danger above the horizon, but some may be coming, and in history we are always wise after the event, and when it is too late, when the bolt has fallen and the penalty has been paid, then for the first time do politicians see why a government based on injustice and bad faith could not stand, and what innumerable consequences of its own wrong-doing were all the while undermining its power. God forbid that we should be wise too late in India!

I have one more word to say in conclusion. Never, since the world began, was so great an opportunity of doing good offered to a great nation, as that which Providence now offers to us in India. England—enlightened, Christian England—is the sovereign arbiter and empress of that glorious land, with its hundred and fifty millions of "intelligent, tractable, and loyal" people, and she might throw herself on the fallen empire, as Elisha did on the Shunammite's child, "and put his mouth upon his mouth, and his eyes upon his eyes and his hands upon his hands"—so might England stretch herself on the prostrate empire, and warm and quicken its torpid body, and breathe new life into India. She might raise the natives, and watch their progress, moral and material as a mother watches her child, and loves it the better for the anxieties it has cost her, she might behold, from year to year, the blessings she conferred, and feel the tie strengthening which attached her to India, she might have the answer of a good conscience and the esteem of the whole civilised world.

Oh my countrymen! may heaven itself soften your hearts, and awaken your sympathy for this interesting people, may it teach you not to reject your fated opportunity, nor again throw such a pearl as India before an irresponsible Bureaucracy.

It is to be borne in mind in reading the above long extract that the pamphlet from which it is taken was written before the Sepoy War, which it vaguely foretold, and that, therefore, many of the things said of India of those days do not apply to present day conditions, though, as we have said before, their effects remain. Lovers of India, Indian and British, cannot but grieve that the note of warning sounded betimes by Mr Dickinson and others of his way of thinking was not heeded betimes. It is to be hoped that the signs of the times will not be lost upon the present generation of the British people.

India is no longer governed by a Company of merchants but by the Crown direct. But was the change immediately

for the better to India? Wrote Rev Mr John Long in the *Calcutta Review* for September, 1860

"Late years have witnessed the annihilation of that mighty East India Company, 'the Empire of the middle classes' which so long ruled with absolute sway over the East,

It is a question whether it has yet been succeeded by a better form of Government, one that will guard Indian interests and finances so faithfully and which will not allow the rights of natives to be sacrificed, in order to swell the coffers of Mammon. The Company invariably resisted, as far as they could, the spirit of political and military aggression, they might have been reformed, but destruction was not the remedy, and now we fear, in spite of themselves and their better principles, the Queen's Government is imperceptibly drifting into a policy like that of Austria in Italy, whose main points were unity, and centralisation to the sacrifice of local government, a foreign agency to administer as conquerors, and an entirely foreign army to back their views out. We know the result now in Italy, in spite of Austrian cannons and soldiers,—nationalities will have their sway and so it will be in India.

"The East India Company won India, the problem is, will the Queen's Government keep it?" The following lines were often quoted in old books in reply to people who argued that the best remedy for Indian evils was to transfer the Government to the Crown—

I was well,
I would be better,
I took physic
And here I lie

The remedy was worse than the disease, and the victim of Empiricism died."

Though the transfer of the Government of India from the East India Company to the Crown has not literally led to the severance of the political connection between Britain and India, it is only a thorough enquiry into the condition of India under the Crown by an impartial commission that can allay the fears entertained regarding the evil consequences of the transfer. Exploitation of India has been going on more rapidly since her transfer to the Crown. Exploitation means impoverishment for India.

Another cause of unrest to which Mr Dickinson did not refer, is the treatment of educated Indians. Macaulay from his place in the House of Commons said in 1833 —

"Are we to keep the people of India ignorant in order that we may keep them submissive? Or do we think that we can give them knowledge without awakening ambition? Or do we mean to awaken ambition and to provide it with no legitimate vent? Who will answer any of these questions in the affirmative? Yet one of them must be answered in the affirmative by

every person who maintain that we ought permanently to exclude the natives from high office

"It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system, that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government, that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or to retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history. To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would indeed be a title to glory all our own."

But what do we find now? Is not every attempt made to try to discredit educated Indians? Mr (afterwards Sir) Henry Cotton wrote in his "New India" —

"The more Anglicised a native is, the more is he disliked by Englishmen. The sense of jealousy becomes greater. Whatever may be professed, Englishmen are ready to encourage the natives who speak broken English more than those who speak good English, those who are subject to Hindoo prejudices more than those who have renounced them, and generally those who are far removed from English habits of thought and life more than those who have made a very close approach to them. They are more pleased with the backward Hindoo than with his advanced compatriot, because the former has made no attempt to attain equality with themselves."

"This abhorrence of equality rankles in the mind of all Anglo Indians, and especially of officials. It is the peculiarity of residence in the East to develop sentiments of intolerance and race superiority."

Educated Indians have been in the past considered as so many Frankensteins whom it has been the policy of the Bureaucratic government of India to always keep under.

It has yet to be seen whether, now that the Reform Act has been passed and the Royal Proclamation published, they are practically treated as citizens of the British Empire. Why the contagion of revolution did not affect England while it did almost every other part of the continent of Europe, was tried to be explained by Sir Edward Sullivan, Bart, in 1858, in his *Letters on India* as follows —

"India opens out an almost exhaustless field for the educated labour of Great Britain, or in other words, it maintains at a higher level than that existing in any other country, the reward of the labour of educated men."

"...to men who weigh well the crowded condition of every outlet for educated labour in this country, and remember how dangerous to a state the want and desperation of the educated unemployed

has always been, it will appear an ample reason for striving to the utmost to retain, if not all, at least a very sufficient portion of our Indian possessions. It is no use of hyperbole to say that the marked tranquillity of England, when all Europe was tottering, was owing, not a little, to the outlet India had given to her [England's] educated masses" — *Letters on India*, p. 29.

"For fifty or sixty years India has been to the brains and intellect of his [the Englishman's] country what the Western states have been to the thew and sinew of America—the safety-valve that has yearly afforded an escapement for the surplus energy or ambition of our educated population. There is no mob, however numerous or violent, half so dangerous as an educated middle class irritated with want, and conscious of deserving more than the crush and competition of the multitude enable them to acquire."

"If we consider the price that is paid for educated labour in India, we shall see that it is at least twice as high as that existing in any other country" — *Letters on India*, pp. 51-52.

If that be true, how can those who try always to have a fling at the educated Indians, to cut a joke at their expense, to refer to them as "microscopic minority" expect anything but unrest in India?

The Government of India is not keeping pace with the times. Wrote Major Evans Bell

"we must allow them (the people of India) to touch, to handle, to taste and to enjoy, all those glorious fruits of British civilisation which we have taught them to understand and to appreciate. We cannot give and withhold at the same time. We must continue to show the way in reform and reconstruction, we must always confer and never concede, so long as the British Government keeps moderately in advance of native opinion and native capacity, it will preserve the moral support of the influential classes, without which peace and good order will for ever be precarious, and physical force will be a doubtful and discreditable safeguard" [The Empire in India, pp. 10-11]

The same author wrote in another place —

"The natives of India, of every caste and creed, are men of like powers and passions with ourselves, and in obedience to the universal law,—as true in social science as in physiology,—the healthy development of their civilisation cannot proceed without space and range for the exercise of all their faculties. Too much constraint, too much assistance,—however benevolently intended,—will but distort the phenomena of progress, disturb its steady course, and drive the stream into dangerous channels."

[Retrospects and Prospects of Indian Policy, Preface, pp. v-vi]

Can any apologist of the Indian Bureaucratic Government plead that it has been keeping in advance of native opinion and native capacity or that sufficient space and range has been given

to the natives for the exercise of all their faculties? Did not too much constraint and too much assistance under the euphemistic phrase "benevolent despotism", "distort the phenomena of progress, disturb its steady course," and somewhat "dive the stream into dangerous channels" in

recent years? Should the Reform Act succeed in improving the economic condition of the people and in easing the political tension, it would indeed be the most momentous step ever taken by the British people in India.

FINANCIAL ADJUSTMENT

By PROF NIBARANCHANDRA ROY, M A

IN their Report on Indian constitutional Reforms, the Rt Hon Mr Montagu and H E Lord Chelmsford proposed to abolish all divided heads of revenue and to make income-tax and general stamps imperial and land revenue, irrigation, excise and judicial stamps provincial (Para 203). In paragraph 206, a table is given (calculated on the basis of the budget figures of 1917-18) containing the gross revenues of the provinces after this adjustment. A committee presided over by Lord Meston is now enquiring on the best method of adjusting the revenues between the provinces and the Imperial Government, and it is, therefore, pertinent to subject the proposed method of division to criticism from the point of view of Bengal. Moreover, a charge has been brought against Bengal, that it has been contributing less to the Imperial Exchequer than the other provinces. It is necessary also to examine this charge and to place the case of Bengal on a fair and equitable basis. The authors of the Joint Report further proposed to make up the deficit in the finances of the Government of India after the proposed adjustment, by a levy of 87 per cent of the provincial surpluses. Although this plan, in the opinion of the authors, would entail a heavier burden on some provinces than on others, they could see no alternative plan and, therefore, were compelled to recommend it as inevitable. Madras and the United Provinces, as the provinces most affected by this scheme, have raised a cry of protest, and it is necessary to examine the grounds on which this protest is based.

Taking the figures given in the accounts for the year 1917-18, and excluding the income derived from the Mint under Bombay, which is a purely imperial concern, and also excluding the income derived from opium under Bengal, which rightly belongs to the United Provinces and Behar, say in equal moieties, we arrive at the following table (figures are in crores of rupees)

| | D I V I S I O N | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|---------|-------|----------|-------|-------|
| | Total | Present | Pro- | Proposed | Pro- | Pro- |
| | In- | Im- | vin- | Im- | vin- | vin- |
| | come | perial | cial | perial | cial | cial |
| | | | | | | Gain |
| Madras | 18 29 | 9 95 | 8 34 | 4 72 | 13 57 | 5 23 |
| Bombay | 22 39 | 13 52 | 8 87 | 12 03 | 10 36 | 1 49 |
| Bengal | 19 92 | 13 06 | 6 86 | 12 27 | 7 65 | 79 |
| United Provinces | 14 47 | 7 17 | 7 30 | 3 00 | 11 47 | 4 17 |
| Punjab | 9 67 | 4 17 | 5 50 | 0 74 | 8 93 | 5 15 |
| Burma | 10 04 | 4 48 | 5 56 | 2 94 | 7 10 | 1 54 |
| Behar and Orissa | 6 53 | 3 30 | 3 23 | 2 48 | 4 05 | 0 82 |
| Central Provinces | 4 47 | 1 35 | 3 12 | 0 42 | 4 05 | 0 93 |
| Assam | 1 93 | 0 44 | 1 49 | 0 22 | 1 71 | 0 22 |
| | 107 71 | 57 44 | 50 27 | 38 82 | 68 89 | 18 62 |

It would appear from the table that the provinces would gain 18 62 crores of rupees, but the distribution is glaringly unjust, varying from over 5 crores in the case of Madras and the Punjab and 4 crores in the case of the United Provinces to 22 crores in the case of Assam. Bengal is only superior to Assam in gain and certainly this improvement would be quite inadequate for her evergrowing needs. Moreover, the land revenue being fixed, the only expanding sources in Bengal would be excise and court-fees, an increase in the income derived from which would mean greater drunkenness and greater litigation, an evil which no popular government can view with equanimity.

It would appear from the table also that the total revenues raised within the various provinces from all sources (excluding the purely imperial sources, viz, Mint, Tributes, Posts and Telegraphs and Railways) was 107 71 crores in 1917-18, out of which the Imperial Government appropriated 57 44 crores for its own purposes and left 50 27 crores to the provinces. If all the provinces were made to contribute in the proportion of 57 107, the figures would stand thus

| | Present | | Pro- | | Pro- | | Pro- |
|-------------------|---------|--------|--------|-------|--------|------|--------|
| | Total | Re- | Im- | vin- | Im- | vin- | |
| | venue | perial | perial | cial | perial | cial | cess |
| | | | | | | | or |
| | | | | | | | defect |
| Madras | 18 29 | 9 95 | 8 34 | 9 69 | 8 60 | + | 26 |
| Bombay | 22 39 | 13 52 | 8 87 | 11 92 | 10 47 | + | 1 60 |
| Bengal | 19 92 | 13 06 | 6 86 | 10 61 | 9 31 | + | 2 45 |
| United Provinces | 14 47 | 7 17 | 7 30 | 7 70 | 6 77 | - | 53 |
| Punjab | 9 67 | 4 17 | 5 50 | 5 15 | 4 52 | - | 98 |
| Burma | 10 04 | 4 48 | 5 56 | 5 35 | 4 69 | - | 87 |
| Behar & Orissa | 6 53 | 3 30 | 3 23 | 3 48 | 3 05 | - | 18 |
| Central Provinces | 4 47 | 1 35 | 3 12 | 2 38 | 2 09 | - | 1 03 |
| Assam | 1 93 | 0 44 | 1 49 | 1 02 | 0 91 | - | 58 |

Thus the statement that Bengal contributes less to the Imperial Exchequer than the other provinces is completely disproved by the above table which shows that Bengal contributed $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores more than she should have contributed on an equitable basis, even excluding the opium revenue and adding it in equal moieties to the revenues of the U P and Behar. Bombay also contributed $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores more than the average and Madras and Behar were just paying their proper share. Whereas, Punjab, Burma and the Central Provinces each contributed a crore, and U P and Assam $\frac{1}{2}$ a crore less than they should have contributed.

We have shown, therefore, that Bengal has not been paying less than the other provinces, nor has she been fairly treated under the adjustment proposed in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. Neither are the protests

of Madras and the U P against the proposed levy from the provincial surpluses just, inasmuch as they would be gaining over 5 and 4 crores respectively by the proposed adjustment. Punjab also would gain over 5 crores and this would be largely due to the irrigation revenues to which we shall revert later.

It is now necessary for us to examine whether there are other methods of adjustment which would be more equitable than that proposed. To an impartial observer, the proposed method of adjustment would appear to be arbitrary and not based on any sound and well-recognised principle known to financiers all over the world. Although the distinguished authors of the Joint Report have tried to justify this division, the arguments advanced are not convincing. The principal ground is, attainment of a uniformity in the standard of taxation by making income-tax and general stamps imperial. But this object can be attained by making legislation for these taxes imperial. Moreover, as a careful examination of the figures will show, by far the greater part of the revenue under general stamps is derived from non-commercial sources, particularly from the duty on the sale and mortgage of immoveable properties. Income-tax is at present divided under three heads: ordinary tax, super tax and excess profits tax. This last is temporary and need not detain us here. In any case, super tax and excess profits tax may very well remain an imperial tax and the ordinary income tax may be given over to the provinces.

A well-recognised method of division of finances between the imperial and provincial governments all over the world, is to assign the indirect taxes to the former and the direct taxes to the latter. Under this scheme, opium, salt, excise, customs, income tax (super tax and excess profits tax) and tributes should be imperial and land revenue, stamps and income tax (ordinary) should be provincial. Of course, the imperial government should retain the revenues from Mints, Posts and Telegraphs, Railways and commercial undertakings. The distinguished authors of the Report have proposed to make responsibility for famine relief provincial on the ground that land revenue has been made provincial. This is open to the very grave objection, that prevalence of famine in a particular province requires the transfer of food grains from other provinces which have a surplus, and this is best effected by the power which controls export and import and the means of transport and communication. It should not, therefore, be made provincial and as a direct conclusion, it follows that irrigation which represents famine insurance, cannot be made provincial. The Imperial Government has sunk 68 crores of rupees in irrigation works, and to make over all this capital to the provinces would unduly favour some of the provinces at the expense of the others. In the Punjab for instance 21½ crores of rupees have been sunk on irrigation works which brought in a gross revenue of about 4 crores and a net one of 2 crores in 1917-18. In Bengal, only about one crore has been spent on two canals, the net revenue from which in 1917-18 was about 2.75 lakhs, or a loss of 2.75 per cent against an All-India average gain of over 6 per cent after paying the working expenses and the interest on the outlay. Other provinces may very well object to the arrangement which thus benefits some provinces at the expense of the general tax payer or of the imperial exchequer.

It would be fairer to assign the portion of land revenue due to irrigation to the provinces and the direct receipts from irrigation to the imperial exchequer and to divide the working expenses and interest charges between the two in the same proportion.

The table given below has been compiled from the accounts of 1917-18 according to the following principles:

(1) Revenues derived from Mints, Posts and Telegraphs and Railways are purely imperial and they are excluded from this calculation.

(2) Indirect taxes raised in the provinces and coming under the heads of opium, salt, excise, customs, income tax (super and excess profits), tributes and direct receipts from irrigation have been assigned to the imperial government.

(3) All direct taxes raised within the provinces and coming under the heads of land revenue (ordinary and derived from irrigation), stamps, income tax (ordinary) and other sources which are at present provincial, have been assigned to the provinces.

(4) The revenue from opium has been excluded from the figure for Bengal and included in equal moieties under the figures for the U P and Behar, but assigned to the Imperial Exchequer.

| | D I V I S I O N | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|-----------|--------------------|---------------------|------------|--------------|--|
| | Total Re-venue | Im-perial | Present Provincial | Proposed Provincial | Provincial | Gain or Loss | |
| Madras | 18 29 | 9 95 | 8 34 | 7 40 | 10 89 | + 2 55 | |
| Bombay | 22 39 | 13 52 | 8 87 | 12 56 | 9 83 | + 96 | |
| Bengal | 19 92 | 13 06 | 6 86 | 11 02 | 8 90 | + 2 04 | |
| U P | 14 47 | 7 17 | 7 30 | 4 88 | 9 59 | + 2 29 | |
| Punjab | 9 67 | 4 17 | 5 50 | 3 77 | 5 90 | + 40 | |
| Burma | 10 04 | 4 48 | 5 56 | 3 49 | 6 55 | + 99 | |
| Behar and Orissa | 6 53 | 3 30 | 3 23 | 3 55 | 2 98 | - 25 | |
| Central Provinces | 4 47 | 1 35 | 3 12 | 1 27 | 3 20 | + 09 | |
| Assam | 1 93 | 0 44 | 1 49 | 68 | 1 25 | - 24 | |

107 71 57 44 50 27 48 62 59 09

The gain to the provinces is more fairly distributed in this scheme than the gain under the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. All the provinces gain expanding sources of revenue and their case on the whole is more hopeful. Only Behar and Orissa and Assam suffer to the extent of about 25 lakhs each. But if the revenue derived from ordinary income tax in Bengal is partly allocated to these provinces on the ground of their being derived from the coal and tea industries respectively in Behar and Assam, no doubt this loss will be made good by a gain of the proper dimensions and the gain for Bengal will be proportionately reduced.

Finally, it may be urged that as the loss to the imperial revenues will be about 9 crores instead of nearly 14 crores under the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, and as this is more than covered by the imperial surplus of over 8 millions sterling or 12 crores of rupees in the year adopted for the calculations and will be covered by the huge gain resulting from exchange in the current financial year and may fairly be expected to be covered by the same gain in the next two financial years, it should be adopted by the Financial Relations Committee presided over by Lord Meston and no contribution should be levied from the provinces. Or, if this course be unacceptable, a contribution on the basis of that suggested in the Joint Report may be levied from the provinces.

NOTES

of Agriculture.

It is true, man does not live by bread alone, but it is also true that his bodily existence is impossible without food. The supply of a sufficient quantity of wholesome and nourishing food ought, therefore, to be the first concern of every country. But though India is a vast country having sufficient arable land, there is chronic scarcity of food here for the mass of the people and frequent famines. The production of food must, therefore, be increased, —though even if we produced more than enough food for our purposes, the politically powerful and wealthy nations of the West may bring about such extensive exports of foodstuffs from India as not to leave enough for its inhabitants. To prevent such export, the people of India should make strenuous and persistent endeavours to gain perfect internal autonomy. But leaving aside the question of export of foodstuffs, let us see how more food can be grown. And in considering the means to be adopted one does not know where to begin. Improved agricultural methods may be taught, to some extent, even to illiterate and uneducated peasants, but for thorough success as a cultivator one requires both general and agricultural education.

A mental awakening of the agricultural population has to be brought about. That can be done by (i) free universal compulsory education of all boys and girls, (ii) by the provision of adult schools in villages and small towns, (iii) by visual instruction by means of the magic lantern, the cinema and the radio-optikon, (iv) by dotting the country with demonstration farms and running demonstration trains by arrangement with the railway board and companies, and (v) by holding exhibitions of agricultural produce, implements, cattle, manure and seeds. India is wofully backward in all these respects.

Agricultural education has to be provided in addition to general education. In this, too, India is deplorably lacking. A comparison will bring out this fact. England and Wales are mainly manufacturing, not agricultural, countries, and their population is 35 millions. Yet there are *nine* institutions there providing full courses of instruction in agriculture and the allied sciences. They are of university rank, and the highest courses can lead up to a degree. Courses of a less advanced character are also provided at them. Courses more or less complete, but not leading up to a degree are held at *six* more agricultural colleges. In addition, there are *thirteen* institutions which either give general agricultural instruction of a less advanced character, or confine themselves to some particular branch. India is at present mainly an agricultural country and has a population of 315 millions. But, according to Mr Sharp's tables in "Indian Education in 1917-18," there are only *five* agricultural colleges with 435 scholars in the whole of India. Nor is the paucity of higher agricultural institutions made up for by a sufficiency of agricultural schools of a lower standard. For in Mr Sharp's tables we find only *six* such schools with 237 scholars for the whole of India. The population of the United States of America is less than one-third of that of India. But there, not to speak of the 55 colleges and departments in universities teaching agriculture only to white students, there were in 1912-13 (figures for any later years are not at hand) 2,300 agricultural high schools alone, and the number of elementary schools teaching agriculture was much larger. Agricultural colleges and schools for Negroes numbered 426 in 1913. The total Negro population was only 10 millions.

Irrigation, the supply of good seeds and good manures, and the introduction of new food crops are some of the other

means to be adopted. The conservation of cattle and the improvement of their breed, the provision of sufficient pasture lands and the cultivation of fodder have also to be attended to. The indebtedness of the ryots should be put an end to and agricultural banking facilities provided.

The agricultural departments, imperial and provincial, should be Indianised in more senses than one. Not only should the staff be Indian from top to bottom, Indian students in considerable numbers being sent abroad for education at State expense for the supply of officers, but in all reports, books, pamphlets and leaflets which must be assumed to be meant for the people, the vernaculars of the provinces must be used as the languages in which to write them. However unintentional, but it is none the less a cruel irony that for an illiterate agricultural population agricultural literature in English should in the main be provided. Such literature in the vernaculars would also be cruel in the present illiterate condition of the masses, but slightly less cruel. Of course, a crushing reply to our observation may be given by the agricultural authorities, saying, "Who told you that we print agricultural literature in English for the people of India? We do it simply to show that we are doing something in return for our salaries, and in some cases in order that Europeans engaged in some kinds of agriculture may take advantage of what we write." We may be demolished in that way, but have not yet been.

We learn from Mr. Sharp's "Progress of Education in India 1912-1917" that

"The subject agricultural education in India has engaged the attention of the Government of India in one form or another *ever since it has had an agricultural policy*. Side by side with the organisation and expansion of agricultural departments, colleges have been opened and syllabuses of instruction framed, but *the results have hitherto been disappointing*." [The italics are ours.]

It must be a great relief to learn that the Government of India has an agricultural policy, but unfortunately this feeling of relief immediately vanishes on learning that the results have been disappointing, in spite of agricultural departments,

colleges, and, above all, of syllabuses of instruction. This disappointment becomes keener when one learns that there is a Board of Agriculture and² there were conferences at Pusa in 1916 and at Simla in 1917. Gigantic agricultural philanthropy like this has never been so ill rewarded in any other country. At the Simla Conference, one of the conclusions was that each of the principal provinces of India should have its own agricultural college as soon as the agricultural development of the province justified the step. Why, then, is there no agricultural college in Bengal? Is it not a principal province? Or has there been no agricultural development here? If so, why? For the non-existence of an agricultural college in Bengal we do not blame Government alone. The two parties who can establish and ought to maintain such a college are Government and the landholders. They are both to blame.

Board of Agriculture.

The Indian Daily News writes that the experience of the official year 1918-19 led the Board of Agriculture to discuss measures for meeting famine conditions in future years. "They held a meeting in December, 1919, and made a number of recommendations," some of which are.—

(i) The maximum charges for irrigation water should be reconsidered in connection with all irrigation schemes in view of the new level of prices.

(ii) Each Local Government in any province, where famine conditions can be mitigated by wells should have an efficient well-boring department under the charge of an Agricultural Engineer.

(iii) In connection with such well-boring department as is recommended, the cost of unsuccessful trial borings should not fall on the individual landowners in whose land they are made.

(iv) A systematic survey of the supplies of underground water, which can be tapped by wells or small bores, should be undertaken, as soon as possible, in areas where famine conditions can be mitigated by wells. In spite of the recommendations of the Irrigation Commission this survey has not been made to anything like the extent that is desirable, and its importance has not been fully appreciated.

(v) The possibilities of strainer tube-wells should be carefully investigated where there is any likelihood of their being successful.

(vi) Rivers and other sources of water which

can be profitably utilized by pumping and other means in seasons of drought (even if at other times their employment is not likely to be profitable) should be surveyed and mapped, and the question as to whether preparations cannot be made in advance to utilize these, as fully as possible, as soon as a drought occurs, should be carefully considered

(vii) The importance, for the prevention of famine, of protective works such as embankments for regulating the run-off of water from land and the checking of erosion, combined in many instances with afforestation of part of the area, should be recognized

(viii) In tracts of light rainfall it is of very great importance that serious investigations should be undertaken into methods of moisture conservation by which the yield of land can be increased in a normal year and the risk of failure may be minimized in a year of drought. The improvement and effective use of improved tillage instruments is one of the most effective means of attaining this end. Such investigations might be combined with botanical enquiries into the development of crops and strains of crops which, while normally giving a satisfactory yield, will grow under conditions of minimum rainfall

(ix) In as much as the loss during the recent famine has largely consisted in the loss of cattle, the improvement of grass areas, in all precarious tracts and in other tracts which can supply them, should be a matter for serious investigation by the Agricultural Department. This naturally involves the storage of fodder in normal years

(x) An investigation should be undertaken, in each tract liable to famine, of the emergency fodder materials available and not usually utilized, and the best way of using them

(xi) Facilities and concession rates on railways should be given in famine tracts for the export of cattle so as to relieve distress

(xv) The problem of famine prevention and relief has now assumed a new aspect. The established policy of relief works and gratuitous relief depends for success on the existence, somewhere in India, of adequate stores of grain, while the very success of relief operations tends to obliterate the motives which, in the past, have created local stores of grain. Therefore, a special enquiry should now be made into the means whereby a sufficiency of foodstuffs can be secured even in the event of two successive monsoon failures. The best agency for making such an enquiry would be a strong Famine Commission appointed by the Government of India "

On these our contemporary comments, rightly, as follows —

A very instructive blue-book this, which should be widely read in an agricultural country like India. But the difficulty is, it is written in English, of which the rural population is simply innocent. A vernacular rendering of its con-

tents may perhaps be of greater use, but possibly in that case too we shall have to wait till Primary education makes the necessary progress. But before that blessed consummation comes, Zemindars and the educated public may take advantage of it and help the "chasha" in growing two blades of corn where one used to grow before

The suggestion as to well-boring reminds us that a few years ago Dr Rabindranath Tagore obtained excellent well-boring apparatus from America, but could not find anybody to put it to use

Economic Importance of Sanitation.

Unless men and women have strong and healthy bodies, they cannot succeed either in agricultural or in manufacturing industries. Peasants and farmers may have the best general and agricultural education, the best seeds, manures, implements and cattle, and excellent irrigational facilities, yet if they are frequently ill and die prematurely, a country cannot be made agriculturally prosperous by them. So good sanitation of rural areas is a *sine qua non* of agricultural expansion, improvement, and prosperity

In this connection the following extract from the *Indian Medical Record* would be found directly and indirectly suggestive

The Medical needs of the country are, firstly, the formation of a medical corporation, like say, the British Medical Association, with branches over different parts of the country. This will not only protect the professional interests of medical men but will focus public attention on medical matters very easily

Secondly, we should have a ministry of public health—composed not of the inevitable I M S man to boss the show, but of eminent Indian practitioners in charge of the portfolio. Provincial ministries should also be formed under the care of Indian ministers

Thirdly, in each province, a medical man should be an associate director of public instruction, or if each province gets a minister of health, the education department should be partly controlled by that minister through an army of school Medical Inspectors, Baby Welfare bureau and Child Welfare workers

Fourthly, we want medical plants cultivation farms, Botanical gardens well stocked with medicinal plants, medicinal plant seeds depots and sample distribution as well as information bureau

Fifthly, we want an indigenous Pharma-

copoeia Indica on the lines of the B P, but including as many Indian drugs as possible. For this purpose there must be standing provincial as well as imperial medical committees composed largely of Indian chemists and Indian medical practitioners.

Sixthly, we want the country to be flooded with small hospitals and manned by Indians. Less money should be spent on buildings and more on equipment, pay and upkeep expenses. Either along with these hospitals or separately should be established a large number of research laboratories and pathological institutes.

Seventhly, we want medical and surgical appliances and dressings as well as medicines made in India. The raw materials for them are ample and Indian capital and labour should be employed to exploit the same. Or, when and if complete self-government is ours, these industries may be nationalized.

Eighthly, we should have medical colleges in each of the commissioners' divisional headquarters and medical schools in each of the districts of India. Indian Pharmacopoeia, Indian languages and Indian teachers should be the *sine qua non* of these institutions.

Ninthly, we want the entire educational policy revised so as to press less on the young hopefuls and to give them an education that is more humanly. Each pupil male or female must know anatomy, physiology and hygiene—no matter what his or her standard of education.

Tenthly we want peripatetic demonstrators showing the latest achievements of modern medical science, dispensaries carrying treatment to one's very doors, sanatoria for tuberculous patients, medical benefit insurance, homes for incurables, public gymnasias, state-recognised annual physical games, philanthropic societies for helping indigent mothers and babies. Our wants are so many that we can but give a brief list of them within the space at our disposal.

Medicines from Indigenous Plants.

Government have been making experiments in the manufacture of medicines from indigenous plants. That is good. But what is unsatisfactory is that the committee which is charged with the direction of this work consists entirely of officials and European officials. Surely there are Indians fit to be members of this committee. Why should Indians be kept at arm's length, and that even in a matter in which there is no question of politics involved? Or is it intended that experiments, as in certain other industries, are being made with the people's money and after thorough success has been

attained, the industry should be handed over to European entrepreneurs? However, whatever Government may do, the people of the country should not lose sight of the Indian medicinal plants as sources of wealth and health. Why should not Indian doctors and druggists take advantage of works like "Indian Medicinal Plants" published by the Panini Office of Allahabad?

Child Welfare.

The children of a country are its chief assets, and it is a pleasure, therefore, to find that child welfare work is being organised under official auspices in province after province. It is true that the donors are chiefly those who give their pecuniary support to all official projects, whether good or bad, necessary or unnecessary, but we have to take things as they are and be thankful for whatever good may result. It is only to be hoped that foreign agency will not be employed for the organisation except temporarily to the extent that may be strictly necessary. Philanthropy and exploitation will go together.

The importance of child welfare work has been shown in articles published in previous numbers of this Review.

Prospecting for Minerals.

The mineral wealth of India, to the extent that it is extracted and exhausted, is not renewable, except perhaps in some very remote geological age billions of years hence. For this reason, while full attention should be paid to the development of the vegetable and animal resources of India by the people of the country, the fact should not be lost sight of that minerals have hitherto been extracted and utilised for the most part by foreigners. Indians should come into the field in increasing numbers.

We read in *New India* some months ago

The *Fort St George Gazette* announces that Messrs Best and Co, have been given a certificate of approval under the Mining Rules, which will enable them to carry out prospecting or mining operations over the whole of the Madras Presidency. Best and Co, is a non-Indian firm in Madras with the Hon Sir Gordon Fraser at its head—the latter gentleman

being also the President of the European Chamber of Commerce in the City. These particulars must suffice to indicate the nature of the Company to which the Government have been pleased to give the certificate. Evidently the process of intensified exploitation has begun and unless it is checked in the initial stage, it may soon assume serious proportions.

We do not know whether any Indians have obtained prospecting licenses or rights in the Madras Presidency. In Bengal, Chota-Nagpur and Assam, Messrs Bird & Co, have been carrying on prospecting operations for sometime past. We have noticed that the Indian firm of Messrs N C Sircar & Co, have obtained a prospecting license. We do not know whether any other Indians have obtained similar licenses. Burmans and Indians in Burma are probably more enterprising and wide awake in this respect than we are here. Some time ago we read in the *Burma Observer* —

A certificate of approval has been granted to each of the following persons to prospect for minerals in the Province of Burma —

Messrs The Tavoy Concessions, Ltd, Rangoon, Mr T Greenhow, Tavoy, Mr C Swee Pwah, Tavoy, Mr W H Oliviant, Tavoy, Mr F B Ady, Rangoon, Mg Po Kin, Twinza, Yenangyaung, Mr C A Petley, Toungoo, Mr M J Ispahany, Rangoon, Mr Hassan Ameen, Rangoon, Mr H H A Peters, Moulmein, Mg Tha Dun, Moulmein, Mg Tun Hman, Mg Seik, Mg Shwe Kun and Mg Po Han (jointly), Subinywa, Myingyan District, Ma Ngwe Nyun, Moulmein, Ma Hmwe, Moulmein, Mr Mohamed Suleiman, Yenangyaung, Mr Lim Kyee Yan, Tavoy.

Again, in the same paper

A certificate of approval has been granted to each of the following persons to prospect for minerals in the Province of Burma —

Ma Twe, Kawkareik, Mg Tun Win, Toungoo, Mg Ba Chit and Ma Saw Yin (jointly), Moulmein, Mg Shwe Hla, Ramree.

Note the Asiatic names in the above extracts. There are four Burmese ladies among them. The word "Ma" denotes their sex.

A New Forest Service.

The formation of a Forest Engineering Service has been announced by Government. Its emoluments are to be the same as those of the Imperial Forest Service. The officers of the new service are to be

trained in Canada and the United States of America. The forests of India ought certainly to be properly conserved, developed and exploited *in the interests of India*. But this should be done by properly educated indigenous labour. Therefore the recruits to the new service should all be Indians and they should receive their training in Canada and U S A. But it may be taken for granted that they would all be Britishers. The existing Forest Imperial Service consists of 10 officers, of whom only one is an Indian.

Like all other kinds of education, except that which was introduced for the manufacture of clerks and lawyers for the most part, education in forestry, too, has been greatly neglected in India. The area of India is 1,803,000 square miles, and it contains only two forest colleges. The area of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland is only 121,377 square miles, and yet there forestry is taught at the School of Forestry in the Forest of Dean, Oxford University, Cambridge University, the University College of North Wales, Armstrong College in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Agricultural Colleges at Cirencester and Wye, Edinburgh University, and three Scottish colleges of agriculture. In the U S A forestry is taught in 23 Universities and colleges.

British People's and Parliament's Zeal for India's Welfare

In our comments on the Royal Proclamation in the last January issue, we wrote —

When His Majesty proceeds to declare that "the Parliament and the people of this realm and my officers in India have been equally zealous for the moral and material advancement of India," we must say that His Majesty has not been rightly advised by his ministers and correctly informed by his informants. The Indian Budget Debate in the House of Commons has even been the signal for a stampede for the vast majority of its members, the people of the British Isles are indifferent to Indian affairs, British newspapers experience a fall in their circulation if they write frequently on Indian affairs,

Our opinion is supported by what Mr Nevinston has written in reviewing Mr Ramsay Macdonald's book on "The Gov-

ernment of India" in the *Daily Herald* and which has been reproduced in *United India*. We give an extract below.

As a guide to India for men and women who wish to understand the present critical situation I think the book is unparalleled.

ENGLAND'S INDIFFERENCE

It is quite true that very few people wish to understand. The blind ignorance and indifference to India are strange and lamentable symptoms for our "Imperialism." "Speak of water," says the Central African proverb, "and the fish are gone." Speak of India, and the audience clears out. If one evening a year is given to the discussion involving the destiny of some 350,000,000 of our so-called fellow-subjects, the House of Commons can hardly beat up a quorum for the occasion. Our minds are too full of our own affairs to tackle so enormous a subject.

British Teachers of English for Indian Students

The following sentence occurs in the Report of the Calcutta University Commission.

Bengal needs better teaching of English, and for that purpose English-speaking men and women who are trained teachers are required in larger numbers, especially for work at the intermediate stage.

Two questions arise here. Are English-speaking teachers necessarily better teachers of English to Indian boys and youths than English-knowing Indian teachers? And, are English-speaking teachers indispensably necessary? The following extract from an article on "Educating the East" contributed by Mr J D Anderson, D Litt, ICS (Retired), to the *Times Educational Supplement* for January 2, 1919, has bearing on these questions —

"The position [in India] is strictly parallel to that which has driven us to the conclusion that even foreign living tongues are best taught to Englishmen by Englishmen."

From which we may conclude that in the opinion of Dr Anderson, who is himself a teacher of a foreign living tongue at the universities of Cambridge and London, English, which is to us a living foreign tongue, is best taught to Indians by Indians. This is our opinion, too.

The Case for Egyptian Independence

Considering that the Egyptians cannot assert their independence by their unaided

might and that there is not a single powerful government which will agree to help them in winning independence, it may seem strange that they should continue to declare that nothing but independence can satisfy them. In fact, there was a Reuter's telegram dated Cairo, January 28, which ran —

Cairo, Jan 28. Zagloul Pasha, replying to the representation from Ministers, refuses to negotiate with the Milner Mission except on the basis of complete independence.

What is the inwardness of this resolute attitude? The declaration of the Egyptian Nationalists refusing to negotiate with the Milner Mission gives the following reasons —

First, that the Egyptian Nation question is an International question, and to agree to enter into *pourparlers* with a British commission would be to deprive the question of its real form, classifying it as a domestic question for settlement between ourselves and Great Britain.

Secondly, that the Commission wishes to conduct *pourparlers* based on the Protectorate, which the nation does not accept, claiming complete independence.

Thirdly, that a *plebiscite* must not be made under the *regime* of martial law.

The position is made clearer still by the following extract made by the *Mahratta* from a British paper —

Cairo, December 27. — In a conversation with Dr Hafez Bey Afifi, a member of the Egyptian Delegation, in regard to the motives actuating members of the Delegation in advising Egyptians to boycott the Milner Commission, and also generally in regard to their objections to the British Protectorate, Reuter's correspondent asked "Why are the Egyptians boycotting the Milner Commission?"

"They are boycotting it," said Dr Hafez Afifi, "because its programme, as announced in both Houses of Parliament, is to act within the Protectorate, and the Egyptians refuse the Protectorate."

"What do the Egyptians understand by the word Protectorate?"

"A Protectorate is, and has ever been, a permanent link of subordination which will involve our indefinite subjection to British rule. It is, in our view, an inferior and humiliating form of government, wholly incompatible with the degree of civilisation we have attained, as also with the recent political evolution of the country."

"The foundations of our independence were, as is known, laid down by the Treaty of London in 1840, and furthermore, there are upwards of

sixty formal declarations by responsible British statesmen guaranteeing to us and to Europe the regime of practical independence, which we obtained at the price of our blood as far back as the reign of Mohammed Ali.

"The nominal suzerainty of Turkey was but a shadow and a legal fiction, and at a time when we were aiming at the consummation of a hundred years' struggle for independence, England came and imposed upon us a 'de facto' as well as a 'de jure' supremacy in the form of a Protectorate.

THE OPPORTUNE MOMENT

"Let me assure you that the honourable occasion for evacuation which Lord Salisbury was seeking in 1883 has at last been furnished by this great war of liberation and by the victory of right over might. No moment seems to be more opportune. The great war has brought to the forefront the cult of an ideal of liberty and national self-realisation, and Egypt has been the first among Oriental nations to digest and proclaim such an ideal."

Reminded of the recognition of the Protectorate by the other Allies, Dr. Hafez Afifi said —

"Far from making your position more difficult, we think that the recognition of the Protectorate by most of the Powers ought to make it easier for you to adopt a conciliatory attitude towards us. Your dignity and *amour propre* having been saved by this diplomatic victory, you can now afford to acknowledge our independence. Such a noble and magnanimous action on your part would infuse new life into the veins of our old Egypt."

The Empire, the Anglo-Indian evening daily of Calcutta, says that the Egyptian newspaper *El Misr* published on January 3rd a resume of the recent conversation between Lord Milner and the Grand Mufti (the head of the Mohammedan ecclesiastical world). Our Anglo-Indian contemporary then reproduces the resume as follows —

CAUSE OF TROUBLE

Lord Milner having remarked that he did not know the cause of the troubled spirit which was abroad, the Mufti replied:

"That troubled spirit is due to a natural cause. After the declarations of great Allied statesmen, proclaiming principles of liberty for all peoples, Egypt, as the exception, finds her hopes frustrated and a Protectorate declared when she was expecting independence."

To this Lord Milner rejoined that the interests of Great Britain and Egypt required a Protectorate, and that Egypt's independence would menace British interests there and in the Orient. The Mufti dissenting, he added that discussion was necessary and would settle nine points out of ten.

The Mufti: "No Egyptian would enter upon a discussion except on the basis of independence."

Lord Milner: "I am certain that there are Egyptians who are disposed to treat with us, but fear keeps them back."

The Mufti: "Every country has its traitors, but any patriot would refuse to discuss."

CLEAR HINT

Discussion, replied Lord Milner, would be more profitable than boycotting. He added:

"Do not forget that we are the most powerful nation in the world. No country can oppose us. It is not to your interest that we should impose our will. Moreover, it is not our desire to do so."

"The entire nation," declared the Mufti, "claims independence, and it would, therefore, be useless to speak any other language."

"I do not forget your power, but if Egyptians bend to-day before force, they will profit by the first occasion to revolt."

"Between Syria occupied by France, and Tripoli occupied by Italy it is better for you that Egypt should be independent and a friend."

"All that," said Lord Milner, "does not prevent a loyal discussion."

"We can have no discussion," replied the Mufti, "until the Protectorate is withdrawn."

A copy of a letter written by M. Saad Zaghloul, chief of the Egyptian Delegation at Paris, in reply to Lord Curzon's speech in the House of Lords on November 25, 1919, was sent to the *Manchester Guardian*, which has summarised it as follows —

M. Zaghloul says that Egypt is, with the exception of the few newly-created Ministers, absolutely unanimous in demanding complete independence and in repudiating the proposed Milner Mission, "whose greatest object is to effect the confirmation of the protectorate." The protectorate, says M. Zaghloul, is not accepted by the Egyptians, and it cannot be lawfully imposed on a people who revolt against it, especially after the promises made by British statesmen such as Lord Salisbury, who, on June 10, 1887, declared in the House of Lords —

"It was not open to us to assume the protectorate of Egypt, because his Majesty's Government have again and again pledged themselves that they would not do so."

M. Zaghloul points out that before the British occupation the Egyptians had "internal independence" and a voice in the foreign affairs of their country, and for that reason —

"they will not listen to a promise of so-called 'progressive development of self-governing institutions' under the protectorate, because such a promise simply means that they will be deprived of what they already had in 1840, and will push them eighty years back in the scale of civilisation, a thing which for them is altogether unthinkable and impossible."

The Egyptian movement for independence,

he continues, has been under-rated by the British, just as the American movement for independence was under-rated by them. The British authorities have—

‘induced his Majesty’s Government to take it for a simple superficial movement led by a few irresponsible individuals, and which could be easily suppressed by machine guns and aeroplanes dropping bombs on villages. The truth is that the present movement for independence is real, deep, spontaneous, and universal. The British in Egypt, through their naturally characteristic reserve and lack of contact with the people, and through their complete ignorance of the Egyptian’s tastes, habits, and aspirations, are quite unaware and unconscious of the prevailing Egyptian national spirit. If the British Government could realise the depth and scope of the present national movement, they would not attempt the impossible by trying to subjugate a whole race by force. And it matters very little that the President of the United States and the French Government have sanctioned the British protectorate, for the people of these two great Republics are sympathising with us, and, as a matter of fact, it is peoples and not diplomatists that will rule the world before long.”

M Zagloul agrees with Lord Curzon in saying that Egypt’s connection with Turkey is at an end, and adds that neither Turkey nor Great Britain has any claim to Egypt. He expresses confidence in the League of Nations and pleads for an end to bloodshed. In conclusion he says —

“A thinly veiled annexation bearing the name of ‘protectorate’ can no longer deceive anybody, and the thick screen which the British Government have placed between us and the British public will soon be penetrated by our cries. We still believe that the great democracy of Great Britain is capable of doing justice to the Egyptian people.”

Compared with the demand of the Egyptian Nationalists, the demands of the extremist “Extremist” of the Indian National Congress are very moderate indeed. So our “Extremists”, bearing in mind that they are after all very moderate in their demands, should *condescend* (is that the word?) to make friends with our “Moderates”, and our “Moderates”, bearing in mind that our “extremism” compared with Egyptian Nationalism is as water is to wine, should *deign* (is that the word?) to shake hands with our “Extremists”, and the Bureaucrats should see that India does not develop into a greater Ireland and a bigger Egypt.

“Communique” about I E S.

In the Government *communique* relating to the Indian Educational Service, it is stated—

(1) That the pay will be the same for all members of the service irrespective of race, place of recruitment, etc., but that there will be a system of overseas allowances based on domicile.

What really matters is the sum of money paid, it is immaterial whether it is called ‘overseas allowance’ or part of the salary. The rose called by any other name smells as sweet. The appointment of non-Indians to I E S posts and the payment to them of an overseas allowance could be justified if qualified Indians could not be found to fill any and every post in the Service. But the truth is, the Service can be manned from top to bottom by Indians without impairing its efficiency in the least. Therefore, the filling of any fraction of the Service by non-Indians is an injustice to Indians, and giving the former overseas allowances is an aggravation of that injustice. The announcement that 50 per cent of the Service are to be Indians can give us no satisfaction, for we have a just claim to 100 per cent.

A clever but too transparent device has been in use for some time past to indirectly justify the payment of overseas allowances to British officers in India. It has been decided to pay Indians serving as Government servants in England an overseas allowance in the same way as Britishers serving the Government here are paid extra large salaries. But even a child can see through the trick. Overseas allowances paid to the quarter dozen, and, in future, the half-a-dozen members of the Secretary of State’s Council in London, can never counter-balance such allowances paid to hundreds of fat-salaried Englishmen here. It should also be remembered that most of the Indians who are appointed to the India Council in London, have their incomes greatly reduced by the acceptance of office abroad, whereas Englishmen coming out to India as Government servants invariably have larger incomes than they had at home, and probably could ever have there.

Statistical Jugglery

There is a humorous division of lies into the three classes of lies, d—d lies and statistics, implying that by clever manipulation of statistics an impression can be produced which does not in fact tally with the reality. We were reminded of this division on looking at certain figures quoted from Mr H Sharp's "Progress of Education in India 1912-1917" by the Sadler Commission in their Report and later by Mr P J Hartog, one of its members, in a recent lecture delivered by him in London before the Royal Society of Arts. The figures for elementary education, which we need not repeat, show that the percentage of the population enrolled in elementary schools is lower than that of any country named in the table, it is about one-fourth of that of Ceylon. Then Mr Hartog, following Mr H Sharp, says —

7 When we come to secondary education, the figures are very different —

| | Percentage of the population enrolled in Secondary Schools |
|--------------------------|--|
| United States of America | 1 502 |
| German Empire | 0 988 |
| England and Wales | 0 62 |
| India | 0 486 |
| Japan | 0 354 |
| France | 0 32 |

The figures reveal themselves as still more significant when we find that they mean that of the *male* population of India nearly 869 per cent (or about 9 per 1,000) are enrolled in secondary schools, the percentage of the female population so enrolled being only one-tenth of that number, or less than 1 per 1,000. *It is true, on the other hand, that these figures include the pupils of secondary schools who are enrolled in their primary classes, and amount to nearly half the whole number.* Even when these allowances are made, the contrast between the figures for primary and for secondary education is very great. You have in India an illiterate peasantry and industrial population, literate middle classes

It is not disputed that, comparatively, secondary education has made more progress in India than elementary education. But the contrast between the figures for primary and for secondary education is in reality not at all as great as has been made out. For the sentence which we have italicised above, tells us that nearly half the number of pupils counted as receiving secondary education in India are really receiving elementary educa-

tion. Therefore in order to form a correct estimate in comparison with other countries, half the number of students should have been deducted from secondary schools and added to elementary schools. If that had been done, the table for secondary education would have stood thus —

| Countries | Percentage of the popu- lation enrolled in secondary schools |
|--------------------------|--|
| United States of America | 1 502 |
| German Empire | 0 988 |
| England and Wales | 0 62 |
| Japan | 0 354 |
| France | 0 32 |
| India | 0 243 |

Even if for India only the male scholars and the total male population alone were considered, the percentage would be 434, which is not a high figure. If this figure be sought to be compared with the figures for other countries, it must be ascertained what percentage of the male population of those countries are in their secondary schools, which neither Mr Sharp, nor the Sadler Commission, nor Mr Hartog has done.

For the fact that elementary education has made only insignificant progress in India, Government is greatly and almost wholly to blame. It had all along persistently opposed the making of primary education free and compulsory, — the only advance made in recent years is that it has allowed private primary education bills, which are not thorough-going measures, to pass *on the understanding* that Government would not be obliged wholly to bear the cost of the projects. For the backwardness of girls' education, too, the Government are in great part to blame, for the State has never made adequate efforts to educate the girls. The social customs of India are not everywhere equally obstructive to their education, which has made greater progress in many Native States than in British-ruled India.

In comparing the figures for elementary and secondary schools and for colleges and universities in India with those in other countries, it should never be forgotten

that the standards reached in our schools and colleges are lower than those reached in corresponding institutions in advanced Western countries. Many of our secondary schools principally teach what is taught in the higher forms of elementary schools in the West, and more than half the number of our college students are really less advanced than the higher form boys of secondary schools in England, Germany, U S A, &c Chapter XII, II, 10 of the Sadler Commission Report tells us that when an English boy leaves school at 16 "to begin a business career," his "equipment for life" is "far from satisfactory. But it was rich in comparison with that of the average Bengali boy when he enters the University at about the same age."

So the mere names of elementary, secondary, collegiate, or university education, should not be allowed to mislead us. We should dive beneath the surface and understand what standard and kind of education these names connote in different countries. We should not think that, because the percentage of scholars attending institutions of a certain grade in India is equal to that of nominally the same grade in a certain Western country, therefore, the two countries are equally educated.

8 We now come to university education. The figures are comparable to those for secondary education. The following approximate figures are given by Mr Sharp for 1914-15, they are undoubtedly liable to correction, but are sufficient to indicate the facts —

| | Percentage of population enrolled in Universities |
|--------------------------|--|
| United States of America | 0.218 |
| France | 0.106 |
| Italy | 0.063 |
| Netherlands | 0.066 |
| England and Wales | 0.054 |
| India | 0.021 |

Of the Indian *male* population the percentage receiving university education is 0.048 or, say, 5 in 10,000, not far short of the British figure for the population as a whole. If we take Bengal we find that in the University of Calcutta which has some twenty-five of its colleges in Calcutta itself, and rather more than this number scattered through the province, there were in 1917-18 just under 26,000 students, as against the 26,700 "full-time" students in all the British universities together in the year before the war. The full-time students in the British universities included many who were not preparing for degrees. In Bengal all students are preparing for degrees.

For comparison of the percentage of the Indian *male* population at college with the corresponding British figure, the British figure for the population as a whole ought not to be taken, the figure for the *male* British population at college ought to have been ascertained, for even in the British Isles, as large a proportion of the women do not go in for university education as that of the men.

Mr Hartog speaks of "the British figure" and of "the British universities." Similarly Mr Sharp ("Progress of Education in India 1912-1917", Vol 1, pp 5-6) speaks of university education in "the United Kingdom." But both of them give the figure *only for England and Wales*. But England and Wales are not the whole of the United Kingdom, nor of Great Britain or the British Isles. "British" means relating to Great Britain, and, hence, the terms "the British universities" and "the British figures" must not leave out Scotland. Scotland is educationally more advanced than England and Wales. It may or may not have been intentionally left out to keep "the British figure" low. In any case, we are going to give "the British figure" as worked out by us from the immediately pre-war statistics given in the *Statesman's Year-Book for 1914*, p 30. The figures are for the year 1913-14.

| Universities in | Students |
|-----------------|----------|
| England | 24,010 |
| Wales | 1,140 |
| Scotland | 7,550 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 32,700 |

As the population of the United Kingdom in 1913 was 41,653,039, the percentage works out at more than 07, instead of 054, "the British figure" given by Messrs Sharp and Hartog. If Ireland were included, to give the figure for the United Kingdom, the number of university students would be 35,175 and the total population 46,035,570, the percentage still working out at more than 07.

So in any case, university education, whatever it may mean, is not as widespread, comparatively in the Calcutta

University area, as has been sought to be made out

The following table compiled from the latest figures given in the *Year-Book* for 1914 and Mr H Shaip's *Progress of Education in India 1912-17*, Vol II, gives a correct idea of the progress of university education in Bengal compared with that in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland —

| Country | Population | No of University Students | Percentage of population enrolled in Universities |
|----------------|------------|---------------------------|---|
| United Kingdom | 46,035,570 | 35,175 | More than 07 |
| Bengal | 46,305,642 | 22,580 | " 048 |

It should be remembered that in the Bengal figures of Intermediate class students, numbering more than half the college population, have been included, though they are admittedly doing school work

We turn next to what is denoted by university education in the Calcutta University area

We learn from the Sadler Commission Report (Vol 1, p 341) that more than half of the students in Calcutta University are in the intermediate stage, and we learn further (Vol 1, p 329) that "By common consent, the work of the first two years, up to the intermediate level, is practically school work" This plainly means that more than half of those who have been counted as university students are really students doing school work So that the university education percentage assigned to our country should in reality be *at least* half of what it has been represented to be

It should also be remembered that the Calcutta University area is not co-extensive with Bengal, it includes Assam and Burma also It is true that university education has progressed most in Bengal and little in the two other provinces, but in a comparison of statistics, it is neither accurate nor fair to leave out, in the case of the British universities, those situated in the most advanced province of Scotland, and in the case of the Calcutta University area, the total population of the backward provinces of Assam and Burma But that is what has been done, the result being that whereas the percentage put down for

the British Isles or the United Kingdom is less than what it ought to be and the percentage put down for the Calcutta University area is higher than what it ought to be

We hope we have been able to show that secondary and university education, in their true meaning, are not as widespread in our country as they are represented to be And in estimating the spread of education of all kinds and degrees in India, we should bear in mind that what little of education there is in India is for the most part only literary or bookish education We have very little of industrial, technical, agricultural, mechanical, commercial and technological education. In a comparison with other countries, this fact should not be lost sight of.

Banking Facilities in India.

Agriculture, manufacturing industries, trade and commerce cannot flourish in any country without banking facilities That country is undoubtedly poor which does not possess banking facilities, or where the number and capital of banks are small India is such a country, which would be evident from the following table compiled from Mr Findlay Shirras's new book on Indian Finance and Banking, published by Messrs Macmillan & Co

| Country | Population in Million | Number of Banks | Capital of Banks in Million £s | Deposits in Banks in Million £s |
|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| U S A | 90 | 28013 | 482 | 5766 |
| U K | 46 | 9357 | 88 | 2355 |
| Japan | 75 | 5874 | 67 | 404 |
| Canada | 75 | 3327 | 35 | 324 |
| Australia | 5 | 2356 | 23 | 316 |
| India | 315 | 359 | 5 | 118 |

If the capital of Exchange Banks in India were included, the total capital of banks in India would be 23 million pounds, and even that is a small sum.

"The British Connection with India."

In official and non-official British and Anglo-Indian parlance the usual expression which indicated the political relationship existing between Britain and India was, before the issue of the Royal Proclamation, "British rule in India" or "our rule in India" The Royal Proclamation is

probably the first important document of its kind in which the expression used is "the British connection with India." This expression has been hitherto in use generally by those 'politically-minded' Indians who wanted to establish the supremacy of the national will in the internal affairs of the nation without severing the political tie between Britain and India. Its use by His Majesty the King shows that it is now theoretically accepted that India is not a subject country, though the fact of its subjection cannot yet be disputed.

"The Fullness of Political Freedom"

The Royal Proclamation ends with the prayer that India "may grow to the fullness of political freedom." Fullness of political freedom can have only one logical and consistent meaning, namely, perfect internal and external sovereignty. But the extent and degree of political freedom to which, according to the Royal Proclamation, we may aspire, is contained in the following passage:

"there is one gift which yet remains and without which the progress of a country cannot be consummated—the right of her people to direct her affairs and safeguard her interests. The defence of India against foreign aggression is a duty of common Imperial interest and pride. The control of her domestic concerns is a burden which India may legitimately aspire to take upon her own shoulders. The burden is too heavy to be borne in full until time and experience have brought the necessary strength, but opportunity will now be given for experience to grow and for responsibility to increase with the capacity for its fulfilment."

The utmost hope which this passage holds out is that in course of time we may have control of all internal affairs, *minus* the army, navy, and the air fleet and force, it holds out no hope of the least control of any concern that is not civil and domestic. But this is not the accepted meaning of "the fullness of political freedom."

The Question of the Capital of India

With the desire that India should have one capital where its government should remain located throughout the year, we are in perfect sympathy. The exodus to

the hills is not justified by any reason connected with public welfare. The expense incurred for it is sheer waste. There is no proof before the public that more work or better work is *actually done* in the hills than can be done in the plains. To contend otherwise is nonsense, Lord Cairnmuir practically said so in one of his speeches in connection with the Bengal Government's annual pleasure-trip to Darjeeling. The founders and early wideners of the British Empire literally bore the heat and burden of the day in the plains throughout the year. Is it pretended that the present-day rulers of India do more work, better work, harder and more strenuous and more anxious work than those empire-builders? Persons who cannot bear the climate of a country which is mainly tropical have no business to be connected with its government.

The removal from Delhi is advocated on the ground that that city has no strong public opinion, which Calcutta or Allahabad, for example, has. That may be true. But when the capital was in Calcutta, did Lord Curzon pay any heed to public opinion and refrain from partitioning Bengal? It is to be noted that the Partition of Bengal was that stupendous blunder to which, directly or indirectly, the rise of anarchism in India has to be traced. Has the public opinion of Calcutta prevented the sack of Barabazar and Machuabazar and the shooting down of unarmed and inoffensive persons? The fact is wherever the Viceroy or a Governor may be, he does not attend public meetings or socially mix with the people of the country to ascertain public opinion with a view to shaping his policy in accordance with it. As for the newspapers, he may read them, if he likes, wherever he may be. The only "public" opinion which socially and indirectly has often effectively influenced the rulers is the opinion of Anglo-Indian society. But that is not Indian public opinion. The less the rulers are influenced by Anglo-Indian opinion the better for us. The reason why the non-official European community of Calcutta want the Viceroy to be back again in Calcutta, is that that would mean more business and more

money to them, and more dinners also to some of them. But what is that to us? The national will cannot be made supreme by merely locating the capital anywhere in the plains or in the hills. Only a full measure of representative and responsible government can bring about that result. As for the distance of Delhi, the aeroplanes will soon remove that objection.

So let the Government of India remain where it will, but let it not be like migratory birds. It should be stationed throughout the year in the same place. Even Simla as the only capital would be preferable to the present peripatetic way of government. Why not abolish Indian capitals and the viceroyalty altogether, and leave the Secretary of State alone to rule from London? The aeroplane will bring London within as easy reach as Simla is at present from Madras. The carrying out of this suggestion would result in considerable economy.

Let there be no more waste of public money over the building of capitals, old or new. And let there not be any further talk of removing the capital to any city in the plains—particularly to Calcutta, it arouses provincial jealousy so much. If the Viceroy can do without the ditchers, why cannot the ditchers do without having him in their midst?

Unification of Orissa

The Oriya-speaking population is at present governed by four provincial administrations, the result being that none of them can or do attend fully to their welfare. They are an ancient race, with an ancient history, literature, culture, and traditions of which they are justly proud. They should certainly be brought under one administration, so that they may be a strong, compact, and prosperous people. It is best to make a separate province of the Oriya-speaking tracts. If Assam with a population of 67 lakhs, and the Central Provinces and Berar with a population of 139 lakhs can be separate provinces, why may not the British-ruled Oriyas numbering 103 lakhs ask for a separate administration? Particularly when the fact is noted that if the Oriya tracts under

Indian rule be included, the population rises to 152 lakhs. If all the Oriya tracts be not formed into a separate province, they should certainly be brought under one administration. The Oriyas themselves should decide what province they would like to be included in. Our information is that in language, religion and culture they have greater affinity to Bengal than to any other tract. But we do not lay stress on this point, for fear of rousing the jealousy of the Biharis, and, it may be, of others, too.

The Status of Bihar & Orissa

Is there more chance of political or any other kind of salvation in being governed by a ruler getting Rs 128000 and councillors getting Rs 64000 per annum than in being ruled by a governor getting Rs 100000 and councillors getting Rs 60000 per annum? We do not think any kind of salvation lies that way.

No doubt, the provinces having the more expensive variety of rulers would generally have them imported direct from England, and the other provinces would generally have sun-dried bureaucrats to govern them. And theoretically, the men coming direct from the United Kingdom are believed to have a wider and more catholic mental outlook. But as a matter of actual history, there has not been much appreciable progress or retrogression in the provinces under the one or the other species of rulers. A Sydenham came from "home" direct, and a Cotton and an Earle became sun-dried here. So it is best not to think of spending more money on the salaries of a set of men already too lavishly paid. Some of the States of the United States of America are as big as, if not bigger than, the provinces of India, and America is a very wealthy country. And yet there is only one State of which the Governor gets 12,000 dollars per annum, equivalent to less than Rs 40000 per annum, the others all getting less. The Governor-General of the Philippines gets 20,000 dollars or about Rs 60,000 per annum. The Governor-General of Korea gets Rs. 30,000 including allowance.

India in the Progress of Science.

That India has been making some contributions to the world's knowledge of science is undoubted. But we should not be misled by the glamour of the name made by the very few notable Indian scientific workers into thinking that India's modern achievement in science is, considering that she contains one-fifth of the human race, not microscopic. We are reminded of her comparative barrenness in science when we find that in the section named "Recent Advances in Science," contained in the January issue of *Science Progress*, a quarterly review of scientific thought, work and affairs, edited by Sir Ronald Ross and published by John Murray, there is not mentioned any single research made by any Indian in any branch of science. Of course, this does not mean that during the last quarter of 1919 or during the whole of that year no Indian has done any original scientific work. But it does mean that no work of sufficient outstanding merit to attract the attention of the scientific world, has been done or reported during the quarter or the year. The branches of science in which advances have been noted in *Science Progress* are, pure mathematics, astronomy, physical chemistry, organic chemistry, geology, mineralogy and crystallography, botany, plant physiology, palaeobotany (1918), zoology, and anthropology.

Emigration to Fiji and British Guiana

While we should not oppose anybody really freely emigrating to any part of the globe, we are entirely opposed to any encouragement or assistance being given to any project or organisation for bringing about the emigration of Indian labourers to Fiji or British Guiana. India requires all the labour, she has and can get, for her growing industries. There is really no surplus labour here. A few portions of the country are congested, but as a whole India is not overpopulated, but rather underpopulated. If there is to be assisted emigration, it should be from the overpopulated to the underpopulated tracts.

Wherever there have been indentured

Indian coolies, they have been looked upon and treated as slaves or human cattle. Even free labourers going to those places now cannot but be looked upon and treated as sub-human, at least for a decade or so. When Indians win political self-mastery and are able to send abroad educated and sturdy men, then alone can the badge of degradation be removed from their countrymen's brows in those countries. Till then no Indians of the labouring class should go to any place where India's name has been degraded. In Fiji, the moral atmosphere in the coolie lines is abominable. There should be no emigration to that colony for the present. Let unmarried young Indians from there come to their ancestral provinces, districts or villages, get properly married according to the religious rites of their community, and then if they like they can go back to Fiji to lead pure lives as free householders.

Indians in East and South Africa.

Mr C F Andrews, who is, day after day, increasing his claims to India's gratitude, by his self-sacrificing and strenuous labours, has been, by his cables and his letters to the press—particularly to the *Bombay Chronicle*, keeping the East and South African Indian problems before the public. Unscrupulous greed, and racial arrogance and race hatred, are at the root of all the mischief.

As in everything else, so in this matter, real and lasting redress will be won only when we have risen in the scale of humanity as a whole people, including the submerged classes, spiritually, morally, intellectually, physically and politically, so that foreigners may feel that the world cannot do without India's friendship, good will and free co-operation.

Society for Promotion of National Education.

The Report of the Society for the Promotion of National Education for the year 1919 is a very interesting and nicely illustrated publication. It tells of much excellent work done in many directions. All who are

interested in education should procure a copy from the Secretary at Adyar, Madras, and read it. The introduction tells us

The chief purposes of the Society for the Promotion of National Education are two—to discover through practical experiment in selected schools the principles of a strong system of truly Indian education together with the best method of their application, to assist the spread of this education from those schools throughout the country. This enterprise implies a thorough dissatisfaction—which the society has in common with the whole country—with the existing system. But the Society's programme is essentially constructive—it is an experimental body, basing its experiments upon true Indian life and ideals while keeping in view methods (as distinct from *materials*) found satisfactory in the most progressive of countries.

After the introductory page there is a section devoted to showing how there has been consistent official failure in dealing with the educational problem in India. This is followed by an account of the work of the schools and colleges in 1919, including special development, illustrative examples, physical life, emotional life, intellectual life and the religious atmosphere. Then comes an account of the whole Society in 1919, the items being, first manual arts exhibition, university lectures, second national education week, personal, examinations, schools and colleges, and publications. Then there is a forecast of what is intended to be done in 1920. There are 19 useful appendices. The nearly fifty illustrations are not mere decorations. They have an educative value and are quite informing and interesting.

"The Centre of Indian Culture."

This is the name under which the Society for the Promotion of National Education (Adyar, Madras) has published Rabindranath Tagore's address on national education, which he delivered in several places in India. It is printed on good paper in clear and bold type. Mr Nandalal Bose's vignettes in it are very suggestive.

The address is a masterpiece both in diction as well as in range and depth of thought and thorough grasp of the subject. In many passages there is a rare combination of poetic imagery, quiet humour and sarcasm, and wisdom.

The question discussed in the paper is,

what should be the ideal of education in India. In the first section the poet-thinker briefly gives the following answer —

On each race is the duty laid, to keep alight its own lamp of mind, as its part in the illumination of the world. To break the lamp of any people, is to deprive it of its rightful place in the world festival. He who has no light is unfortunate enough, but utterly miserable is he who, having it, has been deprived of it, or has forgotten all about it.

India has proved that it has its own mind, which has deeply thought and felt and tried to solve according to its light the problems of its light, the problems of existence. The education of India is to enable this *mind* of India to find out truth, to make this truth its own wherever found and to give expression to it in such a manner as only it can do.

In order to carry this out, first of all the mind of India has to be concentrated and made conscious of itself and then only can it accept education from its teachers in a right spirit, judge it by its own standard and make use of it by its own creative power. The fingers must be joined together to take, as well as to give. So when we can bring the scattered minds of India into co-ordinated activity, they will then become receptive as well as creative—and the waters of life will cease to slip through the gaps, to make sodden the ground beneath.

The next point is that, in education, the most important factor must be the inspiring atmosphere of creative activity. And therefore the primary function of our University should be the constructive work of knowledge. Men should be brought together and full scope given to them for their work of intellectual exploration and creation, and the teaching should be like the overflow water of this spring of culture, spontaneous and inevitable. Education can only become natural and wholesome when it is the direct fruit of a living and growing knowledge.

The last point is that our education should be in full touch with our complete life, economical, intellectual, æsthetic, social and spiritual, and our educational institutions should be in the very heart of our society, connected with it by the living bonds of varied co-operations. For true education is to realise at every step how our training and knowledge have organic connection with our surroundings.

We shall have occasion to revert to the contents of the address hereafter. But our readers should not be satisfied with mere extracts but read the whole of it from the first line to the last. It is for sale at Adyar, Madras, at the price of Re 1 per copy.

Society for the Improvement of the Backward Classes, Bengal and Assam.

The ninth annual report of the Society for the Improvement of the Backward Classes, Bengal and Assam, is a very encouraging account of what is being done for the education of these classes

The total number of schools of all classes in 1918 increased by 128, the total figure for the year previous being 103. During the few months of the current year (1919) 100 schools have been added, a result which is considered to be very encouraging

The total number of pupils attending these schools in 1918 was 8120, of whom 6667 were boys and 1453 girls. Of the latter, 328 girls were in 35 mixed schools, and 1125 girls in 50 girls' schools. The average number of pupils on the rolls in a school was 36.8 boys and 22.5 girls, and the average daily attendance was 27.5 or 74.6 per cent in the case of boys, and about 78 per cent in the case of girls.

A very perceptible though indirect result of the activities of the Society, is the growth of a keen desire for education amongst the backward classes, which for want of funds the Society has not been able to meet to the fullest extent. It is often observed that after a school is started by the Society the local people follow it up by starting others in the neighbourhood and then come to the Society for help. Thus after starting 55 schools in Brahmanbaria in October last, the Society got information of about 52 new schools having been started in the locality by the people within a period of about 4 months.

We are told there has been a remarkable rise in the number of girl students.

The figure nearly doubled in 1917 as compared with that of 1916, whereas in 1918 it was more than three times of what it was in 1917. In 1917 the ratio of girls attending schools to the total number of female population of school-going age amongst these classes was 13.7 as compared with 12.4 in the previous year and rising up to 18.9 in 1918, the number of girls being more than a 5th of the total number of pupils (both male and female) attending these schools. The number of girls' schools has also increased beyond expectation. Whereas the increase was only 4 in 1917 as compared with the figure of 1916, in 1918 the total number of girls' schools rose to 50, being 35 more than what it was in 1917.

Sixty different castes are represented in the Society's schools. Recently a school for the *methar* or sweeper caste has been opened at Dhubri, the municipality having voted Rs. 350 for it.

The remarkable expansion of the Society's work in the year under report is evident from

the fact that in 1918-19 its income was Rs. 13645, whereas in the previous nine years combined the total income was Rs. 13631. A very hopeful and encouraging fact is the spirit of self-help of the villagers.

The District Boards and the Municipalities helped the schools during the period with Rs. 3903-12 and the villagers themselves contributed Rs. 15626-4 in the shape of fees, donations, etc., paid either in cash or kind. The comparative statement given below shows the monthly cost per school and per pupil from the different sources,—

| | 1917 | | 1918-19 | |
|------------------|------------|-----------|------------|-------------|
| | Per School | Per pupil | Per School | Per pupil |
| Society | 2 1 0 | 6 2 pies | 2 1 0 | 0 0 11 pies |
| District Board | | | | |
| and Municipality | 1 14 9 | 10 " | 1 2 0 | 0 0 6 " |
| People | 5 13 3 | 0 2 6 | 4 8 0 | 0 2 0 " |
| TOTAL | 9 13 0 | 0 3 10 2 | 7 11 0 | 0 3 5 |

We support the following observations in the Report —

It should be observed here that in view of the poverty of the people and their traditional simple habits of life the paraphernalia of a school, viz., furniture and in many cases separate school-houses, may be dispensed with in primary schools. They operate as great drawbacks to the spread of education in this country, especially amongst the poorer and backward classes of the people. It will not be out of place to mention here the instance of Satyabadi English High School at Sakshigopal, 12 miles from Puri. It is an open-air school in a large grove of one-fourth square mile kept scrupulously clean, with shady trees, such as Bakul, Surapunnaga and Banian, all round. The classes are held under different clusters of trees. The students sit on small country mats and the teacher on a raised masonry seat having the appearance of a chair. During the rains the school is held in an adjacent building constructed to meet the requirements of the university for the purpose of getting affiliation. The school has over 300 pupils on the rolls and gives very efficient teaching and shows striking results at the matriculation examination.

We are pleased to read the following —

It is a noteworthy fact that education even of a very elementary character gives great advantage to a person engaged in any vocation. Its truth demonstrated by the greater efficiency and success of those Muchies who have got some sort of general education. It may also be observed here that there is no ground for the apprehension in the minds of some men that the members of the poorer and backward communities will abandon their traditional callings on receiving a smattering of education.

The experience of the Society does not lend any support to these apprehensions

Welcome to Panjab Leaders.

The unprecedented welcome given in Calcutta to some Musalman and Panjab leaders show that though the administrative machine can deprive men of life, liberty and property, it cannot at will make men suffer in popular esteem. On the contrary, when the people are convinced that men have been unjustly and unnecessarily persecuted and punished, the love and respect felt for them are increased beyond measure.

When there is a wide gulf between the popular estimate and the official estimate of a kind of men, the tendency in the minds of the bureaucracy is to rely more and more on physical force for safety and maintenance of power. This is undesirable.

The persons whose influence over and popularity with the people have risen so remarkably, will be a great power for good to the country, if they can use that influence and popularity as a gift of God for the service of humanity. For, generally, where they will lead, people will follow.

Released Detenus and Political Prisoners.

The detenus and political prisoners who have now been released, were deprived of liberty because Government thought that either they had the will and the power for mischief or that they had actually done harm. In many cases, the people thought otherwise. Without attempting to adjudicate between these diverging opinions, it may be said that these persons possess ardour and powers which, well-applied, may conduce to the welfare of society. It may be assumed that they have the desire to do good. They are inured to hardship and have become chastened by suffering. The problem is to provide them with opportunities for doing good. Many of them have the initiative and the strength of mind to make opportunities.

Welcome to Mr. Lajpat Rai.

On his return from America after an absence of many years, Mr Lajpat Rai has received a warm welcome from his countrymen. He used every opportunity while abroad to spread a knowledge of the true facts relating to India and thus rendered unequalled service, in this direction, to India. What is

remarkable is that in spite of the persistent persecution to which he has been subjected for years, he has not lost his political balance of mind, he has not become a revolutionary. In fact, his bent of mind is more in the direction of social and economic reconstruction than in that of mere political agitation.

It is to be hoped that he will be allowed to do his work without harassment.

Calcutta Public Meeting to Consider Government Resolution on Sadler Commission's Report

The resolutions passed at the important Calcutta public meeting held under the presidency of Sir P C Ray, to consider the Government Resolution on the Sadler Commission's Report, and Sir P C Ray's presidential address, reflect the educated public opinion of Bengal. The address and the resolutions rightly urged that there should be no hurry, and that as Bengal will have to find the money for educational reconstruction in the province, education being a transferred subject, the legislation to be undertaken should be introduced in the reconstituted and enlarged Bengal legislative council.

We have no heart to write more on a matter like this. For, when the practically despotic Government of India once sets its heart upon any measure, it does not listen to public. And it always goes against our grain to adopt the attitude of begging.

The Khilapat Conference Workers.

The first batch of delegates of the Khilapat Conference are already in London. We wish them all success.

As the Germans in spite of their defeat are to remain supreme in the areas where they are in a majority, so the Turks also should remain supreme in areas where the Moslems of the Ottoman Empire are in a majority. As the principle of self-determination has been held to be applicable in European Christian countries, it should apply also in European and Asiatic Moslem countries. The offence of the Turk is alleged to be his cruelty. Political partisanship and prejudice added to religious rancour make men such liars that it is difficult to ascertain how much of the allegations against the Turks is true. But supposing they are wholly true, within the last few years Belgium, Germany, Greece, and the Balkan States have

been accused of the same kind of atrocities Why then should Turkey alone suffer ?

Compulsory Education for Boys and Girls.

As compulsory education is going to be introduced in Poona, it is being hotly debated there whether compulsion should apply simultaneously to both boys and girls, or to boys first and girls afterwards Mr Tilak's party is for applying compulsion to boys first It is said that there would not be sufficient funds available to provide adequate school accommodation for all boys and girls of primary school age The party in favour of compulsory education of girls, too, have shown that the same school buildings and staffs may suffice for both boys and girls, if education be given them in the forenoons and afternoons respectively

The contrivance by which one school is made to do duty for two is known as the Gary plan in America, and there is no reason why it should not succeed in India If there be insuperable difficulties in the way of its adoption here, then instead of shutting out the whole female sex from the benefits of compulsion, both boys and girls of the backward or depressed classes alone may be compelled to attend school, as has been suggested by some Brahmin ladies of Poona This is a good suggestion If this suggestion be not accepted, there is a third, namely, that if there be not sufficient money for both boys and girls, the girls alone should first have the benefit of free and compulsory education The education of girls has been hitherto so much neglected everywhere that it would not be at all unfair to give them the preference for a while

It has been argued that the education of boys is an economic necessity and of economic importance, whereas that of girls is necessary more from the cultural than from the economic standpoint It is true, no doubt, that a greater proportion of men than of women are bread-winners But in this argument one fact is lost sight of Male infants must first survive the perils of infancy before they can begin to be trained for bread-winning We must reduce infant mortality in order to have more workers We must have healthy homes, villages and towns in order to have more

workers and more healthy workers But, though other steps may and should be taken, infant mortality cannot be reduced, nor healthy homes and surroundings secured, without giving education to women Moreover, the good education of the boys themselves depends on the education of their mothers and sisters And it should also be noted that the good effect of the education of boys is frequently nullified or impaired by the ignorance and superstition of their grandmothers, mothers and sisters So, the education of girls is of economic as well as cultural value

The women of Poona have set a noble and courageous example by marching in procession 2000 strong to the Municipal Office carrying banners and singing songs, to demand universal education for girls One motto was particularly striking and opposite It said that the putting off of girl's education by three years would mean putting off of Home Rule for thirty years Brahmin women and "untouchable" women walked hand in hand in the procession A righteous cause is a great leveller

Proposed Reforms in the Nizam's Dominions.

His Exalted Highness the Nizam has recently established an Executive Council. He has now taken the important step of issuing a progressive *Firman Mobarik* which says, in part,

The next important move in the direction of Reforms I have in contemplation, is a thorough and complete investigation of the conditions most favourable to the enlargement of the Legislative Council and the expansion of its usefulness as an integral part of the Government machinery I, therefore, direct the Sadar-i-Azam, Sir Ali Imam, to take immediate steps to collect all necessary materials on which a liberal scheme for the attainment of the above-mentioned objects may be based It is my desire that, with due regard to the social and educational advance made by my people, particular attention should be paid to the following points in conducting the investigation (a) Substantial introduction of the Elective Element, (b) Direct Voting, (c) Representation of all important Classes and Interests, (d) Effective protection of Minorities, (e) Conditions of Franchise, (f) The Official Element, (g) Powers and Functions

We await developments with expectancy.



SAVARI S EXPECTANCY IN YOUTH

By Mr Nandalal Bose

By the courtesy of Mrs M'ra Sen



SAVARI'S EXPECTANCY IN MIDDLE AGE

By Mr Nandalal Bose

By the courtesy of Miss Kamala Sarkar



SAVARI'S EXPECTANCY IN OLD AGE

By Mr Nandalal Bose

By the courtesy of Miss Arundhati Sarkar

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KARNA AND KUNTI

[Karna, the commander of the Kaurava host, and Kunti, the Pandava Queen Mother, who had borne Karna, when a maiden, and to hide her shame had deserted him after birth to be brought up by Adhiratha, the charioteer, as his son]

KARNA

I have sat to worship the setting sun by the bank of the holy Ganges I am Karna, the son of the charioteer Adhiratha Tell me who you are

KUNTI

I am the woman who first made you acquainted with the light to which you offer worship

KARNA

I do not understand your words, but the rays from your eyes seem to melt my heart within me like the kiss of the morning sun that melts the snow on the mountain top Your voice strikes in me the sadness of a blind past that cannot see itself Tell me, strange woman, with what mysterious bond my birth is bound to you

KUNTI

Patience, my son I shall answer you when it grows dark, and the lids come down upon the prying eyes of the day In the meanwhile know you, I am Kunti

KARNA

Kunti, the mother of Arjuna?

KUNTI

Yes, indeed the mother of Arjuna, your rival But do not take that into your heart and hate me I still remember the

day of the trial of arms in Hastina when you a boy unknown to fame boldly stepped into the arena, like the first-born light of the dawn among the stars of the night But, sitting behind the arras with the women of the royal house, who was that unhappy woman whose eyes kissed your bare slim body through their tears of blessing? It was the mother of Arjuna herself Then the Brahmin teacher of arms came to you and said, 'He who is of lowly rank cannot challenge Arjuna to a trial of strength' And you stood speechless, like a thunder-cloud of the sunset flashing with the agony of its suppressed light But who was the woman whose heart caught the fire of your shame and anger, and burnt into a flaming silence? It was the mother of Arjuna Praised be Duryodhana, who found out your worth and then and there crowned you the King of Anga, thus gaining you for ever as the champion on the side of the Kauravas Overcome with this good news there broke in through the crowd Adhiratha, the charioteer, and at once you rushed to him and placed your crown at his feet amid the jeering laughter of the Pandavas and their friends But there was one woman of the Pandava house whose heart glowed with joy at the sight of this heroic pride of meekness It was the mother of Arjuna

KARNA

But why came you alone here, Mother of Kings?

KUNTI

I have a prayer to you, my son

KARNA,

Command me, and whatever my man-

hood and my honour as a Kshatriya permit shall be offered at your feet

KUNTI.

I have come to take you

KARNA

Where?

KUNTI

To my mother's breast thirsting with love

KARNA

Fortunate mother of five brave sons, where can you find place for me, a small chieftain of lowly descent

KUNTI

Your place is before all my other sons.

KARNA

But what right have I to step there?

KUNTI

Your own God-given right to the mother's love

KARNA

The evening darkness is spreading over the earth and silence is on the water and your voice seems to lead me into some primal world of infancy lit with the light of dim consciousness. However, be it a dream, or some fragment of forgotten reality, come near to me and place your right hand on my forehead. The rumour is that I was deserted by my mother. In many a night's dream she has come to me. When I asked her—'Open your veil and show me your face,' the figure has always vanished. Has the same dream come to me this evening? See there, the lamps are lighted in your sons' tents across the river and on the hither side you can see the tent-domes of the Kauravas like suspended waves in a spellbound stormy sea. Between the din of tomorrow's battle and the awful hush of the battlefield this night, why does there come to me a message of forgotten motherhood through the voice of the mother of Arjuna and why does my name find such music on her tongue drawing my heart towards the Pandava brothers?

KUNTI

Then delay not, my son, come with me

KARNA

Yes, I shall come and never ask questions and never doubt. My soul responds to your call, and the struggle for victory and fame and the rage of hatred have suddenly become untrue to me like the delirious night in the serene light of the morning. Tell me where to come with you

KUNTI

To the other bank of the river where those lamps burn across the ghastly pallor of the sands

KARNA

There, am I to find my lost mother for ever?

KUNTI

Oh my son!

KARNA

Then why did you banish me in a castaway world uprooted from its ancestral soil, adrift in a homeless current of indignity? Why set a bottomless chasm between Arjuna and myself turning a natural attachment of kinship into a fearful attraction of hate? You remain speechless there. Your shame penetrates into the infinite darkness of night touching my limbs with its invisible shiver—I take back my question. Never explain to me what made you rob your own son of his mother's love. Only tell me why you have come today to call me back to the ruins of that heaven which you wrecked with your own hands

KUNTI.

A curse more deadly than your reproaches ever follows me, and though surrounded by five sons my heart still withers under the sorrow of the childless. The great rent left in my love by my deprived son draws all my life's pleasure into a void. Today I meet you face to face. On that accursed day of my treason against my motherhood you had not a word to utter. And today I implore you let your words bring forgiveness to your

recreant mother,—let that forgiveness ever
burn like a fire in my heart, consuming my
sin

KARNA

Mother, accept my tears

KUNTI

I never came with the hope of bringing
you back to my arms, but to restore you
to your own rights. Come to receive, as
a king's son, your own dues among your
brothers

KARNA

More truly am I the son of a charioteer
and I do not covet a greater glory of
parentage

KUNTI

Whatever that may be, come to win
back the kingdom which by right is
yours

KARNA

Must you tempt me with a kingdom
who can refuse a mother's love? The
living bond of kindred which you severed
at its origin is dead,—it can never grow

again. And shame be on me if I hasten
to call the mother of kings my mother
and leave my mother of the charioteer's
house!

KUNTI

You are great, my son! How God's
punishment invisibly grows from a tiny
seed to a giant life—and the helpless babe
disowned by his mother comes back a
man through a dark maze of paths to
smite his own brothers

KARNA

Mother, do not fear! I know for
certain that victory waits for the Pandavas.
In the peace of the still moment of night
there sounds the music in my heart of a
hopeless venture, of a baffled end. Never
ask me to leave those who are under the
doom of defeat. Let the Pandavas win
their throne as they shall, but I will remain
to the end with the desperate and the
forlorn. On the night of my birth you
left me to disgrace in the naked world of
the nameless—leave me once again without
pity to the calm expectation of defeat and
death

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., PH.D.,

LECTURER IN POLITICAL SCIENCE, STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA, U.S.A.

EARLY in the beginning of the European
war, the editor of the *Hibbert Journal*,
Professor L. P. Jacks of Manchester
College, Oxford, wrote "The nations at war
are finding their souls." Both in America
and England, this grandiloquent pronounce-
ment of Mr Jacks has been the text for in-
numerable glowing editorials and wildly
optimistic pulpit sermons on the part of the
master phraseocrats. Now as the war has
come to an end, at least on paper, it is part-
ment to ask a few straight forward questions.
Have the nations which made the Paris peace
found their souls? Have they abolished
militarism and navyism? Are they establishing

"justice on equal terms for all nations great
and small?" Have they insured freedom to
all the world as they pledged? Have the
victors of the war started to apply the
principle of self-determination to their own
protectorates and dependencies? Has anybody
ever heard the conquering allies maintain
that they had made the world safe for demo-
cracy? Is it true that the long black dreary
night of the political tyrant and economic
exploiter is over? Is the world really at the
dawn of a better age, at the threshold of a
new order? To these questions, what must be
the answer?

The impassioned apologists and the ardent

apostles of imperialism, who draw their inspiration from the Covenant of the League of Nations, answer all these questions in the most emphatic affirmative. They say that the Paris peace has opened the shortest way to establishing a paradise on earth. They assure us furthermore, honor bright, that henceforth there will be nothing but "international co-operation," "international peace and security," "obligations not to resort to war," and "just and honorable relations between

this is, however, a sharp reminder of the days of dogmatic intolerance, of the Spanish inquisition, when people were fried crisp on red-hot iron mattresses, or of the New England witchcraft, when men's tongues were nailed on the tree, and the folks were tarred and feathered and burnt alive at the stake, because forsooth they dared to think for themselves.

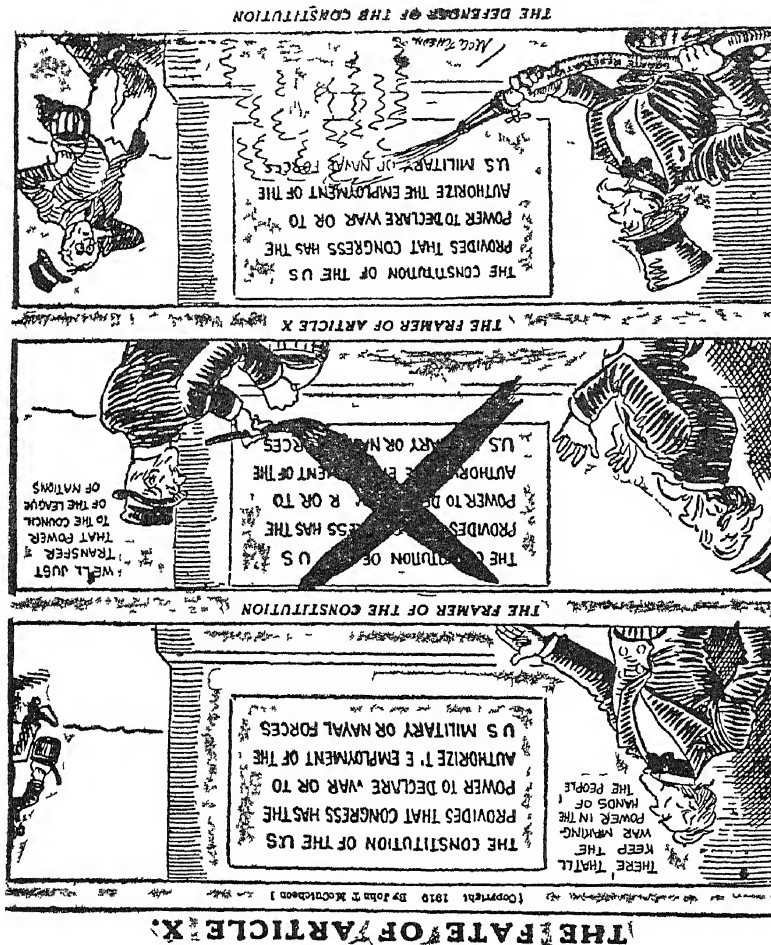
Regardless of the anathemas which may be heaped upon his head, the present chronicler wishes to indicate what

appears to him to be six fundamental reasons which render the League, in its present form, unsatisfactory and unacceptable.

First The Covenant of the League is open to objection because it was not drawn in good faith. The very name, League of Nations, is a deceptive misnomer. The popular thought is that a league of nations connotes a league of all the nations of the world, but the League as provided for in the Paris document consists of a number of hand-picked nations, who are not even treated as equals. Had the framers of the League constitution sincerely meant to have a real, an honest-to-goodness Covenant, they would have invited the representatives of all nations to participate in its formulation without discrimination. As it was, only the victors participated. At first there were one-hundred and eleven delegates at the Peace Conference representing fourteen nations, later they dwindled to ten, still

later to five, and finally to only three reactionary chiefs of state who undertook to legislate behind the *purdah*, for the whole world! Such was the much-heralded "peace of peoples" that ended the "war of peoples."

The Covenant is said to be a triumph of the brotherhood of mankind, but is it? Under the League of Nations, as more than one American statesman has pointed out, racial distinctions will be observed as a "cardinal feature." At present Orientals are not

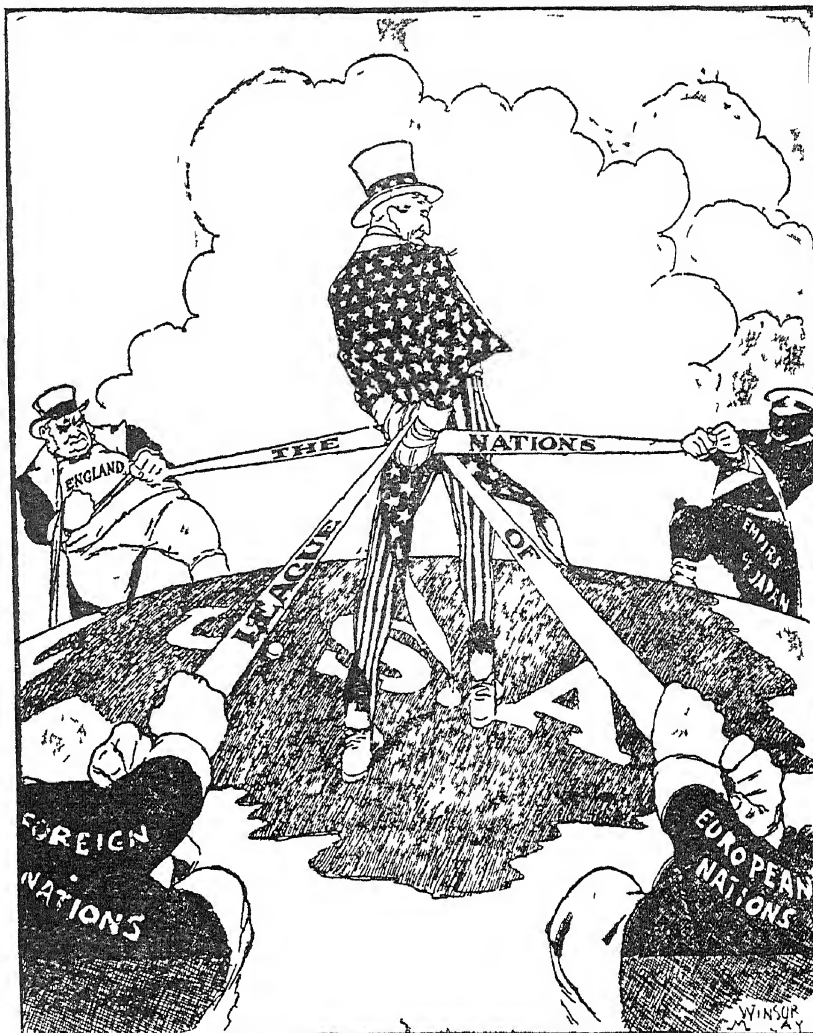


nations." The proponents of the League are over-jubilant. They are burning incense to the Covenant. They are shouting hallelujahs, and consigning their opponents to the burning pit "where there will be weeping and gnashing of teeth." Indeed, one amiable English clergyman has delicately suggested, in his thoughtful way of dealing with world problems, that those who questioned the League should be boiled in oil. It is very nice of the Christian divine to say that, I am sure. All

allowed to set their foot in many Western countries. From the English colonies as well as from the United States, the common people of Asia are excluded by law. And those few who are admitted at all, have to submit to many galling restrictions, especially in regard to the ownership of land, and sometimes, even in pursuit of their occupations. Is this discrimination in accordance with justice and humanity? Can such a policy of discrimination, which is sanctioned by the Covenant, be productive of good will among the races of the earth? Under these circumstances, there is no escape from the conclusion that the democratic professions of equality and humanity of the League are a part of a diplomatic fiction, a subtle verbal device, a hypocritical propaganda intended for the consumption of the gullible.

Second The last European war was fought, so it was alleged, to wipe out autocracy, to blot out imperialism. Now, the constitution of the League itself is imperialistic to the very core, autocratic in the last degree. How is this possible?—you ask. A careful examination of the machinery of the League will soon disclose that so far as actual control is concerned there is no question of equality among members, and that in that sense, if in no other, the League is undemocratic. The larger nations, say four or five of them, will be established permanently in control, and it is they who will dominate the Executive Council, the real governing body of the League.

"There are absolutely no principles, rules and regulations laid down in the covenant," remarked Senator Knox upon the floor of the United States Senate, "by which this world-governing body is to be guided. It makes its own principles, rules, and regulations, it hales before it every power, whether league member or not, when it believes it has violated any such principle, rule, or regulation, it sits as a court to determine whether any violation has actually occurred, it passes



Tying His Hands

judgment upon a violation when found, and it determines the means which shall be used in enforcing its judgment or recommendations, the league being bound to furnish the means so determined upon.

"I am not unmindful of the fact that by the 'covenant preamble' international co operation and international peace and security are to be promoted, inter alia, 'by the firm establishment of the understanding' of international law as to actual rule of conduct among governments." But this provision merely accentuates the difficulty, for there is no universally recognized body of international law and no provision is made in the instrument for even an attempt to secure one. Indeed there are many great and fundamental differences of opinion as to what is the rule or principle of international law on many grave questions, and even the customs of nations, not generally regarded as having yet ripened into international law, are greatly at variance. Thus the executive council in reality stands in a position to make its own law, rules, and regulations. To sum up, the executive council is legislative, judicial, and in a large part, executive, all in one.

body clothed with powers such as this is an anachronism. It belongs not to the enlightened age of the twentieth century but to the days of Medes and Persians. A union more abhorrent to our traditions, to our free institutions, to the trend of all civilized government, could not be devised."

Such is one astounding phase of the League of Nations, which was widely advertised as a savior of the world, a great tribunal of equality and democracy. What a travesty!

Third International law, from its twilight beginning, has recognized the right of neutrality. Now the League, in flat contravention of this fundamental international principle, proposes to put an end to the right of small countries to remain neutral. They will be forced to commit acts of war against a powerful neighbor in the interest of the League.

"To them," writes Mr. David Jayne Hill, one of the foremost authorities upon international law now living, "this necessarily seems like impressment into a service which they would esteem it dangerous to undertake, and a forerunner of what their fate might be, if by compliance they exposed themselves to the enmity of a neighbor powerful enough to injure them vitally, or if on the other hand by refusal they incurred the penalties which the League might inflict upon them."

Fourth President Wilson laid down in his *Fourteen Points* that we should have "open covenants of peace openly arrived at." But instead of an open conference, a secret conclave. Despite Mr. Wilson's assertion, we have, in the place of open covenants, secret covenants secretly arrived at. The recent disclosures have brought to light that as late as February and March of 1917, England and France made underground, secret compacts with Russia, Italy, and Japan. At the very crucial moment when pressure was being brought to bear upon China to declare war on Germany—not so much for the good of China as for the benefit of the Allied powers—China's rights and interests were secretly bargained away, without the slightest knowledge on the part of the Chinese people, to their best hated, and most subtle, irresistible and implacable enemy—Japan.

The concessions which the island kingdom had wrung from China by the Paris peace are worth a moment's consideration, for, the circumstances surrounding the award throw a startling light upon the characters of the responsible authors of the Covenant. By these concessions Japan is authorized to establish a virtual protectorate in the province of Shantung—which is inhabited by forty

million Chinese, Shantung which is full of untold natural resources, and which are now to be exploited to the fullest economic advantage of Japan. Those who hold a brief for the Shantung outrage maintain that it is as it should be, and that the Japanese have a perfect right to the Chinese property which they have secured from Germany by force of arms. Is not that a masterpiece of the sophist's art?

"Japan," said Mr. Ng Poon Chew, the well known Chinese publicist in America, "tries to justify her demand for the control of Shantung by saying that she did not take anything from China but only from Germany, that China did not lose anything by it and that the taking of this control from Germany cost Japan much in lives and money. In this reasoning, what is the difference in Japan's action in this matter from the case of a policeman taking the loot from a burglar and keeping it instead of returning it to its rightful owner on the grounds that he, the policeman, did not rob the former owner but only got it from a burglar and therefore he is entitled to the loot?"

What a pity that while professing high-sounding idealism, the Allies should make a mock of self-determination.

The reader should remember in this connection that Germany forced helpless China to lease Shantung for ninety-nine years on the pretext that two German Catholic priests were killed by a Chinese mob. And in the agreement which Germany engineered with China, it was expressly and unconditionally stipulated that "Germany obligates itself never to give any kind of leasehold right to any other power." In accordance with this Chinese-German treaty of 1898 the kaiser's government, let it be clearly understood, had absolutely no "sovereignty" over Shantung, but only leased rights—rights which the Hohenzollern authorities unequivocally bound themselves neither to sublet nor to alienate. How can then the Peace Conference make the present Ebert government of Germany renounce in favor of Japan a right which it never had? Can anybody tell what President Wilson means when he says that Japan will "return the sovereignty without qualification to China"?

Moreover, when China declared war against Germany in August, 1917, all treaties between the two countries were legally rendered null and void, and every concession made to Germany in Shantung reverted to the Republic of China naturally and automatically. As the state of war abrogated all existing compacts between the two warring nations, so the Paris Peace Conference had not a jot or

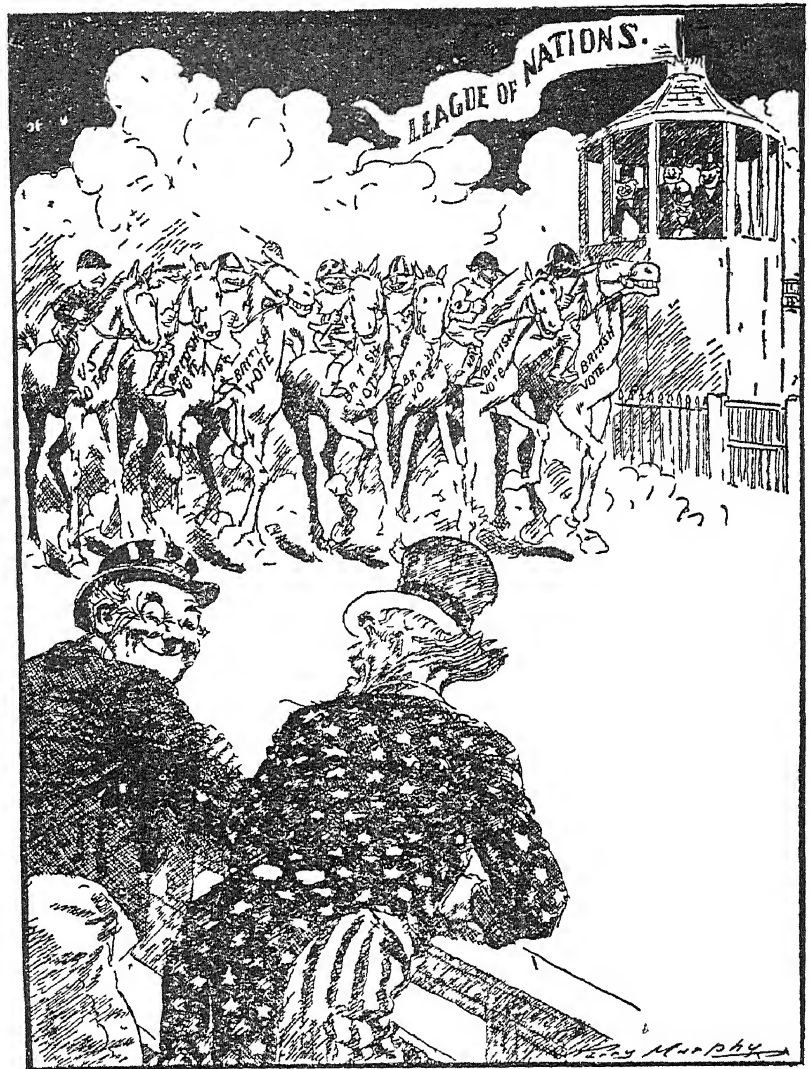
tittle of right to hand over Shantung to Japan. In truth, by no possible standard of honesty can it be claimed for a minute that Nippon has any more right in Shantung than has Germany in Alsace-Loiraine

The Japanese government is now promising that Shantung will be restored to the original owner in due course. One would like to ask, however, this question: How is Japan preparing to return Shantung to China?

"She is doing it by intrenching herself, not alone in the German concession," answers *The Christian Science Monitor* of Boston editorially, "but everywhere throughout the peninsula, by securing control of vital railways and mineral rights, by pouring Japanese immigrants into the country, by carrying on a campaign of dispossession which has never been paralleled, not even by the Germans in Poland or the Hungarians in Transylvania. Lands, stores, garden plots, fisheries, salt works, business of all sorts, everywhere, have suddenly become Japanese. This has not been done by the crude method of deprivation. The means adopted are 'perfectly legal.' A new regulation is introduced. A license is required to carry on business. The cost of license is fixed at quite unbearable sum, and, in the event of nonpayment, the property is seized at a nominal figure. Chinese peasants, who for ages immemorial have made their living from coastal fisheries, have been charged two hundred dollars [600 rupees] for these licenses, of course putting them out of business, their places on the fishing grounds being at once usurped by Japanese squatters."

Thus, once again, the Allies have made the world safe for righteousness—thanks to the League of Nations, "the spokesman of the moral and religious interests of mankind!"

Somehow or other the people everywhere were deliberately led to believe that all secret conventions would be abandoned after the war, but it seems beyond and above all else that the people have been deceived in cold-blood by a few empire-mongers and their friends or satellites. The Supreme Council at Paris, in so far as it served its own selfish



A Six-to-One Shot

Under the present arrangement, the British Empire will have no less than six votes, and the United States only one vote in the League of Nations

ends, has actually sanctioned and legalized all secret "undealings." In fact they have, with one or two exceptions, become a part of the organic law of the League. One is therefore driven to opposing the League because it ratifies and sanctifies almost every secret treaty entered into between the Allies prior and during the war, no matter how iniquitous, how unholy such a treaty may be.

Fifth "The war of the nations," we were told with oracular finality, was a war to end war for all times. Unlike the professional diplomatists and politicians, I do not pretend to plumb the depths of the future. Looking

at the matter in the light of the past, I can only say that the whole annals of mankind fail to reveal a single decade of perpetual peace. Let us take as a specimen only one country, Europe, which is held up in season and out of season as a model to be admired and imitated. History shows that European civil war has been a normal state of affairs.

"During the Christian era," says a distinguished American publicist, "there have been 451 major wars, or one in every four and one-quarter years. An examination of history discloses the following facts, England and France, the most liberal and enlightened nations of Europe, have spent at war during the last 800 years, 419 years and 373 years respectively. England in the twelfth century fought fifty-four per cent of her time, while in the nineteenth century she fought fifty-three and a half per cent of it. Here we have an approach to perpetual peace of one-half of one per cent in 800 years. France in the twelfth century fought thirty-six and half per cent of her time and in the nineteenth century thirty-five per cent. If the principal nations of Europe be lumped, fifty-two per cent of their time was spent at peace and forty-eight per cent at war during the 800 years which closed with the nineteenth century."

The expenditures of these wars, only those of the nineteenth century, were eighty-four billion rupees, and four and a half millions of lives.

"The costs of less than five years of this latest war—which resulted we must admit despite the employment of every twentieth century peace agency or device known to men—has been possibly close upon three (?) millions of dollars [six billions of rupees] and nine millions of lives."

According to this record of the past, European history is a perpetual bloody prize fight, of which the Allies have won this round, but is there any reason to think from previous experience that this round will be the last?

There are nevertheless men who unctuously prate of everlasting worldwide peace. These enthusiasts should know by now that the League plan does not abolish war, or make future war impossible. No provision has been made for the abolition of national armaments. Instead of fixing a general scale of reciprocal disarmament, ample opportunity is provided for "warlike purposes" by giving each nation the right of "taking account of the geographical situation" with reference to military and naval increases. Indeed, this "instrument of peace" actually legalizes war and makes it compulsory in several cases. "The proposed covenant," remarked Honorable Philander Chas. Knox who has been a member in the cabinet of three different American Presidents, "instead of abolishing war, actually sanctions,

breeds, and commands it. Moreover, it absolutely requires that every future war shall be a potential world war, and that we shall be an active participant in every such war." No doubt about it. At this moment, thirteen months after the signing of the armistice, "the weight of armaments bids fair to rival that of the decade before the war." And is it not possible that this enormous crushing armament with which Europe is saddled will lead sooner or later to another and vaster European war?

In this connection the people of India read the last paragraph of the article sixteen of the Covenant, which says, "the members of the league agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures." What will be India's contributions under this facile arrangement? I wonder. Doubtless the outbreak of every terrible European war, every world war, will afford "glorious opportunities" for the shedding of Indian blood, destruction of Indian life, and the squandering of the free-as-water money which the people of famine-ridden India will have to provide from their misery and wretchedness.

Sixth. Perhaps the most dangerous, the most harmful, and the most vicious of all the bad articles in this sham League of Nations is the article ten, which is considered by its supporters as "the keystone of the arch of the covenant." A cursory examination will serve to show that the keystone is very insecure, and if the arch has to rest upon it, the Covenant is bound to tumble to pieces. The article in question pledges the members of the League to "respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the league." By this provision those who will join the League will write a policy of mutual insurance. They will become the sponsors, the guardians, or the bondsmen of every other nation. They will guarantee the present territorial boundaries and existing political systems of some forty different nations, including several autocratic monarchies and their accessories. According to Professor Hornbeck of Wisconsin University the total European possessions in Asia—leaving out the recent territories annexed under the very nose of the League—are

9,500,000 square miles with a population of 400,000,000. And what the members of the League are proposing to do is to underwrite the political and economic enslavement of these millions and millions of human beings, regardless of the fact that thousands and thousands of them are sleeping in France and Flanders fields today after fighting to secure liberty for all peoples.

The article ten, when read between the lines, has a particularly sinister meaning for India. It means that India may be used to pull chestnuts out of the fire for other nations. It means that Hindustan may be entangled in the wretched politics and criminal wars of Europe's governing dynasties and exploiting classes. It implies that a situation may arise where India will have to pour forth her heart's blood and her golden treasure in order to preserve the boundary line of Poland, to repel an invasion in Italy, or to subjugate Persia and Turkey. It is also under this article that Hindustan will be under "moral" as well as "legal" obligations to guarantee and maintain the despoiling of China by Japan.

Another point. The article ten prevents nations struggling to break the chains of oppression and tyranny from receiving help from outside. Pause and reflect what would have been the history of Europe and America today if there had been a League of Nations. How many of the European countries which struggled to the light through revolutions would have succeeded if they had not received external aid? Would the United States of America have been able to become an independent nation without the help of France? Could George Washington with his handful of ragged "embattled farmers" win the American War of Independence without the generous help of Rochambeau and Lafayette? Does any man in his senses suppose for an instant that the little Cuba could throw off the barbarous Spanish yoke without the armed assistance of the United States? Let God be thanked evermore that there was no pestilent, pernicious article ten to prevent America from doing for mankind what it has done in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippine Islands.

As it stands, the League of Nations is the only effective international agency which the imperialistic countries may employ in holding their rebellious subjects in check. "In the final analysis," spoke the redoubtable Robert M. La Follette in the United States Congress,

"the League of Nations is an instrument for the preservation of the status quo. Like the Holy Alliance of 1815, it is couched in the language of idealism and peace. But, like the Holy Alliance it will be used for the suppression of nationalities and for the prosecution of oppressive warfare."

"This covenant closes the door in the face of every people striving for freedom. Not one of the races now held in bondage had a voice in the making of this instrument. Not one was granted an opportunity to be heard at Paris. This covenant was so cunningly conceived that the first act of revolution will be interpreted as a 'threat of war and a disturbance of the peace of nations.' Patriots seeking external aid for their countries, as Franklin sought aid in France for the struggling American colonies, and as Kosciuszko, Kosciuszko, and many others have sought aid in the United States for the cause of human freedom, by the terms of this treaty become international outlaws. No ingenuity of interpretation of the articles of this document can remove from my mind the conviction that it destroys everywhere the right of asylum."

Needless to say, I am strongly in favor of co-operation between nations to stimulate progress and preserve honorable peace. The fact of the matter is that I have always felt, along with all forward-looking, upstanding men, that there must be some sort of a society of nations which will adjust international disputes by arbitration and save the world from the horrors of needless war. The conclusion of the five terrible years of tears and bloodshed aroused in me a hope, that there will be a new order in the world—an order based upon law and justice. That hope alas! has proved to be a soap-bubble. I still hear the pathetic cries of my oppressed fellow-men. Far-away across the seas and oceans, over the hills and mountains, I still hear the iron link of the alien chain clanking to their rags. The East asked for freedom, and the West has given her "a scrap of paper." The League of Nations will neither promote peace nor prevent war, and as to overthrowing imperialistic aggression and securing freedom throughout the world, the mere suggestion is laughable. Thanks be to the Almighty that the United States Senate, supreme among the highest deliberative assemblies of the world, has flatly rejected the League of Nations. The motive force in the action is the increasing realizing sense that the League, as stated by *The Chicago Herald and Examiner*, "is the secret control of world business and dividing up of world territory—an international intrigue woven into a peace treaty by secret diplomacy, accepted and condoned by President Wilson in Paris calling itself a league of nations, but in

reality a league of politicians, making hypocritical high professions of virtue, but doing acts of treachery, wrong, and injustice " And, behold, this is the sacrosanct League of

Nations, "the effective instrument of international conscience," especially designed "for the future happiness of the world " "

CHARACTER SKETCH OF COLONEL JOSIAH WEDGWOOD, M. P.

INDIA'S CHAMPION IN PARLIAMENT

By St NIHAL SINGH

THOUGH Colonel Josiah Wedgwood's advocacy of the Indian cause in and out of Parliament has made his name familiar to Indians yet, few of them know the life-story of their champion, and his ideas on men and matters. Not many Indians even realise that his interest in Indian affairs did not begin when he was appointed to the Mesopotamia Commission, but that, on the contrary, years before the war began, his love of liberty had made him break many a lance in defence of freedom of person, speech and movement in India. In this circumstance, I need no apology for drawing a character sketch of our friend.

A MAN AND A BROTHER

Colonel Wedgwood was born exactly 48 years ago at Biddulph, in Staffordshire, made famous by his great-great-grandfather, the master-potter of Etruria. One of the medallions made by that great artist, who combined high idealism with an uncommon genius for business, showed a heavily chained negro, in a kneeling position, supplicating,

"Am I not a man and a brother?"

The noble spirit that inspired that conception certainly descended to Josiah Wedgwood of the present generation. To him all oppressed humanity, whatever be its colour, race, or religion, turns in the sure knowledge of finding sympathy, support, and succour.

Shortly after the death of his father in 1889, Josiah Clement Wedgwood entered the shops at Elswick shipyard, and later

studied at the Royal Naval College at Greenwich. After taking the degree of Naval Architect, he was appointed Assistant Naval Constructor at Portsmouth Dockyards. But the salary that he received was poor, and he stayed there only a year. Returning to Elswick Shipyard he was placed in charge of the drawing offices.

AT WAR

The defeats of British troops in South Africa sent young Wedgwood, after the black week in December, 1899, volunteering to the Boer War. Given a commission as Captain in the Elswick Battery, R. F. A., he arrived in South Africa and served first under Major (now General Sir) Ian Hamilton, and later under Colonel (now Field Marshal Lord) Allenby.

That war was the termination of the Rudyard Kipling stage of British culture. At any rate, it cured Wedgwood of Imperialism.

After the cessation of hostilities, he settled down in South Africa as Resident Magistrate of the District of Ermelo, where he was in charge of a territory some 2,500 square miles in area, with a population of 15,000 whites and 20,000 Africans ("Natives").

Two years in that post gave him administrative experience, and an insight into human nature—experience and insight that he has found to be of the greatest utility in after-life. Talking of his life in Ermelo, he said

HEALING SORES

"We had to heal the wounds of hatred, and

to rebuild the ruined country. Farm houses were destroyed. Flocks and herds were gone. Towns were burnt. Every white man was ruined. The Boers who had fought to the end hated those who had surrendered and helped the British more than they hated the British. We had to keep the peace and help all on to their legs. As all were equally ruined, it was at first a large family existence. We helped and fed each other as on a desert island.

"The Boers liked me why I do not know. I am not sure whether it was because I traced their pedigrees and knew who was whose aunt and uncle or because I lent them money on their farms. Under the rose, I ran a weekly paper, race meetings, and dances.

"All went well in my district—except that there, as elsewhere, the Boers would take no part in the administration of the country. 'We will govern ourselves,' they said, 'but we will not act as your officials.'

"And all was complicated by the habits of the Boers in dealing with the 'native', and the jealous hatred of the townsmen for the Indian traders. I walked a tight-rope for two years."

On his return from South Africa, Wedgwood decided to go into Parliament. At the end of 1904 he was adopted as prospective candidate for Newcastle-under-Lyme, in his native country of Staffordshire, by the local branch of the Liberal Party. In January, 1906, he was elected, defeating Sir Alfred Seale Haslam. Soon afterwards he was appointed Parliamentary Private Secretary to Mr Walter Runciman at the Treasury.

FROM FABIANISM TO FREEDOM

When he entered Parliament, Wedgwood was a sort of collectivist socialist of the Fabian Society type. He believed in the State, and tended towards bureaucratic ideas. Like all those young men he wanted to do good to the "Lower Orders", to make them sober, thrifty, moral by Act of Parliament.

It was some time before he came to put Freedom and Justice above expediency, before he came to hate the injustice of exploitation more than the results of exploitation. But he read Henry George's "Progress and Poverty", and from that date became the advocate of the destruction of landlordism and industrial liberty that the world knows to-day.

During the elections that took place in January and December, 1910, Wedgwood

had to fight hard against Captain Grogan, traveller and exploiter, whose summary methods with "natives" in East Africa had well fitted him to oppose Wedgwood in the Conservative interest. Each time, however, he was elected with a substantial majority.



Josiah C. Wedgwood, M P

FIGHTING LANDLORDISM

The 1910 elections were fought on landlordism. "God gave the land to the people" was sung on every platform. But, according to Wedgwood, no sooner were the Liberal leaders reinstated in power than they turned tail rather than face the vested interest of the landlords. The fire went out of the Liberal Party, and all men can see it dying to-day. Wedgwood and the land men have gone over to the Labour Party because they felt they were betrayed.

The question of the people's land could still, however, be raised in the Crown colonies in Africa. Wedgwood, after a long enquiry, got a fundamental law passed that reserves the land of Nigeria for the "native" inhabitants as a common possession of all. With that other defender of "natives", E. D. Morel, he fought every attempt to exploit the

"natives" for the benefit of white planters and traders in Africa

IN DEFENCE OF INDIAN FREEDOM

During the Indian Budget debate of 1910, Josiah Wedgwood astonished his Liberal friends by making a long and impassioned statement condemning the five repressive Acts passed by the Government of India. He declared that the fact that the Press Act had been passed by Britons in India did not affect India alone, but affected the good name of Britain. He did not deny that political murder had been committed in India, and that English men and women had been brutally done to death. But he contended that repressive measures such as the Press and Seditious Meetings Acts could not tend "to increase loyalty, check sedition, and stop murder." Even if it were conceded that they would have such an effect, he maintained, their existence in India would still constitute treason against Britain's good name.

The Honourable and gallant Member snapped his fingers in the face of the "man on the spot." The officials might know India, but he knew history, and history proved that loyalty and co-operation could never be forced by coercion. The bureaucrat had "a natural tendency to use the keenest and best weapon."

Wedgwood did not, however, base his arguments upon the inutility of repressive methods, but begged the Members to follow British traditions and refuse to set their seal upon the legislation framed to put down sedition in India. He quoted the Latin maxim, *Salus populi suprema lex*—the welfare of the people is the supreme law, and another simple maxim, *Fiat justitia ruat cælum*—do justice though the heavens shall fall. The first maxim, he declared, was the one solely relied upon by the Indian bureaucracy, which refused to admit that "justice and not expediency must come first."

As to the Indian police, Wedgwood declared that you could pay them double or triple what they then received, or increase their salaries as much as you pleased, but if you armed them with legislation such as it was proposed to pass,

you could not expect that there would be any improvement in their character. An autocratic government would create a bad police.

Then Wedgwood took the repressive Acts, *ad seriatim*, and showed the iniquitous and un-British character of each one.

First he dealt with the Deportations Act (Regulation) of 1818, and characterised it as being founded upon the principle of the Bastille and of the *lettre de cachet* under Louis XIV. He did not think if Mr Gladstone had been alive that a Liberal Ministry would employ a measure that flew in the face of every Liberal principle of the last 200 years.

Next he dealt with the Seditious Meetings Act, describing its working in frank, unvarnished English that could not be misunderstood nor misconstrued, and comparing it to the Anti-Jacobian legislation of 1794-5. He reminded the House that when, under the head of "constructive treason," the Government tried to make membership of the Law Association punishable by death, Lord Campbell declared that State "trials took place in Scotland and in England upon which we now look back with shame." He quoted the speech of Lord Erskine, that great Lord Chancellor of England who saved Britons from losing their liberty. At that the Members laughed, and Wedgwood read them a lecture for their levity.

Our champion in parliament found it difficult to find words to depict the Press Act in its true colours. He reminded the House that in England the case of the Press Act was decided long ago, in the days of John Scott, Lord Eldon, and Thomas Erskine, and pleaded that the Members would not go back on the teaching of their ancestors at the bidding of the new bureaucracy. He lamented that the only voices raised in defence of liberty and Liberalism were his own and Mr Keir Hardie's. He found it difficult to understand how Lord Morley, that great apostle of freedom, could be backing up legislation which, if applied, would make it possible to punish people for having copies of books by Milton and Mill, and to confiscate such classics as tending to produce disaffection, and feared

that, on the same ground, it might be necessary to discontinue teaching English history in Indian schools

GOAL OF BRITISH RULE

It is worthy of note that in this speech Wedgwood foreshadowed the statement made by Mr Montagu in the House of Commons almost exactly seven years later. He demanded that the British Government should state definitely whether they actually wanted India sometime to be free and self-governing or not. If they did want India ultimately to be a self-governing Union or Federation like South Africa, whether it be in twenty, fifty, or a hundred years, then let them be open and above board and tell the people of India that they aimed at that solution. Then let them lay their plans for some ultimate solution on those lines, and, having done so, let them stick to those plans without any vacillation whatever. The best means to stop sedition in India was to tell the people the road that the British meant them to travel, so that they could see the milestones in front of them and know exactly how they were progressing towards their goal.

A DOUGHTY DEBATER

If any one doubted Wedgwood's ability to fight for the sake of his ideals, that doubt must have been dispelled by his record in regard to the Mental Deficiency Bill, in October, 1913, which he held to impinge the liberty of the subject. He rose on Monday afternoon and for twelve hours fought the Bill until the closure at a quarter to four the next morning. He had spoken fifty-five times at eleven o'clock. At fifteen minutes to midnight he went out and drank a glass of barley water, the only other nourishment that he took being bars of chocolate fetched by Mr Horner, a Unionist Member, who took pity upon the fighting man from Staffordshire who preferred to go hungry rather than miss an opportunity to deliver a blow at the Bill he was opposing. During the debate he spoke 150 times. He attended a Committee meeting at 10.30 the next morning, entered the lists again

at 11 p.m., and was still fighting at five o'clock in the morning.

Wedgwood is able to bear strains that would wreck the constitution of another man because he leads an athletic life. Even to day he cycles to Parliament from his home in Chelsea and back again several times a day. Humorists declare that the secret of his ability to bear strain lies in the fact that he has an easy conscience.

1T WIR 1G4IN

Immediately after the war broke out in 1914, Wedgwood got a commission in the Armoured Car Section. In September, 1914, he went, as Lieutenant-Commander, R.N.V.R., to Belgium, and saw fighting near Lille, Tournay, and Antwerp. Shortly afterwards he was attached to the Belgian Army, fighting on the Scheldt, and Yser.

In the spring of 1915, Wedgwood took over a squadron of armoured cars. Finding the cars useless in Gallipoli, he was allowed to unmount the guns and place them on casements on the "River Clyde"—a wreck-ship that was beached at Helles Beach.

At the landing with the 29th Division (General Hunter Western, now M.P. for Bute and Northain), he showed such gallantry that he was awarded the D.S.O. He was badly wounded on May 6th while in charge of machine guns of the Naval Brigade, for which he was promoted Commander.

His description of his wound in his article *With Machine Guns in Gallipoli* deserves to be quoted.

"It is in the treatment of the wounded that you see mankind at its best. In a moment the wounded man becomes a little baby and the rest become the tenderest of mothers. They carried me in in whispers. One gripped my hand as they cut away the clothes, another lit a cigarette and put it between my lips. Before the war it was given to few to learn the love of those who have gone together through the long valley of the shadow of death and learnt to trust each other to the end."

In December, 1915, after his recovery, he went with machine guns to East Africa, under command of General Smuts. He was invalided home with malaria in July, 1916. There he saw plenty of the Indian troops, for whom he has the greatest admiration.

ON MESOPOTAMIAN COMMISSION

Soon after his return to Parliament, Wedgwood was put upon the Mesopotamia Commission by the direct vote of the House of Commons, where, on account of his transparent honesty of purpose and dialectic skill he is exceedingly popular, even with sections that consider him a "crank"—or, to use the jargon of the day, a "Bolshevist", and where he is familiarly known as "Jos" or "Jossy". No one on that Commission subjected the witnesses, especially the highly-placed ones, to a more searching cross-examination than he did.

The separate report that Wedgwood wrote is a courageous document that, I am sure, will live in history. It once for all shattered the claims of efficiency made in behalf of the "Indian" Civil Service by non-Indian members of that service, and their partisans. "Lastly," he wrote in that report, "I would recommend that Indians be given a larger voice in the governing of their own country and in the control of that bureaucracy which, uncontrolled by public opinion, has failed to rise to British standards."

From the date when this separate report was published, the Indian movement for self-government took a new turn. In the debate that took place shortly afterwards, Mr Chamberlain resigned his office of Secretary of State for India and Mr Montagu made a speech as to the future of India, which foreshadowed the famous declaration of August, 1917, and secured him the reversion of Mr Chamberlain's post.

Towards the end of December, 1917, Wedgwood was chosen by the Foreign Office to proceed on a confidential mission to the Government of Siberia, with the rank of Colonel. Before he arrived, the Tomsk Government had been overthrown, and he had to return, after interesting experiences of Bolshevik Siberia and useful interviews in Japan, Peking, and Washington.

Colonel Wedgwood was among the few Members of Parliament who were returned unopposed as an Independent at the General election of December, 1918.

Not long afterwards, on account of the attitude of official Liberals towards the War on Russia and the land question, he joined the Independent Labour Party, and he is now one of the best debaters and the sturdiest fighters for liberty in the Labour Party in the House of Commons.

INTENSE INTEREST IN INDIA

Ever since he was appointed to the Mesopotamia Commission, Colonel Wedgwood has displayed an intense interest in Indian problems. Whenever the occasion arose, he has asked searching questions about official vagaries in India, and often has followed up his questions with supplementary questions showing not only doggedness but also remarkable knowledge of the subject. He has taken a leading part in every Indian debate that has taken place, especially during the debate on the Government of India Bill (now Act), in the course of which he moved a number of amendments with a view to persuading the Government to liberalise that measure or, at least to get statements out of Mr Montagu which would commit the Government of India in framing the Rules and Regulations.

Even at the risk of giving away a secret, I must say that but for Colonel Wedgwood's refusal, the move made from influential quarters against debating amendments for the improvement of the Bill might have proved successful. In that event, only the Anglo-Indian element in the House of Commons would have made an effort to get the Bill amended—something like what happened afterwards in the House of Lords. I know that the pressure that was brought to bear upon Colonel Wedgwood was of a nature difficult to resist. But to his credit be it said that he did resist it, knowing that to do otherwise would be to give Indians the impression that even the radical element in the House of Commons were contented with a measure that they knew could not satisfy Indians.

A WARNING TO INDIANS

In Colonel Wedgwood's view, Indians should make the best possible use of the opportunity that the Act gives them while

they continue their constitutional agitation for full Home Rule. He is afraid that the exaggerated importance that the measure attaches to Provincial Administration may menace the growing sense of nationality in India. He, therefore, warns Indians against division of their forces from National into Provincial channels. He exhorts them to send their best men to the Legislative Assembly, where they should use the right of interpellation to

keep the officials in as effective check as possible.

Colonel Wedgwood hopes that when Labour comes into power, as it inevitably must do within a few years, it will give India complete control over her purely domestic affairs. Those affairs, he says, are and should be the exclusive concern of Indians, and which they alone can administer in a manner satisfactory to themselves.

INDIA AND INDIANS ABROAD

INDIA has many enemies in the world who are interested in creating and maintaining prejudices against her in the minds of the civilized peoples of the earth. The most dangerous, the most insidious, and the most persistent of them are, (1) the Indians themselves and, (2) the Christian missionaries. We will explain what we mean and for that purpose will take up the second class first.

The Christian missionary is interested in painting India as black as he can. The interests of his calling demand that. No motive is so strong as the economic. We do not mean to insinuate that every missionary is actually and consciously dominated by economic motives, but we do say that the whole class is interested in keeping the missionary movement going. They simply cannot afford to let the movement die. The movement must and can only be kept going on by funds, and funds can only be had by painting the object of their solicitude black and backward, diseased and destitute. The missionary movement is not a religious movement. It is not an educational movement. Nor is it a philanthropic movement. It is first and foremost a political and economic movement. Religion, education, philanthropy are all handy instruments for spreading the gospel of Imperialism and capitalism. Imperialism and

capitalism are twins. They are two in one. Their objectives, their motives, and their methods are the same. The mission movement is only one of the means they employ to establish and maintain their sway.

This can only be understood by a perusal of the literature which those interested in obtaining financial and other support for the missions publish and promulgate in the United States. One such book lies before me. It is called "The Democratic Movement in Asia" by one Tyler Dennett. On page 10, speaking of the value of the missions to the United States as a nation, he says

"The missionary as an interpreter is extremely valuable. He is constantly explaining and illustrating the American people to his constituents. To most of his neighbours he is first an American and secondarily a missionary.

When he opens a school he succeeds to the honorable state of teacher among peoples who have always given their greatest reverence to wise men and sages. His hospital creates infinite good-will. His superior education and his altruistic purposes immediately elevate him to a place of leadership in matters of social reform and not unfrequently of government. *He creates new markets and new industries of immense direct and indirect value to international trade.* The missionary's influence is all the greater because actually he has no relation to government, politics, or commerce and is only controlled (?) by motives which admit no other purpose than to liberate the

people for their own good, by emancipating them from their spiritual bondage

It is plain, then, that merely an enlightened self-interest on the part of the United States is quite sufficient to justify the presence of the American Missionary among the Asiatic races" (The italics and the interrogation mark are mine)

The above remarks are preceded by the following observation on page 8

"The United States has now become a world power and has assumed a place of leadership among the nations which will involve more and more concern for the political welfare of Asia (?) This new relation to the backward races (?) will in time demand that the United States shall assume its proportionate responsibility, which must be very large, for such economic development of the peoples as will be necessary to fit them for international partnership in production, trade and politics. Hitherto the businessman has seen in Asia many a field for exploitation, the missionary has been primarily impelled by the urge to preach the gospel to all nations. *These two motives can no longer be considered exclusive of or opposed to each other*" (The italics and marks of interrogation are mine)

Of course all this is done or intended to be done for the benefit of the backward peoples. The motives and objects are from beginning to end "altruistic" and purely "humanitarian." It is in the interest of these backward peoples to buy American goods, to have American leaders of industry among them, to use American capital and also to have American-made Christianity for which there is no market *at home*. Goods, including religion, not consumed at home must have markets abroad. India and China supply two of the biggest markets of the world and hence the desirability of their being kept under European and Christian leadership.

Imperialism and capitalism depend for their life and progress, for their vitality and activity, on a particular kind of psychology. Their very existence depends upon the subject races and the working men underrating themselves. They hypnotise the latter into a belief of their inferiority and incapability, until they actually become inferior and incapable and imbecile, as well. The missions help them in this noble task. Hence all Imperialists and capitalists are in favour of missionary work. Who supplies the

sinews of war for mission work? From what sources come the big donations that swell the mission funds? Who builds the churches and helps in the propagation of the Gospel? Who presides at the missionary meetings? The Imperialists and capitalists, the commercial and financial magnates of Great Britain and America and other countries of the west, men who make their wealth by sweating their fellow Christian working men, and by working children and women to death in their factories—men in whose business lives you hardly come across a single item of mercy, pity and humaneness, not to speak of spirituality—men who are interested in forcing their workers in the factories to work for long hours, and under unbearable conditions—men who bleed children and women to death. There is more field for Christian missionary work in Europe and America where people are giving up Christianity by the millions. Yet we find that the vast bulk of foreign mission funds are spent in the Orient.

In his book "Profits of Religion", Upton Sinclair, the American novelist, has exposed the mercenary basis of the missionary propaganda. I have not read the book yet but have read some reviews of it and can safely recommend it to all who are interested in the subject.

Apart from these general considerations India has a special complaint against American missionaries working in India and who have worked there in the past. The American missionary, present or past, is the greatest slanderer of India and the Indian people we have in the United States. He still features *Suttee*, female infanticide, enforced widowhood of Indian women, the immorality of our temples, the practice of throwing children to crocodiles in the Ganges, as the common prevailing vices of Indian life. Whenever a speaker on Home Rule lectures, he pesters him with these questions and also about caste, depressed classes and other cognate subjects. These questions have been put to me in every place where I have lectured, *almost without exception* and I have delivered hundreds of lectures in all parts of the country by this time. My retorts made

the missionaries look very small and drew laughter and applause from the audience, but the missionary went away unconvinced

The Christian missionary paints India as one of the most backward countries of the earth and its population one of the most superstitious and ignorant. He creates this impression in order to get funds for his work, and, according to his standards of morality, this is quite legitimate. Be it said to our shame that there are a number of Indians in this country, Christians and Non-Christians, who substantially help them in their nefarious propaganda. The missionary organizations pay them for their speeches and also otherwise help them in securing work, scholarships and appointments.

To add insult to injury these missionaries, men and women, often profess to love India more than the natives themselves. At least half a dozen times I had to retort that if I believed that they loved India more than I do, I would at once commit suicide.

The American missionaries in their home letters meant for circulation or publication, often quote leading Indians in support of their statements about the backwardness of the people and their unfitness for Home Rule and also about the great good the missions were doing in India. These statements are sometimes quoted in books also, in support of the conclusions favoring missions.*

So much about these friends of ours. Now something about our own people.

The Indians in the United States may be divided into two classes (a) uneducated and (b) educated. The uneducated Indians in this country are mostly workingmen who are engaged in manual labour and struggle against great odds to make a living. They are mostly unsophisticated

men who are, if properly approached, always ready to help other Indians. Amongst the educated there are a few who are engaged in business or who know some kind of a trade and make an honorable living. Self-supporting students are ready to do anything that comes handy. One comes across these students and young men, in almost every part of the country, and on hearing their stories one begins to love them. But besides these, there are a number of Hindu lecturers in this country who try to make a living by speaking. Some of them have married American girls. One of them, a Parsee, has his wife with him. They come from all provinces—the Punjab, Bengal, Bombay and Madras. A very large number of them (almost all of them) make a specialty of religion, philosophy and poetry. They profess to know Yoga and talk of mysticism, spiritualism and occultism. Some of them are “adepts in mind-reading, palmistry, hypnotism, healing by suggestion and all that kind of tomfoolery.”

This class of lecturers are as a class a disgrace to India. They are looked upon amongst intellectual critics with the greatest contempt and suspicion. Whenever the name of a Hindu is mentioned in a respectable home or in intellectual society, the first question is, “Is he a Yogi”, “does he tell what is hidden, does he read your mind, can he read your hands” or “I hope he is not a tantrist or a spiritualist.” The mere mention of a Hindu raises all sorts of suspicions. Oh! the humiliation of it, the disgrace of it!

I know of two cases of alleged psychic healing in which two respectable Hindus, one a Swami and the other a very respectable young man of good antecedents, were criminally prosecuted. Happily, both cases were declared to be false and dismissed. The mere fact, however, is significant.

A few samples of other kinds of lecturers will, I think, be of interest to your readers. But before I give these samples, I might add that there are not a few Indians (Hindus and Mohammedans) who pass as “princes.” One of them says openly in his announcement that he is

* In order to enable the reader to know what a truthful Christian has to say of missionary methods in America we print at the end of this article Mr A. J. Appasamy's article on “The Interpretation of India to America” published in the July, 1919, number of the *Young Men of India*, the organ of the National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations of India and Ceylon—Editor, M. R.

a personal friend of the King and Queen of England. He passes as a prince of the royal house of —

Lately, we have had another royal couple among us. The details of this royal couple, you will know from the clipping which accompanies this article.* Mark the ludicrous sentences italicised by me where the gentleman interviewed says, speaking of Tagore

"They (i.e., the Americans) have made much of Tagore, but we do not recognize him in India. *There are boys of twelve and fourteen who can write poems so much more beautiful than any Tagore has produced that they are not to be mentioned in the same breath.* All that Tagore has done has been to desecrate by his translations the perfect poems of Kabir. Poems that in the original are so beautiful that the words sink into one's consciousness and become more lovely the longer we dwell on them. But the true Indian shrinks from publicity. Self-advertising, pushing himself forward—these things are impossible for him."

All the same these two persons are using all American methods to advertise themselves and their perfections. They are always careful to add that they are opposed to Home Rule.

Here is another clipping in which a Hindu University graduate of great ability and scholarship is reported to have said

"There are 330,000,000 gods in India and only 300,000,000 people to worship them, according to —, a native of Calcutta and a student at Columbia University, who spoke to the Modern Club today on the life of the Hindu."

It seems to be a great life, made up largely of atmosphere and overwhelming silence. Atmosphere is more important than individuality in India. The Hindu does not live in the individual but in the whole spiritual freedom. It is the land where the dead ancestors and fairies run loose. You can see them, he says. Of course the lower animals have souls, so a Hindu never kills a tiger until he has first warned the beast by throwing a stone at it. One reason why the Hindus did not like the late Colonel Roosevelt was because he killed animals, especially elephants, without giving them warning. Killing is a dignified sport in India, says —. When you arrive in India you get rid of fact. The speaker did not say just

how it was done. Perhaps it is the heat of expensive porter service, but more probably it is the atmosphere—of the silence. India is the great land of daylight saving. Thousands get up to see the sunrise and chant to the god of light. In fact, everything in India can be summed up as a struggle for light and a retreat into darkness because it cannot stand the light. The speaker admitted that there was much mystery, but claimed that it was all very simple, as simple as the kingdom of Heaven."

Another lecturer is described as follows

"Sree (his divine grace) — is a scion of the ancient family of Gautama, the most eminent Hindu philosopher, and of Arya-Bhatta, the originator of the Notation system and Algebra. He is a Brahmin of the purest Kulin type (Kulin is Blue-Blood among the Brahmins) the rulers of the land prostrate themselves in reverence before the members of his family."

He has been educated in the Sanskrit shastras at his parent's Tol (Sanskrit University), then in England and America at several prominent universities — has been regarded as a great scholar of Psychology and Sociology.

In poetry "he is the high priest of the Indo-English literature." His works have been compared with those of Byron and Shelley. He leads the rival school of Tagore. His latest drama rivals Ibsen in technique and Wagner in motif. There are not many more forceful dramas in English.

Sree — has edited "Sonar Bangla" (Golden Bengal), Sumati (a literary magazine), and Sandhya, the greatest Calcutta daily, with a million circulation, in his native language, and Superman (a magazine of Poetry and Drama) in English.

— of thousand Indian platforms had made his maiden speech at the age of fifteen and addressed as many as seven thousand people at a time. He has been the first Indian to effectively awaken the British public to the grievances of Modern India through his political activities in London. (The Parliament discussed his activities and the London dailies, including the Times, devoted many columns toward the solution of the problems presented by — to Lord Morley, the then Secretary of State for India. Vide the English papers of Spring, 1908.)

Another gentleman, styling himself Reverend —, M. A. of Northern India, dressed in Persian cap, says about himself

"India's mystical religious philosophies, complicated social customs, wonderful history and political aspirations, its culture, and national awakening make her at once a subject that is charming and bewildering. In America she is frequently misunderstood and misrepresented. Only an Indian can adequately explain and clarify her prophetic past, her problem-beset present and her promising future."

* For obvious reasons, we do not reproduce the portraits and the whole clippings —Ed, M. R.

There is yet another, who sometimes dresses himself in a pugree and at others in the American Military uniform

Now what these people are doing is nothing strange or even extravagant from the point of view of advertising. This kind of advertising is very common in this country. There is nothing exceptional about it, except that what the people are doing and saying, confirms the intellectuals of the country in their prejudices against us. The general impression about the Indians in this country is that they are a nation of dreamers, who revel in superstitious religions, mystery and philosophy, absolutely incapable of any kind of political and industrial work, unpractical, devoid of initiative, impulsive, wayward and soft-brained. These gentlemen help in the strengthening of this idea.

There are several other "princes" who serve as waiters, conjurers, and palmists
"IZZAT"

The Interpretation of India to America.

Many Indian Christians feel dissatisfied with the tone and character of missionary addresses and missionary books in general. Two of my Indian friends make it a principle not to attend missionary meetings, lest their patriotic feelings about India should be hurt. On my shelf there is a book by a well-known Christian worker, written with a view to arouse missionary interest in India. On different occasions, different Indian Christian students have pointed to that book and made the remark that it contains gross misrepresentations. They did not say gross misrepresentations—with blunt frankness they said "lies". A friend from India said that once she was to speak on India. Her address was to follow the address of a returned missionary. But the missionary made the statement that while in India she had to live for a whole month under an umbrella. This made my friend very confused and nervous. She had to summon all her courage before she could get up and give her talk about India after such a statement. Some of my friends have told me that they feel that missionaries, in taking snapshots, select often the ugliest and worst features of Indian life. To this recital of my friend's experiences, I may add the fact that I myself have heard missionary addresses in which undue stress has been placed on the darker aspects of India's civilization.

This feeling that missionaries who speak about India make statements that are repulsive to the people of India, is in the minds not

only of students and others who are in this country, but also in the minds of those in India. Some time ago I read a suggestion made in India that a deputation of Indian Christians should be sent to England in order to represent things as they are, and to correct any false impressions that missionary speakers might have left. *The Hindu Missionary* (a paper published in Bombay with the object of defeating Christian missionary effort) says in the issue of September 9, 1918, that a meeting was held in Madras (August 21) by Indian Christians, who gathered together to discuss whether Christianity was synonymous with civilization. In the course of the discussion Mr E. L. Iyer, Barrister-at-Law, is reported to have said: "The Christian missionaries distort the moral and social aspect of Indian life because they are interested in so doing." Mr P. Chenchia is alleged to have remarked: "I agree as to the systematic campaign of vilification of Indian life in England and the distortion of Indian life by some Christian missionaries." To Mr Issaac is attributed the statement, "In an annual report of Christian missionary work in India, a picture is given of an Indian with a palmyra umbrella over his head, perhaps to show that Indians are still barbarians." Dr Lazarus is responsible for the statement that "there is much ignorance in England about life in India."

Enough has been said to show that many Indian Christians are dissatisfied with the methods followed by missionary speakers in creating interest in India among the people of the West. Can we explain the use of these methods? Can we sift out the reasons underlying them?

There is the possibility that some missionary speakers are considerably influenced by feelings of pride. Many Americans say with a good deal of pride: "America is a great country, America is the best country in the world." They have a perfect right to have such an estimate of their native land. Is not patriotism one of the noblest of sentiments with which the soul can glow? Is not the love of one's country the deepest passion that can stir in a man's being? When a missionary speaker is convinced that America is the best country in the world, he might by an easy transition pass on to the inference that other countries are useless. That may be good logic, but is bad morals. If any missionary speaker is tempted to make harsh statements about India and Indian life, we would ask him to probe the depths of his soul and find out whether there is any pride lying hidden anywhere.

Another possible explanation is this. Many of the missionary speakers who are fond of frequently calling attention to the evils of India are not perhaps able to understand the genius of Indian life. They have not the insight, the profound sympathy, which enables them to appreciate the finer phases of India's civilization.

To them everything strange and different is wrong. The task of understanding a civilization, so different in its ideals and traditions from their own, is indeed a difficult one. But if our missionary friends are to win the confidence of the Indian Christian community, they must really work hard at the task.

Yet another explanation may be offered. We, born and brought up in India, have become callous to the evils around us. Familiarity has taken the edge off our contempt. Instead of feeling mightily angry with certain evils, we hoodwink them or think they are not as bad as they are made out to be. But strangers coming into the country are at once struck with the hideousness of phases of life which are only too familiar to us, and to which therefore we have become more or less indifferent. In that case, of course, we, Indian Christians, would have to search our souls and find whether familiarity has bred complacency.

But the explanation that missionaries generally offer when questioned as to the reason underlying their policy is that they want to raise money for India and to enlist the sympathy of the people of the West in missionary enterprise and that this is the best method for that purpose. A talk on the glories of India will not result in large gifts for missionary work. No one will go to India if only the bright side of India is described. The men and women of this country must be made to share in missionary enterprises, and so the evils of India must be described in the most unqualified terms.

Is it always necessary to speak of the dark side of Indian life in order to awaken interest in missionary work? We say that it is not so necessary. For two reasons—one an *a priori* and another an *a posteriori* reason. The *a priori* reason may take the form of an illustration. Suppose there is a poor but bright student. We want to raise money for his education. We can follow one of two methods. We can either speak of the suffering he undergoes—his tattered clothes, his scant food, his lack of books, his plain room, and thus stir the sympathy of a kind-hearted gentleman. Or we might speak with a glow of pride of his enthusiasm for work, his severe discipline of himself, his remarkable gifts, and make it clear that without funds he cannot pursue his education. It is wholly reasonable to say, arguing from human nature and the way in which it responds to appeals, that the second method will prove more effective than the first.

But fortunately we are not left to the elusive mercy of an *a priori* reason. The method of dwelling upon the lighter side of Indian life has been tried and found successful. I have heard some missionary addresses that have thrilled my heart with pride in India, and yet that have produced a deep missionary impression upon the audience. If a personal allusion may be allowed, I have had the privilege of speaking

on Indian themes to American audiences on scores of occasions, and I have found that placing considerable emphasis on the finer aspects of Indian thought and life do not fail of their missionary intent.

The constructive suggestion that I would like them to make is this. We must interest the people of America in missionary work. We must awaken them to all its possibilities. Even with that end definitely in view, we must paint a bright picture of India. What about the evils of India? No one would deny that they exist in India, though many of our countrymen may remark that they exist also in this country. If we *must* speak of them—as often we *must*—we must not fail to call attention to the palliating features.

Suppose a missionary is to raise money for schools in India. The general tendency is to speak of the mass of illiteracy and ignorance prevalent in the country, and then make the appeal for money. But I would suggest that he should devote attention to the keen intelligence of the pupils, their spiritual trials, their promise for the future, and so on. Then is not this also a case of over-emphasis? Does he not err here on the side of speaking too well of India, just as some others err by speaking too ill of India? To maintain a true balance, he might cite facts to show the mass of ignorance, but over against them he should also cite the facts which somewhat relieve the situation. There are hosts of illiterate men and women in India, it is true. But there are also hundreds of men of profound learning—men who can challenge scholars from any part of the world. While a great many are unable to read and write, there are vast numbers of keen, bright, intelligent men and women. Illiteracy must not by any means be made synonymous with stupidity. There is also such a thing as education by the ear. Akbar, the great emperor, is said to have been unable to read or write, but he was one of the most learned men of his time. He frequently listened to learned discussions and to books as they were read out to him. Many people in India are educated in the sense that they are familiar with the contents of the great Indian classics, read out to them and explained with marvellous skill. How many Americans would come night after night for weeks together to listen to an exposition, say of *Paradise Lost*? Yet the Epics of India, written in most intricate language, are explained thus to thousands of Indians. Finally, the store of traditional folklore current in the country is remarkable. How many hymns, stories, proverbs, riddles do the people, especially the women, know? Ignorant of letters, they are truly steeped in literature. Such facts as those mentioned in an address on educational work in India might help to present a true picture of India.

A J APPASAMY

FIRE PROTECTION IN FORESTS

THE NEED FOR FIRE PROTECTION

IN dealing with this subject, one is generally between the horns of dilemma owing to the considerable diversity of opinion among Forest Officers. There is, first, the dominant school of thought which holds that fire is harmful both directly to the growing stock and indirectly by the removal of the soil covering, leading to dessication, lack of accretion, erosion, etc. This school claims Mr Ribbentrop as one of its conspicuous supporters. He writes, "These, in certain provinces, almost general, conflagrations are the chief reason of the barren character of so many of our Indian hill ranges. My parting advice is to extend fire-protection, wherever feasible."¹

There is then the Burma school of Forest Officers who hold that a forest is doomed to destruction, if fire-protected. It holds the motto that fire is good for teak forests. The earliest record of protest against fire-protection is from the pen of Mr Slade, a Burma Officer, in 1896. Writing on the subject in 1907, Mr Beadon Bryant, expressed the opinion that "prolonged fire protection results in a marked decrease of trees of the younger classes. In forests annually burnt over, on the other hand, the cover remains considerably lighter than where protection is in force, and the young teak resisting the effects of fire better than its companions is able to and does establish itself."²

So antagonistic are the views of Forest officers that one will have to strike the golden mean in arriving at any conclusions on the subject.

EVOLUTION AND SCOPE OF FIRE PROTECTION

Protection from fire of the State forests in British India has been seriously undertaken during the last forty years, and

measures with this object in view are carried out on a large scale at considerable cost to the State.³

When fire protection was inaugurated in India, the system was "to run immense lengths of 12 ft lines through the forest which contained long grass. These lines were first traced by cutting guide lines, 3 ft broad leaving 6 ft of grass in the middle, which with the grass cut on the guide lines was burnt by Forest Guards, who were allowed a very small amount for the whole work. There were a few fire patrols."⁴

The futility of such lines to stop fires need hardly be dwelt upon. Subsequently, Mr Cox started his scheme of broad fire-lines in the fuel-working circle in South Kurnool.⁵

Judging by the close analogy which fire-protection, by means of exterior fire lines and series of interior fire lines from which counterfires can be lit, bears to that in vogue on the continent of Europe, Mr Scott holds that the present methods of fire-protecting large blocks was arrived at by extending to such large blocks the system rightly adopted for the protection of small blocks of fuel coupes.⁶

Of late, the utility of fire-protecting large blocks of forests has been much debated. In his report to Government, Mr Whitehead writes,

"All that is necessary to point out is that our fire-lines are not essential for the prevention of the spread of fire, and that the money now being spent on the extension, maintenance and fire tracing of our lines in the large blocks of forest can be more profitably utilised on the constructions of bridle paths which would facilitate not only movement of bodies of men in cases of fire, but also in opening up large blocks of forest and enabling the extraction and transport of forest produce."⁷

One would deprecate the abandonment of exterior fire lines for this reason that they do prevent fires crossing from one district to another and from private

forests to Government forests. As regards the substitution of *hidle* paths and roads for exterior and interior fire lines, it is not feasible with all types of forest. Where we have heavy grass, and steep slope, fires cannot be stopped by a path or a road.

Everyone would concur with Mr. Whitehead's other views of fire tracing —

- 1 Lines around worked coupes (not working circles)
- 2 Frequented rights of way
- 3 Halting places in connection with item (d) ^s

CAUSES OF FIRE

According to Mr. Gleadow, the state of a forest is invariably proportional to its frequentation. Where people and cattle swarm, forest conditions are very bad, and fire is the inevitable consequence of frequentation. Fires are caused by man through carelessness, but are sometimes intentional. They are summarised below —

A 1 Carelessness of travellers, who kindle fire for cooking food and throw away cigar ends, and of charcoal burners, while burning a kiln.

2 Burning of branches and weeds in lands adjoining forests, and of lands under shifting cultivation by hill tribes.

3 Spread of fire from private to Government forests.

4 Fire may be caused by poachers after game and burning.

5 Sparks from railway engines.

6 Careless fire tracing and burning carelessly.

B Intentional firing of forests is done by

1 Graziers for getting fresh grass in the following year.

2 Motives of revenge or superstition. When grazing was stopped at Sanyasimalai in the Shervoroy hills, the hill tribes were infuriated and fire was the result in the plantations. Fire ceased after grazing was permitted.

3 It is said that people sometimes set fire to collect flowers of *Bassia Latifolia* which is used for making liquor.

DAMAGES DONE BY FIRE

The damages may be brought under two categories

DIRECT DAMAGES

We sometimes observe the destruction of whole woods, and of young growths

Seedlings die and their root collars get swollen. The bark of trees gets scorched, and wood also is burnt in some cases. This would make timber unsound, and would lead to its further deterioration by its becoming the breeding ground of insects and fungi. Lastly, fire destroys the seeds fallen on the ground, and reproduction may also be stopped by the destruction of blossoms and fruits.

Loss of lives, rarely of men, takes place. In 1895, in Kurnool, a party of Surveyors went up hill, seeing fire down. Being perhaps ignorant that fire travels quicker up hill, they were caught by fire to which they fell victims. Game may also be killed in extensive fires.

INDIRECT DAMAGES

The surface fire destroys the decayed vegetable litter which makes the formation of humus impossible. On this account, the physical benefits of humus are lost to soil—especially nitrogen which is so essential to plant life. The soil is exposed to the heat of the sun. It becomes poor, hard and unsuitable for germination. The burning of soil-covering on hill sides leads to denudation of soil during monsoon. This results in torrents, and landslips may be caused. Lastly fire destroys the æsthetic beauty of a forest.

METHODS EMPLOYED IN FIGHTING FIRES

The most effective fighting may be made from day-break to 9 p.m. Fires are much deadened at this time of day. Men are placed on the defensive at mid-day and attack is renewed again in the evening, when fire loses its aggressiveness. The surface fire may be checked by raking away the litter on the forest floor in a path a few feet wide which would serve as a line of defence from which the fire could be fought back as it approaches, and put out.

When this fails, counterfiring may be resorted to from a convenient base line. Fire is applied all along the side next the approaching forest fire. If the base line could then be well defended for sometime, the fire thus set would burn a distance back from the base line, thus burning away much of the combustible matter, and

robbing the conflagration of its pent up fury. This expedient is productive of great success, provided sufficient help is at hand.

In America, it is said that fires are put out by means of dynamite. When a forest is in conflagration, a base line is selected, and along it are imbedded cartridges, all connected together by fuse, on the ground. When the fire approaches, the fuse is lit and there is a terrific explosion and upheaval of earth, resulting in the formation of a ditch from which the fire could be well defended, and put out. This is said to be the least expensive and involves least human labour.

Nowhere is there so much organised effort for quelling fires as in America. There is a chief Warden in charge of fire protection, and under him are Fire Wardens and Deputy Wardens. The latter are empowered to order out any able-bodied men to fight fire. Each forest town is said to share half the cost of fire-protection. Such an organisation is badly wanting in India, where fires are of common occurrence in hot weather.

PROTECTIVE AND PREVENTIVE MEASURES

Early this century, there was a regular crusade started by Forest Officers against fire, and among the preventive measures suggested, the following are worthy of note —

A 1 To clear and fire trace all boundaries (both district and forest boundaries) and all rights of way.

2 To have a network of exterior and interior fire lines so as to isolate and localise fires.

3 To increase the number of fire-patrols, employ them permanently throughout the year, and house them in the forests by providing them with huts on ridges commanding a view of the surrounding country.

4 To burn departmentally early in fire season the most grassy parts of reserves so as to offer no inducements to graziers to burn the forest.

The preventive measures based on such expedients as fire lines are now carried out. Departmental burning of scrub jungles is said to lessen temptations towards incendiarism, and early grazing is provided. This is said to work well in East Cuddappah.

B 1 To divide forests into small, compact, manageable blocks, so that, when required, areas may be closed effectively without much hardship to the people.

2 To empower Dist Forest Officers to manage grazing grounds on the same commercial principles as the sale of other forest produce.

3 To prohibit penning of cattle in the forests from 1st March to 1st September.

4 To lease pasture in each block to a responsible man with the stipulation that the block will be closed for grazing in the event of any outbreak of fire. In the event of its being well protected, the lease will be continued for a further term to the lessee.

The absolute prohibition of penning of cattle would be tantamount to forbidding grazing altogether, where the grazing grounds are distant, and so is not feasible. To run grazing on the same commercial principles as the sale of other forest produce would involve hardship to the people. Mr Brasier's suggestion to lease the pasture in each block would be suitable to some localities. It would fail, where there is faction. There is considerable conflict of opinion whether enhancement of fees or closure of reserve to grazing would be most effective. The punishment of closure is preferable, as it would stamp out corruption, but it should not be carried to extremes.

In this connection, it would not be out of place to quote an order passed by the Bombay Government in G O No 7186, dated 13th October, 1903.

Villages in which fires have been frequent or extensive should be selected, and the villagers should be assembled and formally warned by the Range Officer or the Divisional Forest Officer in person that a recurrence of similar extensive fires will result in deprivation of all privileges including grazing. It is also said that the order further empowers Collectors to suspend for the year following the fire, all the privileges which they enjoy.

An order of this nature would be productive of some good in this direction. The reward system under which village communities are paid for protecting forests from fire according to the results achieved is also to be commended. It is said to work well in Salem and Kurnool.

BENEFICIAL EFFECTS OF FIRE

In his article on "Fire-protection in the

Teak Forests of Burma", Mr Troup says, "It is impossible to give any adequate idea of the terrific destruction which is being wrought in our once valuable moist mixed forests by prolonged fire-protection." This conclusion is based on his own observations. He chose one plot (A) of 24 acres which was unprotected, while the other (B) was 37 acres which was under rigid fire-protection. On enumeration, it was found that there were 296 seedlings in plot (A), while in plot (B) there were 46 seedlings of which 75 per cent were killed by suppression, the rest being weakly. Further the vigorous poles, saplings and seedlings that are found in the area annually burnt over are conspicuous by their absence in the protected area, and in their place, we find masses of dry sticks representing the formerly vigorous teak poles and saplings which have been killed by the suppression of favoured bamboos and soft-wooded species. One conclusion, therefore, seems justified—the extermination of teak by fire protection. In an annually burnt area, we find masses of young teak saplings and poles undamaged by fire owing to the power of teak to resist damage by that element. The burning accomplishes in one case what fire-protection does in others.⁹

In his able and interesting article on "The Fire Protection in the Tropics", Mr C E C Fischer arrives at the following conclusions—

- (1) In all forests, fire is harmful
- (2) In certain forests, however, fire protection unaided by other operations, hinders the natural re-production of the most valuable species, especially in the case of teak forests
- (3) Improvement fellings and clearings on a sufficient scale, suffice to establish natural regeneration in the forest referred to.¹⁰

Mr Fischer writes from his experience of Madras forests, but other Forest Officers do not concur with his views.

We have in Mr Pearson an officer who has had experience both of South Indian forests and Burma forests. He disagrees with Mr Fischer's first conclusion, 'In all forests, fire is harmful.' According to him, there are forests which require fire-protection, while there are others which do not require fire-protection. He discusses this

aspect lengthily, and cites the North Canara forests and Cachar forests of Assam as examples of the latter.

Secondly, Mr Fischer maintains that improvement fellings and cleanings will go far to do that which, other foresters claim, is partially accomplished by fire. Mr Pearson is of opinion that it cannot be done with the present available staff.

Mr Pearson then sums up the discussion in a nutshell.

"The debatable point is whether fire-protected areas contain a smaller number of seedlings than unprotected areas. He has not the slightest doubt that he saw many times the number of seedlings in unprotected areas."¹¹

We may therefore safely conclude that in all forests except the mixed deciduous forests of Burma, fire is harmful. At the same time, it has to be conceded that Mr Fischer's proposal of improvement fellings and cleanings for Burma forests is not of a utopian character. It is by no means chimerical. There is every prospect of its materialising with the strengthening of the protective staff.

FIRE LINES AND THEIR UTILISATION.

There are two classes of fire lines, open fire lines and covered fire lines. Open fire lines are cleared of all trees, while, in covered ones, only small trees, shrubs, herbs and dry leaves are burnt.

Covered fire lines are difficult to maintain, as most trees shed leaves in the season in which the lines should be kept clean. Secondly, the shade of trees is not sufficient to keep down growth of grass, and annual firing favours its growth.

It is found in deciduous forests that open fire-lines are more serviceable to fire-protection than the ordinary covered ones. The former is now gaining the day so that even in many districts in this presidency, Upper Godavari, Bellary, Kurnool, no other kind of fire lines are known.

The time is now come for a better consideration of the utilisation of fire lines to decrease expenditure on them and make them a source of profit and comfort. Mr H H Haines proposes to plant up the fire lines with valuable trees like schlei-

cheia tñjuga, mango, banyan, and others
This is worthy of consideration

CONCLUSION

Detection of incendiarism is difficult. The success of fire protection depends on the adaptability to local conditions of the officer, his shrewdness and tact. If forest conservancy is to be of any real service, every effort of the department must be concentrated on making fire-protection effective. In the words of Mr Cowley Brown, the problem of fire-protection is many-sided, and the remedies in various countries no less numerous. Possibly in India we do not yet utilise sufficiently the resources of science and mechanics,—customary in France and America. The time perhaps is not yet ripe to employ dynamite.¹²

- 1 Indian Forester 1912, Fire Protection in Tropics, page 193
- 2 Indian Forester 1912, Fire Protection in Tropics, page 201
- 3 Schlich's Manual of Forestry, Vol IV page 646
- 4 Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, Forest No 149 of 23rd October 1915, page 13
- 5 Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, Forest No 149 of 23rd October 1915, page 13
- 6 Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, Forest No 149 of 23rd October 1915, page 9
- 7 Board's Proceedings, Forest No 149 of 23rd October 1915, page 3
- 8 Board's Proceedings, Forest No 149 of 23rd October 1915, page 3
- 9 Indian Forester, March 1905
- 10 Indian Forester, March 1912, page 221
- 11 Indian Forester, 1912, Forest Fires, pages 452 to 455
- 12 Board's Proceedings, Forest No 27 of 17th February 1916

L. A. KRISHNA IYER

THE BUDDHA-CHARITA OF ASVAGHOSHA

BY THE LATE MR. HARNANDAN PRASAD PANDE

THE *Buddha-charita* of Asvaghosha is a work of considerable antiquity. It is one of the few extant works of the author who is given a place of honour among the famous Buddhist teachers of the early centuries of the Christian era. The other works of Asvaghosha—so far known—are—

(1) The *Sutralamkāra Śāstra*, (2) The *Vajra-Sūchi*, and (3) The *Saundarānanda Kāvya*

A few stray verses in the *Subhāshitāvalī* are also ascribed to him.

I-Tsing, a Chinese pilgrim who visited India (671-695 A.D.), has recorded a few very interesting details about Asvaghosha and his works. I-Tsing places Asvaghosha in the list of teachers of the early age (before 400 A.D.)

"The priests learn besides all the Vinaya works, and investigate the Sūtras and Śāstras

as well. They oppose the heretics as they would drive beasts (deer) in the middle of a plain, and explain away disputations as boiling water melts frost. In this manner they become famous throughout Jambudvīpa (India), receive respect above gods and men, and serving under the Buddha and promoting His doctrine, they lead all the people (to Nirvāṇa). Of such persons in every generation only one or two appear. They are to be likened to the sun and moon, or are to be regarded as dragon and elephant. Such were Nāgārjuna, Deva, Asvaghosha of an early age, Vasubandhu, Asaṅga, Saṅgabhadra, Bhāvaviveka in the middle ages, and Jina, Dharmapāla, Dharmakīrti, Śīlabhadra, Śimhachandra, Śthīramatī, Guṇamatī, Prajñagupta, Guṇaprabha, Jinaprabha (or Paramaprabha) of late years."

When I-Tsing visited India, a selection by Asvaghosha was recited at one of the services in the Buddhist monasteries.* But by far the most important work of this Buddhist luminary in those days as now was his *Buddha-charita*. "Asvaghosha

* Takakusu—*Records of the Buddhist Religion*, Introduction, pp. LVII and LIX, & 181

* Takakusu—*A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, p. 153

also wrote some poetical songs and the *Sutr-lamkārasīstī*. He also composed the *Buddhacharita kāvyā* (or 'Verses on the Buddha's career'). This extensive work, if translated, would consist of more than ten volumes. It relates the Tathāgata's chief doctrines and works during his life, from the period when he was still in the royal palace till his last hours under the avenue of Sāla trees—thus all the events are told in a poem.

"It is widely read or sung throughout the five divisions of India, and the countries of the Southern Sea. He clothes manifold meanings and ideas in a few words, which rejoice the heart of the reader so that he never feels tired from reading the poem. Besides, it should be counted as meritorious for one to read this book, inasmuch as it contains the noble doctrines given in a concise form."

The remarks refer to the seventh century of the Christian era. But that the *Buddhacharita* had attained celebrity as a work of merit some two and a half centuries earlier is proved by the fact that it was translated into Chinese in 414-421 A.D. by Sanghavarman†. Some nine years previously another work of Asvaghosha, the *Sutrālakṣaṣṭra* was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva who also translated the life of Asvaghosha for the benefit of the people of the Divine Land (China) in 401-409 A.D. The original of this translation must therefore be a work of importance in India and this unmistakably presupposes for Asvaghosha a date earlier than 383 A.D. when Kumārajīva left India. Tradition makes Asvaghosha a contemporary of the Kushan emperor, Kanishka. This is recorded in a Chinese translation (472 A.D.) of an earlier Sanskrit work. There is, therefore, no reason to doubt its authenticity. Unfortunately, however, the date of Kanishka himself is not yet definitely settled—the consensus of opinion among scholars is in favour of assigning him to the second century A.D.

In the colophon of a manuscript of the *Saundarānanda* Asvaghosha is called the son of Arya Svarnākṣi and a mendicant

of Sanketaka*. In this colophon he is called Bhadanta (Venerable) Asvaghosha, by which name he is also distinguished in the *Subhāshitāvalī* which has preserved five verses of this author.

To return to the *Buddha-charita*, the original appears on the authority of I-Tsing to be a poem of considerable length. According to Prof. Takakusu's calculation it should have comprised some 3,000 slokas. This is an important point. The Sanskrit text as now available contains 1368 verses and has seventeen chapters only—the last four of which are believed to have been composed by another author (Amritānanda). Only the first thirteen chapters of the extant Sanskrit text remain of the original work of Asvaghosha. The Chinese translation of the *Buddha-charita* has 28 chapters. This would indicate that the original also contained 28 chapters. This hypothesis is further supported by another evidence. The *Buddha-charita* was translated into Tibetan in the 7th-8th century A.D. This Tibetan translation also contains 28 chapters. It is thus apparent that a portion only of the original work has survived to our day.

This was preserved in manuscript form in Nepal and was published in the Anecdota Oxoniensia Series by Dr. Cowell in 1893. This edition, based on three MSS., all of which were supposed to be copies from a single original, is, however, not free from defects. The editor admitted this in his preface and attributed it to the inaccuracy of the MSS. he had to rely upon†.

During the 25 years that have elapsed since this first edition was produced, no attempt seems to have been made to improve it. In the meantime the *Buddha-charita* has been introduced as a text book in some of the Indian Universities and portions of the text have been printed

* Sastri—Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts (A S B), p. 1.

† "After all, I have been obliged to leave many passages which are obscure from some undetected corruption in the text. The inaccuracy of the Nepalese MSS. must be my plea, as I submit this *editio prima* of the *Buddha-charita* to the criticism of Sanskrit scholars." P. XV.

† It appears that this translation was not known to I-Tsing.

separately for the convenience of students. Unfortunately these partial editions have adopted the text of the first and defects due to mistakes in copying and deciphering are being perpetuated. The time is therefore come for a revised edition of the Sanskrit text. Such an edition must be based on a comparison of the extant Sanskrit text with the Chinese and Tibetan translations and if possible the original MS in Nepal should also be consulted. But something more is needed for recovering the original text than mere index scholarship. It may be convenient for a concerted orientalist to attribute all the mistakes in his edition to the copyists and even to the author. But this can hardly be said to be fair. To quote only one of many examples of this kind of work. Dr Cowell did not detect any mistake in his reading of the latter half of the first verse of Canto VIII and in his translation (*Sacred Books of the East, Vol XLIX*) gave to it a meaning opposed to nature and common sense. The text चकार यत्नं पथि शोकनिग्रहे तथापि नैवाश्रु न तस्य चिन्तिषे was rendered by him as "made every effort in the road to dissolve his load of sorrow and yet in spite of all *not a tear dropped from him*" (The italics are mine). The absurdity of such a meaning does not require to be demonstrated. The English translation by Beal of the Chinese version of the *Buddha-charita* (Vol XIX of the *Sacred Books of the East*) has the following

"Chandaka leading back the horse opening the way for his heart's sorrow, as he went on, lamented and wept unable to disburthen his soul" P 81

It is gratifying to note that the cause of the confusion which Dr Cowell was led into has been discovered by Prof Jagannath Prasad of the Patna College. In his edition of the eighth canto of the *Buddha-charita* he has pointed out the defect in Cowell's reading which consisted of a mistaken reading of *ch* in place of *n*

in the word *chaivasru* of the Oxford text. As thus restored the sense of the passage is perfectly intelligible "tried on the way to suppress his sorrow, yet he could not help shedding tears." Instances of such corrections are not few in Prof Jagannath Prasad's edition of a single canto and if the method employed by him were to be extended to the whole of the *Buddha-charita* the resultant improvement in the available text is sure to be considerable. Such an edition of the whole book will be welcomed by all students of Sanskrit and Buddhist literature and the learned professor would render a great service to the cause of Sanskrit literature by producing one. There are some other features of Prof Jagannath Prasad's edition of Canto VIII of the *Buddha-charita* which call for some remarks. These are the Sanskrit commentary and the grammatical and exegetical notes. The Sanskrit commentary follows the style of the famous commentator Mallinatha. The value of such a commentary can hardly be exaggerated. It is an important addition to literature and the author has succeeded in achieving what a real *pandit* aspired after in the best days of Sanskrit learning in this country. The notes are most useful to scholars and students alike and are of a wholly different type from what is met with in the works of manufacturers of notes on textbooks of most of the Indian Universities. There is only one point to which one may call the attention of the learned professor. In the present edition the commentary and notes etc., are given after every sloka. This is convenient to some no doubt, and may prove to be of great use to beginners. But the arrangement to which orientalist and Sanskritists have become familiar is one in which the text and the commentary are separated from the notes—the latter coming in at the end of the volume. In an edition of the whole book such an arrangement would, I venture to think, be most desirable.

EFFICIENCY IN BUSINESS

IN India we are still in the medieval age of commerce, the one-man business period. The cobbler, the grocer, the shop-keeper conduct their little shops and do their own manufacturing, their own accounting, their own buying and selling, in a quiet, simple, and unsystematic way. The shop-keeper is satisfied with small profits and the customers make no unusual demands.

Because we have not yet reached the industrial development of factory systems, specialization of work, and large scale production, because we lack modern industrial organization, we are exploited by the more enterprising and more efficient foreigners. In the West methods of business have changed completely in the last fifty years, with the introduction of power machines. Steam and electricity applied to a small machine have taken the place of hundreds of hand-working artisans. Organized business has replaced the small trader. With the rapid growth and change in commercial activities a whole field of study and research has opened, so that business may be systematized and harmonized and continue its advancement.

With the increase in the functions and responsibilities of the business man,—the modern business executive,—with the greater mental and physical strain incident to more and more complex activities, a new and more efficient type of man is evolving. As his task is becoming bigger, considerable care is being given to his selection, and only when his training, his education, his experience, heredity, environment, inherent aptitude, physical and mental make-up warrant it, is he fitted into a particular place. His mental disposition, "the habitual traits of his personality, the features of his individual temperament and character, of the intelligence and of the ability, of the collective knowledge and of the acquired experience—all the variations of will and feeling, of perception and thought, of attention and emotion, of memory and imagination"* are carefully considered before he is pronounced "the best possible man" for a particular function.

* Hugo Munsterberg, "Psychology and Industrial Efficiency."

The success of a modern enterprise depends on the executive ability of the business manager. He must organize, deputize, and supervise. He must know how to observe, how to record, how to analyze, and how to compare essential facts of business. He must have all the qualifications that go to make up a well-rounded man, "brains, education, special or technical knowledge, tact, energy, grit, honesty, judgment or common sense, and good health"*. He should have a general knowledge of the science of organization and management and a special knowledge of his business. Of his duties C. E. Knoeppel says, in his "Installing Efficiency Methods"

"The functions of a department head are—to exercise general supervision over the department, to critically analyze results, to put new problems before his men for their consideration, advice, and action, to criticize subordinates when results are not forthcoming, setting forth the reasons why, and to see that prescribed practice is lived up to."

Management may be said to be of three kinds—unsystematized, systematized, and scientific. The first, as its name indicates, lacks system, lacks records of cost of production and cost of doing business. It is the traditional, usual, rule-of-thumb way of doing things. It relies for its guidance on experience alone. The second form is systematic, keeps cost records and statistics, and is practical in that it makes occasional investigations and comparisons, but it is not quite thorough. Relying only on observation it lacks imagination and breadth of view. The third form is scientific, and therefore the most efficient system of business administration as yet devised. It makes of business a science. It establishes laws and principles of management. It makes thorough investigations of every detail, of men, methods, materials, machinery, markets, and profits. It is known by many names. Its principles were first clearly defined by Dr. Frederick W. Taylor, hence it is sometimes called "the Taylor system." Some synonyms are "functional management," "works or shop management," "efficiency system," and "efficiency engineering."

Taylor defines management as "the art of

* F. W. Taylor, "Shop Management."

knowing exactly what you want men to do and then seeing to it that they do it in the best and cheapest way." According to Mr Brandeis, in his "Scientific Management and the Railroads,"

"... nothing is left to chance, all is carefully planned in advance. Every operation is to be performed according to a pre-determined schedule, under definite instructions, and the execution under the plan is inspected and supervised at every point. Errors are prevented instead of being corrected. The terrible waste of delays and accidents is avoided. Calculation is substituted for guess, demonstration for opinion. The high efficiency of the limited passenger train is sought to be obtained in the ordinary operations of the business."

In all activities we have to deal with the two elements, humanity and raw materials. Scientific management applies to both these. It answers the questions—what, how much, how, when, where, and why, of both. Heretofore scientists devoted most of their time and study to the elements and possibilities of raw materials. Now they begin to study the workers also. Mr F B Gilbreth in his "Motion Study" says

"Through motion study and the accompanying fatigue study we have come to know the capabilities of the worker, the demands of the work, the fatigue that the worker acquires at the work, and the amount and nature of the rest required to overcome the fatigue."

The object of these studies is, of course, to increase production, to eliminate waste, and to lower costs.

Most of the difficulties which arise in business are due to a lack of definite policies and clear cut lines of demarcation in the functions of the various departments. In Taylor's system the business executives undertake to collect "all of the traditional knowledge which in the past has been possessed by the workmen, and then of classifying, tabulating, and reducing this knowledge to rules, laws, and formulae which are immensely helpful to the workmen in their daily work."* The executive, further, finds, by the aid of science, the best method in each step of the work, what materials and tools are to be used, when the work should be done, the time it should take, and what it should cost. He selects the workman scientifically, and then trains, teaches, and develops him to his greatest efficiency, after which he co-operates with him so that the work may be done in the

best, quickest, and most economical way possible.

According to Taylor's plan, the aim of each establishment should be

"First, that each workman should be given as far as possible the highest grade of work for which his ability and physique fit him, second, that each workman should be called upon to turn out the maximum amount of work which a first-rate man of his class can do and thrive, and third, that each workman, when he works at the best pace of a first-class man, should be paid 30 to 100 per cent, according to the nature of the work he does *beyond* the average of his class."

This means high wages, low labour cost, and increased production. It means the turning of the unskilled into skilled workers and the ultimate and final degree of co-operation between capital and labour.

C E Knoeppel in his "Installing Efficiency Methods" fixes five principles on which any plan to install efficiency should be built. These five are Organization, Co-operation, Planning, Standardization, and Incentives. In his ideal plan everything that is done is done in the best way, no man is allowed to do any work which can be done with less skill and less expense, each man is given every chance to measure up to the limit of his possibilities, and everything is done in the right way, on the right thing, at the right time. To carry out this ideal in practice he arranges the following steps

- 1 Search out the inefficiencies at all points in the business, at such time and in such manner as to secure all the facts needed
- 2 Make careful time and motion studies, covering planning, conditions, and operations
- 3 Arrange for co-ordinated planning
- 4 Determine standards as to conditions and operations
- 5 Devise methods for carrying on the work as outlined
- 6 Prepare instructions covering the procedure determined upon
- 7 Ascertain accomplishment so as to measure same with standards
- 8 Investigate reasons for failure to attain standards
- 9 Analyze delays, complaints, allowances, rejections, and inefficiencies

Neither success nor failure in business happen by chance. The laws of success are very definite. Mr Gilbreth groups the underlying principles of Scientific Management into nine divisions. In his method he follows Taylor. His nine principles are

- 1 INDIVIDUALITY Consideration of the special characteristics of the individual in their selection, in relation to tasks allotted to them, and their physical and mental reaction to their work

* F W Taylor, "Principles of Scientific Management"

2 **FUNCTIONALIZATION** How is the work to be divided? How are the workers assigned to the work? What are the results to the worker?

3 **MEASUREMENT** of the standard amount of any kind of work that a first-class man can do in a certain period of time. Time and motion study of the work. The worker to be measured must have the required skill, must understand the theory of what is being done, and must be willing to co-operate.

4 **ANALYSIS AND SYNTHESIS** Upon the degree and perfection of analysis depends the permanent value and usefulness of knowledge gained. Upon the synthesis and what it includes and excludes depends the efficiency of the results deduced.

5 **STANDARDIZATION** of forms, shapes, symbols, surroundings, equipment, tools, devices, clothing—of all physical elements, the purpose being to eliminate waste of time, energy, and material.

6 **RECORDS AND PROGRAMS** Records of work and workers should be kept, the number of records being determined by the satisfactory manner in which they reduce costs, simplify work and increase efficiency. The planning department makes out the program of each step of the work, routing the work and workers.

7 **TEACHING** the worker how to perform his functions systematically and to form in him a habit of doing so. All the principles of the psychology of pedagogy are applied to train him in his work, in being personally efficient, and in being loyal to the house. He is taught to observe, listen, discuss, and formulate.

8 **INCENTIVES** The compensation or reward must be adequate, pre-determined, prompt, assured, fixed, personal, and definite.

9 **WELFARE WORK**, to promote the physical, mental, and moral life of the workers. Physical improvement helps in making them regular in their work and habits. Correct habits of the mind help them to be attentive and to follow the right way in doing the work. Moral development gives them a sense of responsibility, an appreciation of their standing, self-control, and "squareness".

Taylor first enunciated the principles of standardization of tools and equipment, routing and scheduling, instruction cards, motion study, and scientific selection of workmen. The object was to induce the workman and enable him by training to do his best for his own interests. Scientifically measured and predetermined methods to perform functions were provided to the workmen to help to control the quality of *effort* as well as the *manner* in which the work was done. This prevented waste material and effort, lost time, idle machinery and capital.

These principles have been reiterated in slightly different forms by other writers, of whom Harrington Emerson and E. St. Elmo Lewis are the best known. There is sound common sense in all these methods. They are logical and hence scientific. They have been tested and found practical. They

may be taken as suggestions for every business, whatever its stage of development. Their application, however, requires an experienced specialist in organization and management. Diagnosing the ailments of a large industrial organization is a difficult and responsible task.

In his "Applied Methods of Scientific Management", F. A. Pankhurst enumerates the responsibilities of the organizing engineer, the specialist in the science of organization as follows:

1 A preliminary survey into the business, plant, and owner's relations to same, as well as their conception of the science of management and their ability to see the installation of such carried to completion.

2 A report upon necessary changes which shall incorporate recommendations and the probable improvements to accrue.

3 A study of the personnel and plotting of the organization.

4 A determination upon a method of procedure which shall expedite the reorganization along lines consistent with best permanent results, at minimum cost, and relief of greatest elements of inefficiency as soon as possible.

5 The establishment of a self-supporting organization, supported by clearly defined ideals, written instructions, automatic reward for efficient work, with the personal factor a paramount one.

In scientific management the organization, so far as the personnel is concerned, is sharply defined by functions. The executives are concerned with the planning and the rest of the staff carry out the plans in effect. In a highly competitive business a highly developed thinking and planning group of men is particularly necessary. Each executive, too, is limited to the performance of one leading function. E. St. Elmo Lewis thus explains the "staff and line" organization:

THE STAFF—(thinkers) Composed of experts, not officers in any department, each of whom knows all about some branch of the company's business and of other businesses, and hired specialists, such as accountants, production experts, market experts, advertising experts, and office experts, who may be permanently employed or on part time contracts, or on merely as consulting counsels. Their duties are to determine the most efficient methods of doing the work.

THE LINE—(doers) Composed of the department heads, assistant heads and employes, so arranged according to definite lines of authority as to have some one in charge of the line. Their duties are to execute the order of the staff in the manner prescribed and to make use of the expert assistance of the staff whenever unusual conditions arise.

The work of the staff may be summarized as follows:

1 To formulate the plan on which business shall

be developed, then to determine the department which shall carry out each part of the plan

2 To determine to what particular men shall be assigned each particular task, and to prepare standardized instructions by which it shall be done most efficiently, i.e., at the greatest saving of expense, worry, and effort

3 To arrange a just system of compensation to reward the most efficient and penalize the inefficient, to prepare a system of promotions, so that employes may know what advancement awaits each in case he makes good, or better than good

4 To surround the worker with the mental, moral, and physical conditions which expedite work

5 To prepare a code of principles which shall embody the policy of the house towards outsiders and insiders

6 To show by charts and explanations of the organization at large just what part each employe takes in the general scheme

7 To lay down rules for the conduct of the entire organization

Thus the general manager has under him financial, sales, production, and accounting department managers, and calls upon specialists in labour, law, organization, finance, statistics, mechanics, chemistry, etc., to assist him in whatever problem arises. In most organizations besides the advisory staff of specialists there are functional committees consisting of some officers of the organization directly or indirectly responsible for the finance, accounts, statistics, production, sales, and new developments department in the business. The organization of the brains is thus perfected.

The application of scientific management has brought about a revolution in the methods of doing business. In modern shopkeeping the store policies have been radically changed. They now affect the employe as well as the public. The efficient merchant no longer concerns himself merely with selling his merchandise at the best profit he can obtain. It has become a part of his policy to give to his customers the best possible attention to sell goods at the lowest possible price, and to train his salespeople to render prompt and courteous service, not because of altruistic motives, but because such service has proven the best policy he can follow. All modern stores have one price system, they all buy in large quantities ensuring low cost prices, and they all have some system for training their employes. The John Wanamaker stores in New York and Philadelphia were the originators of this policy, and others have followed it because of its success. The Wanamaker policy in regard to the public is.

1. A service exactly opposite to the ancient custom that the customer must look out for himself

2 A kind of storekeeping absolutely new in its insuring protection from wrong statements, printed or spoken, ignorant or wilful, in reference to origins of merchandise, their qualities and their actual values

3 The elimination of so-called "privileges" to customers, as privileges border on humiliation, because hospitality as well as the return of goods for refunds or reclamations are *rights* that spenders of money are entitled to, as rights, not as favors

4 Recognizing and practising the manifest though unwritten law that customers are entitled to the maximum of satisfaction at the minimum of cost, for the reason that they pay the usual and ordinary expenses of storekeeping, which are always included in the price of merchandise

5 Securing to each individual dealing with us exactitude of intelligent service and full value for value received in every transaction

Policies relating to the market price of the goods, credit, advertising, dealers' co-operation, manufacturing, etc., vary in different businesses. St. Elmo Lewis thus defines the policy of a house

"It is the plan on which it is founded, the purpose that it has in being in business, it is the statement of what it will do to get and keep business, it is the manner in which it treats its customers, relative to things which are not a matter of price or quality but of service"

The Wanamaker stores justify their policy by a strict adherence to it. Besides the policy they have four business ideals which they call their "cardinal points" and which are

1 The assembling and distribution of the best products of the world upon the most intelligent and economical basis

2 The ablest management, most thorough accuracy of service and, because of the fairest treatment of all the workers from the humblest to the highest, the finest comradeship

3 The life and soul of the business to its honor

4 The aim and purpose of the business must always be that as it rises it must lift every worker with it

These are the applications of efficiency methods to store policies, which have developed more or less simultaneously along with efficiency methods as applied to production and manufacturing. Recently, however, experts have begun to apply Taylor's System to make researches and studies of marketing as well. These principles when applied to sales management have produced the following eight methods which enable the sales manager to secure results from even an average salesman. As enumerated by Charles Wilson Hoyt in his "Scientific Sales Management" they are as follows

1 Mail sales co-operation 2. Spirit of game, or

competition 3 Bulletins, letters, house-organs. 4 Councils, meetings, conventions 5 Territory superintendents 6 Standard sales methods 7 Specially salesmen 8 Trade promotion department

In addition he recommends a set task and reward, and an expense account system. In this brief outline of the functions of the sales manager we can recognize the application of standardization, instruction, planning, records, and all the other principles of the science of business success.

Whether it is sales management, or farming, or railroading, or running a printing establishment, in every line of business we have to deal with men and materials. Any system that conserves the time and energy of the workers and helps them to produce and earn more and any method that helps to economize in materials is worth while.

The principles of efficiency apply to all human activities, whether they be those of an individual or of a group. They apply in political, educational, and social work just as well as they do to commerce. They apply whenever and wherever men engage in any productive or destructive activity.

It is true that up to the present time in the western countries only large industrial organizations have found really beneficial use for scientific management. But that is due to the fact that only they can afford to maintain

scientific laboratories for making experiments, for observing time, motion and fatigue studies which are essential for finding the best possible method of work and the best possible materials. Only in large scale production where profits depend upon the prevention of waste of motion, material, and minutes, is it worth while to take all this trouble.

But in India we are now at the dawn of an industrial era. Survival of the fittest applies, with all its cruelty and cold-blooded effectiveness in business competition. Indian industries can only compete and exist if we realize the necessity and usefulness of co-operation and conservation of effort. Our future depends considerably on our employment of the most up-to-date systems of organization and management. It is said that inefficiency is a form of waste, of loss. It lurks everywhere, in processes, in materials, in individuals, and in nations. We are very far behind the times in material matters. We can hope to come up with the rest of the world only by rapidly making up for our national industrial inefficiency by a nationwide application in all our activities, in all our organizations, in all our industries, of the principles of scientific management. That is our only hope.

RAM KUMAR KHEMKA

THE HEDAMBA KINGDOM—ITS LAWS AND CONSTITUTION

INTRODUCTORY

HEDAMBA was the name given to the kingdom lying to the east of Sylhet and comprising what is now known as the Cachar District. I propose to give in the following pages a brief idea of the written laws or codes, and the political constitution of that small but interesting kingdom.

To understand and appreciate the laws and constitution fully we have to study the evolution of the mentality—the ideals of life and state—of the rulers, who settled in Cachar and gave it the name of Hedamba. This kingdom seems to have been known to the Bengalis of Sylhet by the popular name of Cachar. The Cachar kings began to style themselves as Lords of

Hedamba after they founded their capital at Maibong in the North Cachar Hills.

The Kacharis, as the race to which the Hedamba kings belonged is known, are a branch of the Bodo family of Mongolian race. They call themselves *Bodo-fi-sa* or sons of *Bodo* or Buddha. They penetrated into Assam by the north-east, overpowering the preceding race of conquerors, viz., the Koches, and founded their capital at Dimapur. With the next wave of invasion, that of the Ahoms, however, the Kacharis found it difficult to hold their own and retreated into the North Cachar Hills in 1536. Their first capital was at Dimapur, in Sibsagar District and the second at Maibong in the North Cachar Hills and the third in the plains of Cachar at

Khaspur It is interesting to remember in this connection that among the ruins of Dimapur while there are beautiful carvings of animal and plant life, we miss any carvings of gods or goddesses or even the names of kings. We are, therefore, led to conclude that at that time they had not even come under Hindu influence, much less adopt their religion. The stone inscription of the year 1576 found at Maibong reads "May there be good (शुभमस्तु)

Megha-Narayan Deva of Hachengsa family becoming king at Maibong made the lion-gate of stones at Maibong, Saka 1498, 26th Asarh (July, 1576)." The omission of the usual salutation to gods or goddesses is to be ascribed to the loose tie of allegiance that bound them to Hinduism, but strong Hindu influence is evident. But a coin of the year 1583 gives the name of the king as "King Jashonarayan Deva of the Hachengsa dynasty devoted to the feet of Hara and Gauri." The inference that may safely be drawn from this is (1) that Kachari Kings had begun to worship Hindu gods and goddesses, (2) the words "of the Hachengsa dynasty" show that the Pauranic Rakshashi Hidimba had begun to be associated with his family. But by the time they moved to Khaspur their former lineage was entirely lost. Here, as almost everywhere else, the process of Hinduisation has been a process of Aryanization. To be admitted to the benefits of Hinduism or more correctly *Arya-dharma*, one had to prove his claim to that privilege by the only method of tracing a genealogy from some Aryan ancestor or at least a Pauranic personage. Non-Aryans could not share the benefits of *Arya-dharma*.

When admitted into Hinduism the Cachar kings became ardent members and supporters of that religion. Hinduism, as we know, is more than a religion—it is the entire culture and civilization of the Aryans taken in a mass and includes their arts and sciences, their laws and customs and everything that make for a civilized existence. Manu the lawgiver, therefore, does not stop with religion or society but includes political and commercial law too. For to the Hindu, they are parts of the same *organic* whole. Hindu sages count among their number not only the great seers but all eminent scientists and thinkers. So to be a true and great Hindu, the Cachar kings had to respect Hinduism in its entirety. They, therefore, not only adopted Hindu religion and induced members of the original stock to embrace the same (for a large number of them were non-Hindus), but there was nothing they could not do to create "an air of pure" Hinduism in their kingdom. The whole constitution of the kingdom from the royal court downwards, the entire legal system were thoroughly permeated by their new religion. For, were they not Hindu kings and was it not their duty to

preserve Dharma or the moral, social, political and religious order according to the Hindu ideal? When all this was done, could anybody question the genuineness of their genealogy traced from Hidimba mentioned in the *Mahabharata*?

I shall now proceed to give an idea of the constitution and laws of the Hedamba kingdom, as clearly as the meagreness of information available at this distance of time will permit and try to discuss their worth.

CONSTITUTION OF THE KINGDOM

Like all neighbouring states of the time, it was a monarchy and the sovereignty was hereditary. The king had a minister who had the Mahomedan name of vizier (*ujir*) given to him. When the king sat as the chief judge, as every Hindu king is conceived to be, he was assisted by a council of experts including the minister, the spiritual preceptor and certain learned Brahmins versed in the Sastras and the Bara Majumdar (chief Union representative). It is everywhere a feature of olden days that there were no lawyers of the modern kind. Those learned men who specialised in law would be appointed by the king to assist at tribunals, where not one judge but a committee of experts (in the exposition and application of the law) would sit like a sort of a jury. There were indeed a class of persons who relied almost entirely on the exposition of the sacred texts for their living, and they were Pandits in the villages, whose advice on all knotty points of law and ritual was sought and obtained. Appeals and references against their opinions lay with the chief centres of learning. But such persons were chiefly concerned in the religious and social laws. This system continues in modern villages. By the side of the learned expositors of the laws, who sat at the royal courts not only to help the transaction of the state affairs but also to add to the status and dignity of the court itself, sat others who had specialised in the other branches. And it was the pride of kings in those days to have a learned and distinguished court. They would be paid from the state and give their views of a particular case as they understood it. Not being in the pay of any party they could give their opinions fully and frankly. The time may come some day, though it be a very distant event, when with the advance of times, the burden of retaining lawyers would cease to be a charge on the parties and be regarded a duty of the state, public funds being utilised for the purpose.

Unlike modern states, justice was free. Like police duties, administration of justice was considered one of the primary duties, for which no special fees could, in their view, be justly charged. This was the position uniformly and invariably taken in the older times. And one must admit that there is great force in the

argument that not only in the case of more heinous offences but in all cases anybody who is aggrieved and can make out a *prima facie* case should be allowed the privilege of free justice at public expense.

Kautilya describes two kinds of law-courts, one (कष्टक प्राशन) in which three ministers and diplomats sat and decided cases punishable with death and cases of political and serious public importance. The second was composed of three learned Brahmins or ministers versed in the sacred laws (षड्विद्वांसः). Such courts were exclusive of the Royal courts at the metropolis and were situated at all central places and in the head-quarters of 400 and 800 villages. Besides, there were the Gramikas (village headmen) and Gramabridhas (village elders, Gao buras of Assam) who were vested with powers of punishing offences.

Manu describes a court of law (which he calls the Brahma Sabha) in which a Brahmin acted as a representative of the king (when the king could not attend) and he was assisted by three learned Brahmins. For all members of the court strict morality is enjoined and even withholding one's opinion is strongly condemned. Kautilya is evidently an improvement on Manu.

The Cachar kings had two law-courts, or more correctly, two systems of law-courts, meant for two different kinds of people and to administer two different kinds of laws. The non-Hinduised Kacharis were guided by their tribal laws, the king being assisted by the chief law-man, called the Bar Bhandari and a long chain of subordinate officers. The supreme court, that had jurisdiction over the Bengali settlers of the plains, has been described. But that was not only the final court of appeal but on the original side was the prototype of the Kantaka-sodhona courts and decided cases punishable with death and the more serious offences generally. The court of the ordinary resort (Dharmasthiya in Kautilya) were the Raj Muktears or the agent representatives of a Raj, while the counterpart of a Gramika was to be noticed in the Khel Muktears—the agent representative of a Khel. It is now necessary to explain what the Raj Muktears and Khel Muktears were. Raj and Khel were circles and sub-circles for the collection of the revenue and agrees with the Parganahs and Maujas of the Mugal system. The Muktears were the representatives of the people of their respective circles and were regarded as agents responsible for the collection of the land revenue. The whole kingdom was divided for revenue purposes into a number of Rajes corresponding in size and conception to a Parganah. Raj was further subdivided into Khels (or Maujas or villages) as we would call them. The people obtained land from the Government on the

joint or several responsibility of the villagers. It was not enough to pay down one's own share of the revenue, for the king leased out a whole block to a village or Khel and not to individual villagers. They were required to elect a representative to act as agent on their behalf in the royal courts and he was called the Khel Muktear or the agent of the Khel. His name was registered as the agent responsible for the due submission of the revenue. In a Khel there would generally be members of several castes and races and the only bond of connection was proximity of residence and community of interest. It was really a kind of a co-operative Zamindari society. With the growth of the number of Khels necessity was probably felt for a union of these co-operative organisations both by the people and the government. The Rajes or the unions of the villages were organised and became really a union of Khels. The Khels elected a representative who was naturally the most influential man in that group of villagers and became responsible to the king for the due submission of the revenue of his whole circle or Raj. The Khels of this type ceased to send the revenue direct to the treasury but they remitted their dues to the Raj Muktear (i.e., the union or league representative). Under the modern system revenue is payable direct to the local treasury by each individual, while the Mugals appointed Chowdhuries for the collection of the revenue of a whole Parganah. During the early days of the East India Company the rate of commission chargeable by these revenue farmers, then known as Zamindars, was fixed at 10 per cent of the rental. But the Cachar system was different from both. There was no farming of the revenue and no commission for collection was given but the Raj and Khel Muktears received the grant of rent-free lands in consideration of services rendered, while the security of the state lay in the joint and several responsibility of the villagers primarily and in case the village failed to make good any deficiency, the balance became automatically a charge on the whole Raj. But in that case, the villagers or to be more accurate members of the Khel, or the Raj, whoever might have to pay the defaulting revenue, would have the right of distributing the land in default amongst its members, but could not take in any new members to share lands. This co-operative commonwealth, I mean the Khel and the Raj, would not easily admit new members after they had been once firmly established. The burden of collecting the revenue and responsibility for its timely submission, as has been said, lay on the Raj Muktears of the union representative. When the king's man came to demand payment of the revenue, the Raj Muktear would sound his trumpet and this would be signal to the Khel Muktears to come with their men and pay down their revenue. In case they failed, he had to satisfy the royal

demand and then realise it from his constituency if necessary by the drastic step of redistributing the land

For all this trouble and responsibility what is the return they obtained? In the first place they received grants of land in lieu of pay. They were the chief executive and judicial authorities and exercised all the powers not expressly reserved to the crown, of which mention has already been made. They were usually granted titles of rank, the chief of which was *Baia Majumdar* (principal Union representative). Their powers of disposing of criminal cases differed with their status. Civil justice was entirely relegated to them.

It thus appears that the land system had the appearance of Feudalism, but it seems clear that the Raj or Khel was not required to supply men for the army (though labour had to be supplied). The gradation from the king to Raj Muktears and then to the Khel Muktears with the individual farmer at the bottom of the pyramid looked very like the Feudalism less its military levy. In the division of the state into revenue circles they might have been influenced by the example of the Mahomedans but there is little likelihood of that being the case. The nomenclature is entirely Kachari's own. There was the idea of representation in the election of Raj and Khel Muktears. Very naturally only the most respected and influential men were chosen and in course of time these offices, with the titles of honour they carried with them became hereditary. The representative became in course of time a born leader—a kind of patriarch, with the tie of kindred wanting. And the last, but not the least, interesting feature of the land system was the principle of co-operation on which the units of the system, viz, the Khels as well as their Unions the Rajes, were formed. These co-operative corporations, the Khels and the Rajes, are as original to Cachar as they are interesting.

The machinery of the administration was therefore rather simple, with the king and his council at the head to hear appeals and to decide serious criminal cases. His ministers and councillors advised him in all matters where their assistance was sought. The Raj Muktears were the courts of first instance in all ordinary criminal offences and important civil disputes, petty cases being decided by the Khel Muktears.

The control of the central government on the people of the plains who were subject to the above constitution was indirect and but little felt. The Bengali settlers who mostly came from Sylhet and occasionally from such distances as Dacca, enjoyed a kind of self-government under the king. It has often been said that the only form of association possible and practised in India is the tie of blood and caste, villages are considered to be the units of society and to be essentially patriarchal in

their formation. This position has been variously criticised and in the case of Cachar it does not apply at all. The corporations known as the Khels which were the units of society in Cachar were a conglomeration of persons of different castes, races and religion or to put it another way—a co-operative peasant-proprietorship society without any capital and with joint and several responsibility, limited to the extent of the revenue payable, the membership being open to men of all castes and creeds and races at the time of formation.

As is to be expected, payment was made and received to a large extent in kind. The officials from Ujir (minister) and councillors down to the Muktears received grants of land in lieu of the salary. The revenue was partly received in kind and labour and partly in money. The total revenue amounted to one lakh of which Rs 70,000 was obtained from the plains of Cachar.

Cowrie was the principal currency, while the standard of value were silver pieces—called *Kahan* or *Karshapan*. The value of a Kahan has been estimated by Professor Bhattacharyya to be As 4 (*Vide दृष्टव्य राजेर दंडावधि* edited by Professor P. N. Bhattacharyya, M.A.). The rate of land revenue was low, being only Rs 3 per *Hal* (As 15 per acre), during the time of Kartik (Kirti?). Chandra. During the time of the last king Gobinda Chandra some lands yielded as much as Rs 6 per *Hal* (the present average rate of land revenue is roughly 9 As per Bigha or Rs 1.12 per acre). At the time of British occupation the revenue fell to about Rs 20,000. During the troublesome days of the last king, the Burmese and the Manipuri invasions led people to leave the district in their hundreds and thousands. And it was not possibly till after the Sepoy Mutiny that the *status quo* could be re-established. The total cultivated area has increased twenty-fold in the last 70 years ending in 1900 and the population nearly nine times.

Though there were 22 kinds of taxes, the principal sources of income were land, forest, fishery and salt mine.

From personal enquiries that I made, it appears that the rate of wages for ordinary labourers was half anna per day without food, and annas 4 to 5 per month with food. A clerk or mohurer could be engaged at Rs 2 to 3 per month. Gambir Sing of Manipur was appointed Commander-in-Chief on Rs 50 per month. These figures must be taken with the prices current in those days and they would show that the real wages were not lower than now, though the nominal wages look as low. Even in 1953 rice unhusked sold at As 2.6 per maund, while rice in the husk sold at As 9. The unusual difference between the rates for husked and unhusked rice are possibly to be ascribed to the scarcity of labour. Rice would be obtained at Rs 16 per maund.

THE HEDAMBA LAWS

Having thus reviewed in brief the constitution of executive and judicial machinery, and the land system of the kingdom and such indication of the material condition of the state as is now traceable, I shall try to give an idea of the laws both civil and criminal.

Three books containing the written laws of the state has so far been discovered. The two relating to criminal laws have been published and have been edited by Prof Padmanath Bhattacharyya, to whose labours in the field of historical research our debt is deep and sincere. The third book is awaiting publication by the Sylhet-Cachar Research Society and deals with the laws of credit.

RINADAN BIDHI (LAWS OF CREDIT)

Rinadan (ऋणादान) occurs as a technical term in Narada, Manu, and Kautilya among others. Narada describes (Rinadan) as dealing with the grant and realisation of loans and the eligible parties for giving a loan.

ऋणदेयश्च येन यत्र यमया च यत् ।

दानं ग्रहणं धर्माश्चतद्विनादानमुच्यते ॥

The second sentence of the Hedamba Rinadan laws seem to be an adaptation of Narada, but the text as given here is vague. Manu divides all disputes into 18 classes of which ऋणादान (Rinadan) is only one.

Kautilya, as Chanakya styled himself in his immortal "*Artha-shastra*", charged the Dharmasthiya courts with the trial of 24 different kinds or classes of offences and the Kantaka-sodhana (कण्टक शोधन) courts with 13 other classes of more important offences, Rinadan (ऋणादान) is only one group, out of the 24, allotted to the Dharmasthiya (धर्मस्थीय)

But the book Rinadan-Bidhi of the Hedamba kingdom contains many other topics of allied nature than the strictly technical meaning of the name would suggest. This book is divided into chapters, the subject of each being explained at the beginning of a chapter. The total number of chapters come to nine.

These chapters admit of grouping under the following heads—

I General rules—including eligible parties and rates, chap. 1

II Mortgages and sureties and their release, chaps. 2, 3, & 4

III Realisation of debts on the failure or death of the original debtor (the creditor's collateral security), chaps. 5, 6 & 7

IV Method of realisation, if payment is not voluntary, chap. 8

V Deposits, chap. 9

From the above it is clear that the laws of credit, as they obtained in Hedamba, were wider

than those contemplated in Manu and really included laws that Manu or Kautilya would class under other heads.

While it is really very creditable for such an outlying state to promulgate laws of such advanced kind it has been suggested in certain quarters that the laws are examples of the erudition of the courtiers and they were never put into practice, while others are of opinion that they are mere copies of the ancient law-books of the Hindus. If either of the surmises be true, the books would be deprived of a great deal of the interest attached to them.

Of the first objection that these books by no means represent the law as practised, it is an old argument of those who want to discredit the ancient law-books of the Hindus possibly for the reason that they appear far in advance of the world of their age. The laws of Manu and the Politics (Arthashastra) of Chanakya had to overcome the prejudice of being regarded as the spider's web woven in the cells of philosophical recluses to please their fancy. Yet Manu has continued for centuries to influence the laws and customs of Hindu society. Kautilya Chanakya was the Chancellor of a vast empire which his own genius was primarily responsible in building up. These insinuations deserve as much thought as to picture Bismarck sitting in his study to elaborate a scheme of an ideal empire. The very fact that the laws were proclaimed by the king himself on the 1st of Falgun, 1738 Saka (1617 A.D.) knocks the whole argument on the head and sweeps away any doubt that might have been entertained. It has also been suggested that though these laws were promulgated and proclaimed solemnly they were not strictly followed. This is rather likely. At the time when the connection between the central government and the subordinate officers were not very intimate and specially in Cachar where the very constitution of the government allowed the Raj Muktears such wide powers, breaches or disregard of the law by the lower court did not regularly or readily reach the central authorities. Strict enforcement of the law was a difficult matter and required considerable time. And are British laws strictly and impartially enforced?

Now as regards the second point—that these laws are nothing better than copies and translations of the Sanhitas and other law-givers. It is not difficult to show that though they are based on ancient law books, they are not mere copies. They adapted the older laws of the Sanhitas and Arthasastras to the circumstances of their kingdom and the age they lived in. There one peculiarity is that they are entirely written in prose, the Sanskrit portion being written in the form of a Sutra or condensed rule, the Bengali portion explaining the revision in detail in the Bengali dialect then spoken in that kingdom. Secondly, they are divided into chapters in a manner not to be found elsewhere.

The opening lines of every chapter (in all laws) giving the subject to be dealt with therein, have the appearance of a preamble and is possibly a result of the influence of early British laws and proclamations. Thirdly, they omit many provisions which we read in Manu and Kautilya and the Mahanuvān Tantra, etc., while there are clauses for which we search in vain in any of them. Unlike Manu and Kautilya they omit the methods to be applied by the king when a banker denies the receipt of a deposit and the depositor cannot prove his case. Nor can we find provision for any punishment of creditor or witness to, a loan with interest beyond the legal limit. Claims for excessive interest are invalid and that is all.

Cachar laws seem to go upon the principle that burden of proof lies entirely on the complainant. The king acknowledges no liability, if, in case of theft, the things stolen cannot be restored to the owner, nor is there the right of the king to a share of the stolen things when found and restored (that we find in Manu and Kautilya). The king according to the *Sanhitas* and Kautilya was liable to restore the stolen properties in case they could not be recovered from the thieves. So great were the responsibilities gladly undertaken by the kings. And Kautilya succeeded so well in putting these ideas in practice that we hear of people leaving doors unlocked. The modern world cannot furnish even a visionary, who would think of charging the state with such a responsibility. Hedamba lawyers did not escape the influence of the times and could not possibly have incorporated such laws into their statute book. A new colony like Cachar is apt to attract a large number of people, who are the opposite of docile and required time to make them amenable to law.

Manu empowers the creditor to employ the following methods for realising his dues from the debtor (VIII 49) and the king was authorised to approve of the methods. The creditor could adopt any of these means of his own motion and would not be punishable for such action (IV 48). They are—(1) by good advice (धर्म) sent through friends, (2) by proving the debtor's liability by written documents (ब्यवहार), (3) by tricks (कल), (4) by external pressure such as attaching the chattels, arrest of the members of his family, stopping his path-ways, (5) by use of physical force. The Hedamba laws do not empower the creditor to arrest or put pressure on anybody other than the actual debtor. Moreover it is strictly laid down that if the creditor compels the debtor to do any work derogatory to his caste, the creditor shall forfeit his right to the dues and shall be fined 15 Kahans, in addition. Moreover violence on the debtor too is forbidden.

According to Manu, Narada, Kautilya, the

depository is absolved from the liability of restoring the deposit if the thing be lost or destroyed by chance (उपनिपात) or accident over which he had no control like flood, fire and invasion. But the Hedamba laws provide that if the thing deposited be lost or destroyed by Daiva (दैव—uncontrollable chance or stroke of mishap) the depository shall be liable for three-fourths of the deposit, but does not hold mortgagees similarly responsible.

The debtor in such case of losses has to provide a second mortgage. Manu enjoins upon the king to employ spies to ascertain the truth in cases of deposit without documents or witnesses. Kautilya also agrees on this point. The Hedamba laws, on the other hand, requires the king to make the depository swear by the life of the husband or the son to tell the truth, but nothing more.

The Hedamba laws contain frequent references to written documents and require the bond to be obtained and torn, when the payment is made. The debtor is advised to obtain a receipt if the document be lost and cannot therefore be retained for the purpose of a receipt. This is entirely an innovation and adaptation from non-Hindu sources.

The liability for debts not only extends to all members of the joint family and the heirs, but even a son who chooses to live separately from the father during the latter's life-time would be held liable for paternal debt for twenty years after such separation. When the same property is mortgaged to two or more parties, the prior mortgagee shall alone be valid, and the debtor is in that case, subject to serious humiliating punishment.

Though Kautilya exempts five classes of persons, viz., those engaged in sacrifices and study and the sick and poor, from the payment of interest, but Hedamba laws allow no such favour. Even the list of disqualified borrowers in Kautilya is a modified form of Manu who names six classes of disqualified persons (VIII 163) and while in Hedamba we find only three classes.

There does not seem to be any provision for fixing the rate of interest on book-debts and the manner and the time of its validity in either the *Sanhitas* or the *Aithasastras*. In Hedamba elaborate and minute laws regarding debts on account of foods purchased, wages due, &c., found place in the laws.

The sanctioned rate of interest for Brahmins and the proportion in which the rates would vary with castes is the same as in the *Sanhitas* and *Arthasastra*. Four Gandas per Karshapan or Kahan for a Brahmin comes to 15 p c per annum, and the legal maximum for secured debts and for debts backed by a surety, is a little less than 17 p c, while ordinary bonds bear an interest of 24 p c (approximate). The legal rates of interest for the four castes—Brahmin,

Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Sudra—vary in constant ratio of 2 3 4 5 The principle of fixing the maximum permissible interest has been denounced as uneconomical and the system of caste interest varying inversely with the social position of the caste has been branded as intolerable favouratism I shall revert to this discussion later on

There is another interesting clause which fixes the total maximum interest that may lawfully accrue to double the principal

Unlike modern banks the depository paid no interest and were not allowed to use the deposit in any way, nor would they charge any commission as the responsible custodian, as the goldsmiths and banks of medieval Europe used to do

There is a point, which Indian public opinion resents strongly, that is the privilege granted the accused for not holding him responsible for the statement he makes In the Hedamba laws, as in every other, the accused was liable to be charged and punished for perjury if he made any intentionally false statement

There are internal evidences to show that the दण्डविधि (Danda Bidhi) is not merely a translation of old texts After laying it down that a woman who murders her husband, superiors or sons shall be punished with a painful and humiliating death, it says that the शुद्धचिन्तामणि (Suddhachintamani) does not permit death sentences on women Another clause quotes the ruling of the Vivada-Nirnaya on a certain point

Then again the preamble with which each chapter begins says they are written after Vivada-Darpana (mirror of disputes) विवाददर्पण evidently a complete text on law locally compiled

One chapter of the Dandabidhi (penal laws) lays down the fines that may be realised as an alternative for physical punishment

Without further discussing the point it would be well to mention that some of the clauses at any rate are innovations into and modifications of the sacred laws of the Hindus

THE WORTH OF THESE LAWS

Two other formidable criticisms have been hurled at these laws It has been said that the system of class interest and restriction of the

rate of interest chargeable are both uneconomical and unjustifiable We have to remember that when money is rather scarce and therefore unnatural and exorbitant interest is likely to be charged, it becomes necessary in the interest of society to regulate interest, especially where agriculture is the main vocation of life, for agriculture can bear but a light interest Under such circumstances anti-usury laws are not only justifiable but often imperative

As has been pointed out the Hedamba kings wanted to obtain an atmosphere of pure Hinduism in their kingdom Hindu social order, as then understood, was dominated by the principle of caste A Brahmin was required to live a life much above the common run of people and had to be induced to remain steadfast to those high ideals of life by granting them then sons and progeny, special concessions This is an attempt at an explanation and in an economic and historical study like this we need not do more It is enough in discussing the etiology of the Prussian mentality of the war, to state the preachings of Nietzsche and his Super-man and its influence Whether the Brahmin of India and the Super-man of Nietzsche are justifiable ideals are different questions altogether To appreciate the laws we have to understand the ends the law-makers had in view and judge them by their own standard and that alone Stevenson's inventions can be appreciated by reference to the standard and circumstances of his time not by the standard of the mere perfected machines of modern times If the Hedamba law-givers had stuck to words of the ancient texts and had taken no advantage of the influence of progressive ideas around them, we might have justly stigmatised them as orthodox and unprogressive This we have tried to establish was not the case The Hedamba law-givers were wide awake and seemed to have been open to conviction and ready to adopt any useful provision into the statute book, Vivada-Darpana

For the wisdom and foresight of those colonists from Sylhet and other parts of Bengal who so quickly and cleverly turned a conquering horde into loving, earnest and well-meaning neighbours, the greatest admiration is due The erudition, insight and juristic learning of those who promulgated the interesting and progressive laws of the Hedamba kingdom, will command the respect of all who study them

KSHIRODE CHANDRA PURKAYASTHA

EDUCATION IN SWEDEN

BY FIA OHMAN, AUTHOR OF "UNDER INDIENS HIMMEL EN RESA I TAGORE'S LAND"

THE main principles on which Swedish education is based, are the development of observation and of original ideas, together with their practical application

Higher general culture is well cared-for by the people of Sweden. Great generosity on behalf of educational aims is manifested both by private individuals and by the Government. In comparison with the size of the population, Sweden has a large number of universities, and, in addition, a well-developed college foundation. Scientific work has strong attraction for the Swedish youth, and striving after a scientific education is encouraged in many ways.

Sweden has of old been held in high esteem for her contributions to the department of natural science. At the present day, Sweden might well find herself in the first rank among the lands of culture, not only with regard to natural science and its application—for example, in medical science,—but also in philology and history.

Owing to the efforts of the clergy, the country people in many places were able to read already at the beginning of the 17th century, but it was first through an ecclesiastical law passed in the year 1686 that instructions were given with regard to general teaching, which thus passed from the care of the Church to that of the State. During the 18th century, education of the people progressed slowly, and during the 19th century the conviction gradually ripened, that in every parish, schools ought to be established and equipped with competent teachers, and also that general education should be made obligatory. In 1842 was issued the first Swedish law for public-schools (corresponding to the board-schools in England), in which it was prescribed that in every parish there should be at least one school, with a teacher certified by the authorities as competent. At the

present time, the law requires that in every district there shall be one school, or more when conditions make it desirable and practicable. For those pupils who have passed the required course in the ordinary public-school, extension courses are arranged in many school districts. The higher public-schools purpose to give the children an opportunity of imbibing a higher measure of general civil and practical education. On behalf of the State, the Public-school Board of Administration has control over all the schools' affairs in the country, and special school inspectors are appointed to travel around, and examine and report upon the school conditions.

All teachers, both men and women, are required to have passed through the State Teachers' Seminary. At present, there are fifteen such seminaries, of which nine are for men and six for women. In addition, there are two corresponding private seminaries for women. The students' course at the seminary takes four years. The following subjects are taught: religious knowledge, Swedish language, mathematics, history, geography, biology, hygiene, physics, chemistry, economics, foreign languages (German or English), physiology, pedagogy, drawing, music, gardening, sloyd, gymnastics with games and sports, practical training. In every seminary, a physician is appointed, whose duty it is to look after the health and sanitary conditions of the college, and to promote the efficiency of the pupils' physical care and training. He is also required to give professional advice gratis to those pupils who ask it. The pupils have also access to baths and shower-baths.

THE PUPILS All parents and guardians are compelled to allow their children and wards to receive instruction. The school board is to see that this is done. The school years are from 7 to 14 years.

of age. In cases where the parents or guardians cannot afford to supply the children with clothing and maintenance at school, the parish relief must support them. Pupils who are vicious and have a bad influence on their school fellows, are to be removed by the school board to a school especially arranged for such children. The school year must, according to law, include at least eight months' tuition. Among other arrangements which are made with a view to the children's physical development, in addition to gymnastics and games which are included in the instruction, may be mentioned care of the teeth, school baths, meals for those children whose parents are too poor to supply proper food, and the holiday-school settlements during vacation.

There are special bathrooms in the school buildings where the children take warm baths and are washed by competent attendants, and in the meantime the children's clothing is cleansed by hot steam. In the larger towns, meals are served at the school. In Stockholm, not only dinner but also breakfast is supplied.

With regard to the holiday-school settlements, poor and delicate children from the towns are sent to the country during the summer holidays, under the care of private societies. Such a settlement usually includes about thirty children, under the supervision of a school-master or mistress, with the requisite number of assistants. In some cases, the settlements own their house in the country; otherwise, they rent a farm-house or a building near the woods or the sea. The children get nourishing food, are out in the fresh air, and have the advantage of bracing sea-baths. In this way, the holiday-schools accomplish an important work towards increasing and conserving our people's vigour, at the same time that their educational influence on the children, by cultivating habits of regularity and order, is of no mean significance.

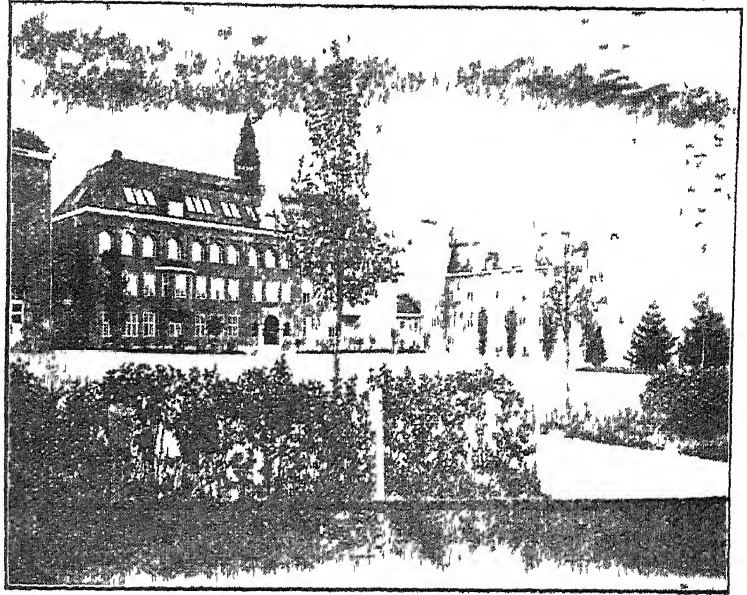
One of the special steps in promoting the education of the people, is the school library. The establishment of the library is entrusted to the school board according

to the school law. In Stockholm in the year 1914, there were sixteen school libraries, containing in all 43,000 volumes.

SCHOOL OF HANDCRAFT OR SLOYD

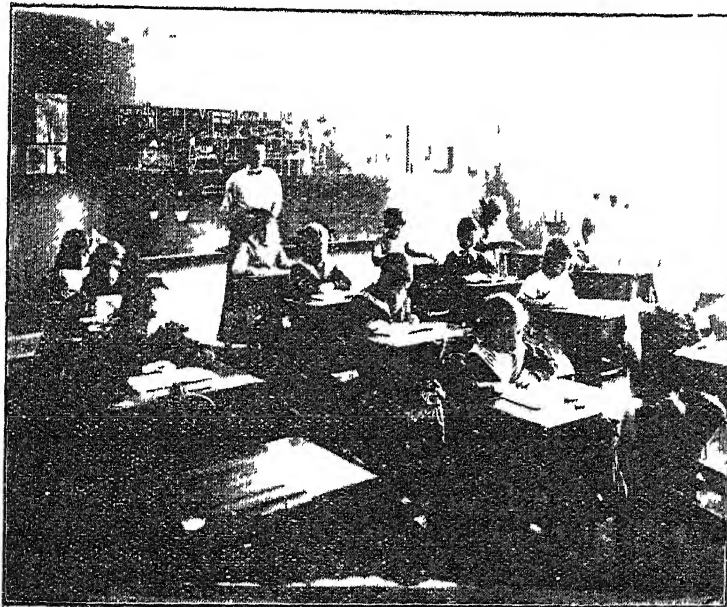
Sweden has taken a leading place in the movement which has striven to have systematically arranged physical labour included as an important factor in all national education, as opposed to the one-sided brain-work in schools. A Swedish system for teaching handcraft has been worked out and has since been introduced into many European and other countries. By the Swedish school of handcraft is understood the system and method of teaching developed by the "Naas Sloyd Seminary", where the greater number of Swedish teachers of sloyd carpentry have been trained. The subject is also taught in all public-school seminaries, and in several country-places courses in sloyd have been arranged for public-school teachers. At the present time, two courses in sloyd, each lasting six weeks, are held during the summer months at the seminary. There are also courses in metal-working, for teaching leadership in games, for instructions in cookery and gymnastics, and tuition is given in drawing and modelling and in gardening. During the winter months needlework and weaving are also taught. The instruction is free of cost to the students, with the exception of those who are not appointed teachers at a public school, and who pay 25 kronor (about 28 shillings) a year. Teachers of foreign nationality pay 50 kronor. Instruction includes lectures and discussions on the teaching of handcraft, its system, methods and history, and drawing. In some of the schools, lessons are given in cardboard and metal work, turning and wood-carving. The aim of the sloyd movement, is not to train carpenters or other professional workers, but, it is to develop the pupil morally, intellectually and physically by accustoming him to order, application, and perseverance, by training the eye to see better, the hand to work better, and not least by bringing about a balance to the one-sided book studies by means of healthful exercise.

"Not quantity but quality," is the motto of the sloyd school. The method at Naas is based on practice. By "practice" is here understood the working of the material by means of one or more tools in a certain way and with a certain motive. The finished work, or practice, must unite practical utility with esthetic form, and as a rule only those articles are turned out that can be made use of, in order to strengthen the bond between home and school. The sloyd school also wishes to develop the pupils' original ideas and to accustom them to observe and to think. By placing practice before theory, and work before explanations, the child becomes accustomed to think for himself, at the same time he works out his own ideas. The primary aim in the teaching is the personal development of the pupil, and not the acquirement of technical facility. The instruction is individual, and not like class instruction.



A School in Sweden.

In the work of educating the people, both in the public high schools and in the free instruction for grown people, among those who having left school are following their own special line of work, the *popular science lectures* and the *public library* are especially made use of. The term "education of the people", must not be understood as designating only the working classes of the broader divisions of society, but in this instance the word "people" is used to differentiate between the *layman* and the *professional man*. Both State and Parish, and those private individuals who subscribed to the cause, had also *at the beginning* intended to benefit chiefly people of smaller means.



A School room of Sweden

At the public high-schools, a general civil education is given to grown up men and women, and therewith considerable weight is attached to arousing individuality and moral power. The tuition also follows humanitarian and natural scientific lines specially directed to-



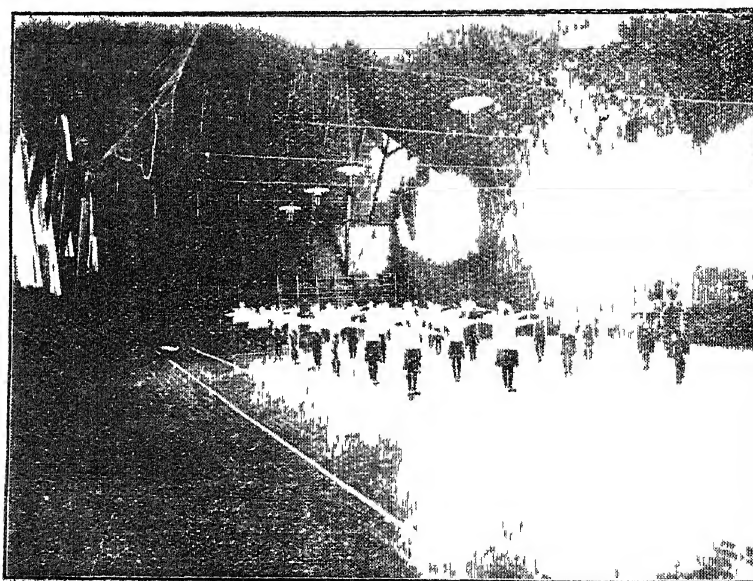
Workshop in a Swedish School

wards interest in the pupils' own country, its historical development and present-day conditions, its spiritual and material resources, together with other knowledge which might be of service to the students in their work in life. In Sweden, there are now 48 public high-schools, the greater number of them in the country places. No special course of studies is prescribed, and no examination is required on leaving. The instruction embraces one or two annual terms, in which various subjects are studied both in books and in lectures, and in addition training is given in agriculture. For the women pupils, courses are held in cooking, fruit-growing, preserving, and various kinds of decorative art work. At most of the public high-schools, the pupils on leaving form a society which meets a couple of times a year to hear lectures and to discuss public questions. In many schools, courses—"hembygdskurser"—giving instruction in the care of the home and its buildings, are arranged for a week or a fortnight for the

benefit of former pupils, people and teachers, and others who may be interested, with the assistance of lecturers from the universities and other schools. In addition, special courses are given for small farmers, both men and women, overseers, etc., and in some public high-schools evening classes are held. The work of general education which is achieved by means of the high-school training, is therefore in many respects of very great importance.

POPULAR SCIENCE

LECTURES These lectures are intended to give instruction, to awaken initiative in theoretical or practical directions, to arouse new thoughts and guide inclinations towards new interests, and to furnish a beneficial amusement in leisure hours. Any subject may be taken up, with the reservation that no political or religious conflict of discussion may occur. Lecture centres have been formed for this purpose over the whole land, both in town and country, and also at the conscription camps. The



Gymnastic in a Swedish School

Government makes a yearly grant of 270,000 kronor (about £15,000) to these lecture centres, and about 12,000 lectures are held annually.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES

An effort has been made of late to unite the lecture system with the public library movement, in order that the audience at the lectures may be interested in, and have access to, the books which deal with the subject in hand. There are in all towns libraries to which the Government has granted money for the purchase of books, and the public may borrow what books they wish, on giving security, but gratis. In the Public School Board of Administration, there are "consulting librarians", who prepare and lecture on subjects connected with this department of public education, and who



Swedish girls and boys coming from school after an examination

are at the service of the public with advice and assistance and information, and who at the same time, form the central direction and control of the State allowance to the library movement.

INDIAN ART IN AMERICA

INDIAN STONE SCULPTURES IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

1 GANDHARA

SOME fragmentary sculptures of the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhara, belonging to the Museum of Fine Arts and now on loan at the Fogg Art Museum have been described and illustrated in the Bulletin of the Fine Arts Museum, no. 29 (1907). A much finer example has been recently acquired as a gift from Dr. Denman W. Ross. This is a head of Buddha, less than life size, in almost perfect preservation. It admirably illustrates the characteristics of the school of Gandhara with its fusion of Eastern and Western elements.

The proportions are correct, the features

delicate and finely chiselled and the execution accomplished. But the whole effect is of elegance—even of effeminacy—rather than power. Beneath the smooth surfaces one feels no structure and this lack of plastic realisation corresponds dimensionally to the vacuity of the expression in a psychological sense. As ever, the artist betrays himself and though we have no pillar-edicts of Indo-Scythian kings, we may be sure that the Gandharan Buddhist was not of Asoka's breed, accustomed to 'strive hard'. One has only to glance at the Buddhist heads of the Gupta period illustrated in the present article to find a sculptural and static quality that cruelly illuminates the weakness of Gandhara art and even the conventional art of much later times though it has lost

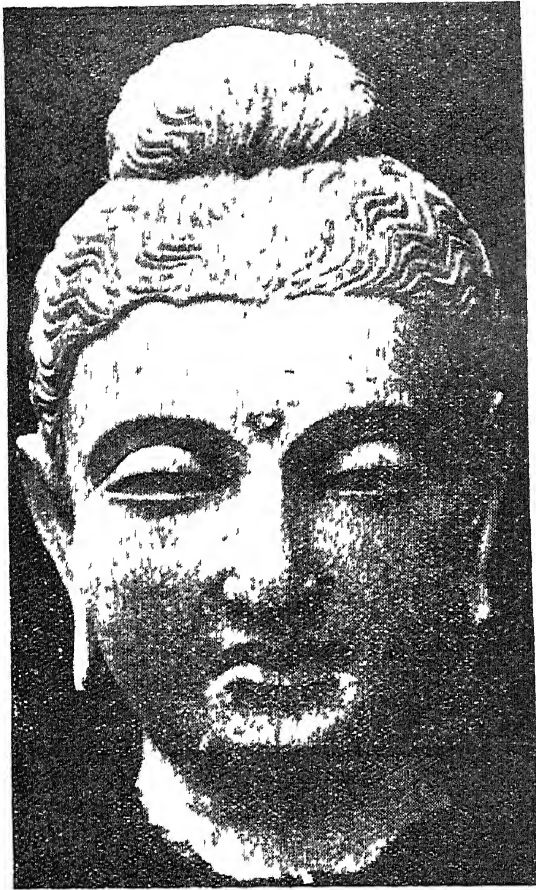


FIG. 1 HEAD OF BUDDHA
Indo-Hellenistic (Gandhara) art,
about 2nd century A D

At Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, U S A

again the sense of underlying structure, retains more massive forms, and carries more conviction—for it is admittedly symbolic and succeeds in statement, while the Gandharan sculptor, though he aimed at realism, made no effective assertion.

It is remarkable that the earliest known figures of the Buddha nevertheless belong to this abundant art of Gandhara. In earlier Buddhist art of the first three centuries B C, the figure of Gautama is missing, alike in the scenes depicting his life, and as a cult object his presence is indicated only by symbols. In Gandhara art, however, developed under the patronage of Indo-Scythian kings and due in part to a tradition and to craftsmen brought from Western Asia, there appear innumerable Hellenistic formulæ: it is, so to

say, a branch of provincial Roman art adapted to the purposes of Buddhist edification. Certain of the figures and many details are closely modelled on Western prototypes and this is so conspicuous that many writers, notably M. Foucher, speak of a Greek origin of the Buddha image. In fact, however, this suggestion can only be true in a very limited (technical) sense: it is true in part for the archaeologist, but not for the artist or psychologist. If Gandhara sculpture represents the beginning of an iconography, it even more surely represents the *end* of an art. What is *the* Buddha image, which has been justly spoken of as 'one of the great artistic



FIG. 2. HEAD OF BUDDHA (PROFILE)

inspirations of the world'? It is the figure of a seated yogi, without possessions or desires, and with attention inwardly directed to experience the highest station of Being (or non-Being) "where both sensations and ideas have ceased to be." The conception is adequately realised in a figure such as that of the Great Buddha in

Samadhi at Anuradhapura¹ In such a figure there is nothing that is not essentially Indian. It is a misuse of knowledge to allow the fact of Indo-Hellenistic art to obscure our consciousness of this reality.²

It will be convenient to notice here certain peculiarities of Buddhist sculpture—some of which are shared with Brahmanical art—which appear already at Gandhara and are exemplified in the head before us. We must refer in the first place to the *usnisa* or cranial protuberance which is usually conspicuous in images of the Buddha and is generally considered to have been a physical peculiarity (*lakṣaṇa*) of the living man. The origin of the plastic representation of the protuberance in art is a point of considerable interest. We must premise that the word *usnisa* originally signified, not a cranial protuberance, but a turban and amongst the signs of future greatness which Indian astrologers were accustomed

that the cerebrum should be very well developed and not narrow or pointed.



FIG 3 HEAD OF BUDDHA

Early Gupta, Mathura, 3rd or 4th century A D
to look for in the infant 'Superman' (*Mahapuruṣa*) was this, that the head at birth should be 'like a turban', by which comparison it was intended to be indicated



FIG 4 VISHNU

Gupta Period, 5th century A D

At Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, U S A

Now the current theory, due to M Foucher's ingenuity, runs as follows: the Gandhara sculptors did not, as they should have, represent the Buddha as a shaven monk, but with waving tresses, dressed in accordance with Indian fashion in a chignon upon the top of the head. At a later period this inconsistency became distasteful to Buddhist orthodoxy, and a compromise was made which in fact dispensed with the realistic elegance of the Gandhara arrangement without coming very much nearer to the appearance of a shaven monk. This compromise consisted in the adoption of another of the natal signs of the Superman—that the hair should be in short curls, the curls turning towards the right—and this treatment of the hair remains stereotyped in nearly all the later Buddhist art. The silhouette of the Buddha head, however, had already become traditional—so that the curls were disposed not

merely upon the cranium, but also over the chignon. Beneath the curls so disposed, there could be nothing but a cranial protuberance—a sort of 'bump' of wisdom. Only when this stage had been reached, and by the influence of the actual sculptures, the old word *usnisa* came to be employed as signifying a cranial protuberance. According to M. Foucher no such protuberance is represented in Gandhara art "ils n'ont jamais fait, ni songé à faire rien de pareil."



FIG. 5 HEAD OF BUDDHA

Gupta Period

Collection of Dr. Coomaraswamy

It is undoubtedly true that many Gandhara heads show nothing but a topknot of hair, which is often bound with a ribbon or fillet. But unfortunately for the theory outlined above, there are many other examples—amongst which the Museum head, and also one in the Louvre, (see 416 of *Pl. des sculptures du*

Gandhara, Vol. II)—in which the waved hair does not itself form the protuberance, but flows over it. This is shown by the continuity of the lines and sometimes by the continuity of the parting which runs up the front of the head and over the 'chignon'. In these cases it is impossible to doubt that the sculptor intended to represent an *usnisa* in the later sense of the word. Thus the development which M. Foucher regards as subsequent, has already taken place at Gandhara, and before the substitution of curls for flowing locks. It is of course still possible that the whole development belongs to Gandhara, the original 'chignon' gradually becoming, as he suggests, a 'protuberance' through a misunderstanding on the part of the artist. But it seems equally probable that in even the earliest Gandhara figures the artist (who aimed at elegance and realism) was rather concerned to gracefully conceal the 'bump', than that it was not supposed to be present. We can hardly assume so much misunderstanding as M. Foucher imputes without more proof, and nothing is more common than for a physical peculiarity to be exaggerated in art for the sake of emphasis. I suggest accordingly that the cranial protuberance may be an original feature of the Buddha type, and not a later development, and that however this may be, it is at least certain—as our head alone demonstrates—that the development, if such there was, had taken place already at Gandhara.

The student will notice further a small protuberance between the eyebrows of our Buddha head. This is known as the *urna* which is explained as meaning a tuft of down growing between the eyebrows, and though it was apparently intended by this only that the eyebrows should meet, the term has been generally understood to mean a separate circular tuft of hair, and is represented in sculpture by a circular elevation, something like a mole or beauty spot. Often the *urna* is represented by a precious stone and is conceived as emitting rays of light. From these sources may be traced on the one hand the circular ornament, red or black, commonly applied to the forehead by Indian women at the

present day and on the other, the third eye of Siva and other Brahmanical divinities

One other peculiarity of the Buddha head will be observed here, in the elongated ear lobes (of which, in our example, one is broken away). This is a piece of simple realism, devoid of any symbolic intention: the ears are naturally elongated by the weight of the earrings worn, as may be observed in many parts of India at the present day, and the ears of Siddhartha, being elongated in the same way, naturally remain so when he puts off his royal garb and becomes a monk, and finally a Buddha.

2 GUPTA¹

The oldest and most important of the purely Indian stone sculptures in the Museum collection are the torso of Vishnu and the head of Buddha, gifts respectively of Dr. Denman W. Ross and Dr. Coomaraswamy.

In the Buddha head, a typical work of the Mathura school, in mottled red sandstone, the nose and chin are badly damaged but the massive and powerful sculptural character of Gupta art—comparable at times with that of fine Egyptian work—is well illustrated. This head may be of the 4th century, possibly a little earlier; it is of a type well represented in the Mathura Museum. A smaller and well preserved Buddha head, with the hair very simply treated, of perhaps the 5th century, is at present on loan in the Indian Gallery.

The Vishnu torso is well preserved and somewhat unusual in type. The figure is three-headed, the central face being human, that on the proper right a lion's, and that on the proper left a boar's. The central head bears an elaborate crown; the jewellery remaining consists of earrings, necklace and armlets. The braided band, with a floral clasp, hanging over the left shoulder probably represents a flexible chain of twisted gold, and corresponds to the sacred thread (*yajnopavita*) of later Brahmanical usage; the clasp corresponds to the 'knot of Brahma', by which, in the modern usage, the thread is fastened, this

knot resting on the left breast. The simple modern form of thread appears in sculpture only after the 10th century.² Before that time the forms are extremely varied and sometimes highly elaborated, and examples of this will be noticed in the Jambhala and Vajrapāṇi statuettes from Ceylon and in two Nepalese figures in the Museum collections.³ It may be assumed that the jewelled band of the earlier sculptures is actually the sacred thread of the period, as worn by gods or princes; for ascetics and devotees a simple scarf or ribbon is more usual.



FIG. 6 HEAD OF A BODHISATVA
Medieval, 10th century A.D.

At the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, U.S.A.

In addition to the ornaments already mentioned, the figure wears a heavy jewelled chain, resting on the upper part of the arms, which are slightly raised and

extended to each side, and passing behind the back this doubtless represents the 'garland of forest flowers' (vana-mālā) especially characteristic of the later representations of Kṛishna. The figure is four-armed, but the whole of the figure below the waist and elbows being lacking, it cannot be decided what attributes were held



FIG 7 HEAD OF A APSARAS
Medieval, 10th to 11th century A D
At the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, U S A

Vishnu images of this type, of which other examples have been met with in Kashmir⁷ and Kullu⁸ have an evident relation to those of the feminine Buddhist divinity Marīci, who is a goddess of dawn and a personification of the rising sun. She too, is three faced, and one of the faces is that of a boar. In the case of the Vishnu figure the boar and lion heads may stand for the boar (Varaha) and lion (Narasinha) avatais respectively or the three faces together may represent the three phases of the sun (the connections of Vishnu with the Sun god being very near), at dawn, noon, and dusk. The figure exhibits the broad shoulders and slender 'lion' waist of the Indian ideal type, with the firmness and fulness of flesh and massive modelling characteristics of the

Gupta period. It is an important document equally of art and iconography.

3 MEDIEVAL

The large Buddhist head, the gift of Dr Denman W. Ross, illustrated here is probably from Bihar or Bengal and of about the tenth century. The hair is disposed in tiny curls, but the elaborate headdress and jewels show that it is some Bodhisattva and not a Buddha that is represented. By this time Indian sculpture had already begun to lose its first force and to become purely symbolic, but examples such as this show that the medieval sculptor could still suggest the dignified presence of a spiritual being. In spite of damage it remains an impressive work, and though it is lacking in the highest plastic qualities, and has more colour than structure, the character of graciousness and subtlety (the Bodhisattva is a supremely conscious being whose gestures are far removed from naivete) is admirably realised.

Another Indian sculpture, the gift of Dr Ananda Coomaraswamy, is a grey sandstone fragment, a part of a figure of an *apsaras* or nymph of Indra's heaven. The face is youthful, full and serene, the hair very elaborately dressed with interwoven flowers. The hands are raised above the head and clasped in a gesture significant of amorous sentiment. This head exhibits a close stylistic resemblance to a female bust of the 9th or 10th century from Mandor published by Marshall and Sahnī,⁹ and has more distant affinities with a female head at Gwalior, published by myself in *Visvakarma* (pl. 57). The Museum example may be assigned to the 10th or 11th century; the whole figure was probably part of the architectural decoration of a Brahminical temple, rather than a cult object.

ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

¹ *Visvakarma*, pl. 1

² For a discussion in greater detail see Foucher, A., *Beginnings of Buddhist art*, and Coomaraswamy, A. K., *The Dance of Siva*. It is unfortunate that many archaeologists have discussed the matter as if it had something to do with the comparative merits of Greek and Indian art.

- 3 *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, II, 294
 4 Gupta period, approximately 300—600
 A D
 5 *Nouveau Dubreuil, Archæologie du Sud de l'Inde*, II, p 138 'Le cordon brahmanique'
 6 Bulletin of the Museum, No 95, figs 4, 5, 7, and 8

- 7 Foucher, A — *L Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, I, 148, note 1
 8 Vogel, J P, *Buddhist Sculptures from Benares*, Archaeological Survey of India, Calcutta, 1903-4, p 218
 9 Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1909-10, Pl XLIII, fig 7

A PLEA FOR RELIGIOUS REVIVAL IN SOUTH INDIA ON RATIONAL LINES

By T GOPALA MUDALIAR

IN obedience to an inscrutable law of Nature, sooner or later, one and all of us, irrespective of any mundane consideration, must undertake the final journey to "The undiscovered country from whose bourne No traveller returns"

To this day this most complex of human paradoxes remains a mystery, the solution of which with the advance of time only recedes from the region of practical politics. Equally mysterious and even more incomprehensible has been the problem of the birth of man. There has indeed been considerable speculation on this all-important subject, and various schools of thought have come into existence, some of which have led a vicissitudinous career and some of which alone have survived the storm and stress of religious revolutions and the relentless persecution of cunning assailants. There are the so-called rationalists and atheists who, despite their indefatigable and zealous labours in the barren field of irreligion to demonstrate beyond the possibility of a doubt the non-existence of a superhuman agency and the non-entity of a God in the conduct of human affairs and to attribute the Alpha and Omega of the creation of the universe to independent scientific causes, their investigations extending over a period of time almost since the dawn of knowledge, do not find their task in any way pleasant or optimistic and who with the advocacy of their notions in support of their cause simply stultify themselves. It seems quite unnecessary to dwell at any length on the folly of their mission as it is now widely acknowledged that such persons live in a fool's paradise and endeavour to find a mare's nest. A system of philosophy the few adherents of which with all their intellectual endowments have not so far been able successfully to challenge their opponents and the stability of which is held on a precarious tenure cannot *prima facie* commend itself to any inquiring mind. The more dignified, time-honoured and ancient system of philosophy identified with the omnipresence, omniscience and omnipotence of God, which at once cuts the

Gordian knot and opens out to man a wide and fair field of opportunities to make or unmake himself thus rendering him alone answerable for his actions, and which has above all gained universal acceptance, is indisputably the best and safest one for adoption.

Both disbelief and unbelief in God have now come to be regarded as the result of the apotheosis of materialism which is the accepted cult of the day and which in its all-absorbing interest completely obscures and dims the spiritual vision. Peoples' activities are mainly diverted either towards political enfranchisement on a democratic basis or towards social emancipation and material prosperity. Science has made such rapid strides and has been so vastly exploited that health, wealth and prosperity, the three essentials of life, have been secured. In the result there is at the present time considerable apathy and indeed even antipathy amongst the people for religion and for anything tending to its renovation. History proclaims that no nation has ever prospered without a solid foundation in religion and that the downfall or decline of nations was only a sequel to the prevalence of irreligion and the growth of moral depravity. The mainspring of England's phenomenal success in world-wide domination and power and her ever-growing prosperity is in a marked degree due to the exalted position in which her religion has been installed. It may even be asserted that all Christian nations are as a rule in a flourishing state not because of any outstanding merits or exceptional ability but because they have popularised religion and have made it a part and parcel of their very existence. It is not intended to enter into a discussion of the relative merits and demerits of the different forms of theology as many have learnt bitterly to their cost how fruitless such attempts have proved to be. Inequalities in climate and environments, in customs and habits, in civilisation and economic conditions, in the different parts of the world, must necessarily have evolved a variety of religious themes which can in no wise

conform to one another. But the underlying concurrent principle of the oneness of God is conceded by all.

Though the hypothesis of the existence of God is universally acknowledged, it is indeed surprising that religion has not had a triumphant career and signs are not wanting which indicate that it is unmistakably on the wane. This regrettable feature of human weakness is noticeable especially in South India, a land which has given birth to profound scholars in all the realms of human knowledge and whose systems of philosophy were a wonderful monument of what the human intellect could achieve. That such an advanced country should have at all degenerated may, at first sight, seem inexplicable and incredible, but that the systems themselves must have been sublime and beyond reproach and only that the means devised and employed to give practical application to them must have been reprehensibly at fault or that there must have been grave miscarriage of *bona fide* intentions on the part of the spiritual leaders of the masses who, as will be seen later, held a *carte blanche* in matters religious and virtually enjoyed a monopoly of the trade, is very clearly indicated. It would be as well if an attempt were made to examine this question in all its bearings.

There was unfortunately a tendency in the past on the part of the spiritual leaders of the masses to confine the knowledge concerning God to certain exclusive privileged classes and absolutely deny it to their less fortunate brethren. In the result the yawning gulf between the two sections of the community has been widening gradually. Thus while one section was advancing intellectually by leaps and bounds, the other was left to grope in the dark and descend into the abyss of ignorance. Having been entirely cut off from the superior classes and in the face of artificial barriers set up by them whereby the inferior classes came to be regarded as 'untouchables', 'unassociables' and as some modern writers prefer to call them 'unthinkables', it was obviously only the benignity of God in whose eyes all are equal that infused into them a spiritual consciousness which has manifested itself in varying degrees of polytheism. The same ancient spirit of conservatism still dominates the former and in spite of the inspiring examples of European missionaries whose proselytising activities have permeated all parts of the globe and promise very great possibilities and whose singular devotion, self-sacrifice and renunciation of worldly ambitions are worthy of emulation, our spiritual leaders in South India have not still awakened to a consciousness of their past shortsightedness and to a sense of their divine duties and responsibilities to humanity. It is a deplorable feature of the existing Hindu religious institutions that they are all conducted in far too high-handed and despotic manner with absolutely little or no

regard to the real well-being and advancement of their constituents.

Broadly speaking the whole ecclesiastical service of Hinduism in South India in the real sense of the term may be circumscribed into two categories, viz., (i) mutts or institutions of an itinerant character engaged in disseminating religious knowledge to the public, and (ii) temples or places of worship. Though it must be admitted that the former are places of profound scholarship where a study of religious literature of a very high order is fostered and that during their peregrinations the potentates attached to them deliver very instructive and useful lectures to large concourses of disciples, it cannot be denied that they are at the same time the breeding places of bigotry, corruption and extravagance and by no means seek to promote solidarity or social service. In the first place their cults know of no conciliation and not only do they regard their tenets unassailable and unsusceptible of improvement but entertain very exaggerated notions of their own infallibility and self-importance. In their blind rage for a show of superiority they betray a deep ignorance of those elementary principles of forgiveness and forbearance without which man is not deserving of Divine Mercy. Secondly, the ever increasing financial prosperity of these institutions inevitably leads them to a woeful state of corruption. The boon or bane of wealth depends to a great extent upon the discretion or indiscretion with which it is manipulated. One of the marked abuses of the finances of these institutions is the expensive paraphernalia attached to them which in some instances far exceeds those of Oriental princes. If the *raison d'être* of these institutions is to maintain a high standard of morality and to inculcate in the minds of their disciples the transitory nature of this world and all its concomitants by practical lessons and the wisdom of yearning for worthier ideals, it is deplorable that they should maintain a large body of domestic servants with their families, costly animal and mechanical transports and palanquins and such other establishments as musical bands, etc., to add to their grandeur and to serve as an advertising agency. It can be easily conceived to what extent these spiritual leaders of the people may be expected to discharge their spiritual and moral obligations. Further their criticisms of men and things are often destructive rather than constructive and their teachings are merely theoretical based on ancient ideals and traditions and ill-adapted to modern conditions. In short they fall far short of the ideal and considerably lack that wider outlook of and deeper insight into human problems which will lead in the long run towards the ultimate goal of salvation. Turning now to temples or places of worship, as we find them at the present time they have been converted into veritable markets, where the priests prey upon the ignorant

worshippers extorting as much money as they could at every suitable opportunity in the name of God and exhibiting none of the characteristics of an ennobling nature, immorality in some form or other is winked at, lessons in prodigality, pageantry and egotism are unwittingly taught, and the vicious system by which wealth is hoarded when there is insistent demand for it elsewhere for educational facilities and economic possibilities is countenanced. Eleemosynary as temples are supposed to be, they confine their benevolence to one section of the community. Nor is the religious side of the functions of temples in any way edifying. Here again the *bona fide* intentions of the founders of these institutions were unscrupulously obscured in mere rites and ceremonies and they were eventually made to serve as a means to a selfish end. For, after all, what are the religious services and festivals in Hindu temples but a series of tamashas and kaleidoscopic fairs where temptations of the worst kind confront the devotees?

Apart from all these, the systems of philosophy embraced by Hinduism are not only multifarious but in the conflicting nature of their tenets render themselves obfuscating to the laymen who constitute the bulk of the population. In the result the vast majority of the Hindus have had no common perfected system of philosophy for adoption and for a long time past the state of affairs has been going from bad to worse. The growing apathy of the priesthood towards them and the heralding of an era of material and social upheavals consequent on the impact of the East with the West only served to accentuate the situation. It is therefore no wonder that today the different systems of Hindu philosophy present an aspect entirely different from that which their pioneers conceived and desired to perpetuate.

The foregoing remarks do not certainly apply to all the existing religious institutions, and sweeping as they appear to be, it is not implied that such a state of affairs prevails everywhere. There are many that are unimpeachable and exemplary. In fact all these institutions are really very good, but it is only when those at the helm of affairs are recalcitrant and would have things their own way that they do render a disservice. One serious drawback with them is that they make invidious distinctions between man and man, thus arousing in them considerable party feeling and rancour. This nullifies the fundamental doctrine of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Unless and until that is ensured, all the preachings of the existing institutions are only a cry in the wilderness. Whether or not the *status quo ante* was justifiable, there can be no denying the fact that at the present time people view it with indignation and resentment and are becoming conscious that their exclusion from a participation of common religious knowledge was only a premeditated

and deliberate action by the then custodians of it, actuated solely by selfish motives, and that any insinuations that may be found lurking in their scriptures and that seem to indicate that in giving effect to their policy they only obeyed the divine injunctions, are untenable and constitute another link in the long chain of evidence which is gathering volume with the advance of time. It seems therefore superfluous to endeavour to disprove the above fallacies but it should be borne in mind that unlike all human governments the ways and wills of God are unchanging and unalterable through eternity. If the policy enunciated by them in the name of God were to be accepted unconditionally and if, questionable as it is, they were the chosen exponents of this seemingly absurd doctrine, that policy should endure for ever, but the trend of events during the last few centuries has exploded this theory and points to no specialised mental adaptation and brain capacity as a condition precedent for the assimilation and practice of religious dogmas. People have entered upon the denouement of the vicious plot and it is no longer possible for the designers of the plot to keep their fellow-creatures in a submerged state. The degree of attainment of success in any branch of human knowledge depends entirely upon man's assiduity and tenacity of purpose and there cannot possibly be any other considerations postulatory of God's partiality than the *ipse dixit* of interested parties.

The reasons which led to the institution of the inexorable caste system in South India and which were in a large measure responsible for the present unsettled and ambiguous state in which its religion has been landed might possibly have had a very salutary effect at that time as is evident from the following extract from Dubois' writings —

"I have heard some persons, sensible enough in other respects, but imbued with all the prejudices that they have brought with them from Europe, pronounce what appears to me an altogether erroneous judgment in the matter of caste divisions amongst the Hindus. In their opinion, caste is not only useless to the body politic, it is also ridiculous, and even calculated to bring trouble and disorder on the people. For my part, having lived many years on friendly terms with the Hindus, I have been able to study their national life and character closely, and I have arrived at a quite opposite decision on this subject of caste. I believe caste division to be in many respects the *chef d'œuvre*, that happiest effort, of Hindu legislation. I am persuaded that it is simply and solely due to the distribution of the people into castes that India did not lapse into a state of barbarism, and that she preserved and perfected the arts and sciences of civilization whilst most other nations of the earth remained in a state of barbarism. I do not consider caste

to be free from many great drawbacks, but I believe that the resulting advantages, in the case of a nation constituted like the Hindus, more than outweigh the resulting evils. The legislators of India, whoever they may have been, were far too wise and too well acquainted with the natural character of the people, for whom they prescribed laws, to leave it to the discretion or fancy of each individual to cultivate what knowledge he pleased, or to exercise, as seemed best to him, any of the various professions, arts, or industries which are necessary for the preservation and well-being of a State. They set out from that cardinal principle common to all ancient legislators, that no person should be useless to the commonwealth. At the same time they recognized that they were dealing with a people who were indolent and careless by nature, and whose propensity to be apathetic was so aggravated by the climate in which they lived, that unless every individual had a profession or employment rigidly imposed upon him, the social fabric could not hold together and must quickly fall into the most deplorable state of anarchy."

Every word of these statements is pregnant with significance, to gainsay which would be mere folly. But to any rational mind it should be obvious that there could be no reasonable justification whatever on the part of the priesthood of those times to monopolise the knowledge concerning religion to themselves withholding it to those who notwithstanding their social inferiority and unpardonable sins of birth still possessed a soul which is equally precious in the eyes of God. Surely by conferring this boon of spreading divine knowledge among benighted brethren the ancient legislators need not have apprehended any very serious menace to "the commonwealth" and "the social fabric" to which the Abbe had referred. If only an attempt was then made to divorce religion from social interests and to expend upon its effulgence and revelation half as much ingenuity as was expended on the circumspection with which its secrecy was preserved, today Hindu religion should claim world-wide predominance.

Let bygones be bygones. It is imperative that people should shake off their lethargy in respect of religion and set to work heart and soul with a view to initiating schemes for the rehabilitation of the Hindu religion to its full glory and for its pilotage under proper popular control and legal safeguards. This is indeed an uphill task and is likely to be deprecated by the upper classes. A storm of protest and opposition must be inevitable and there will be a hue and cry that the programme of reform advocated is revolutionary and calculated to shatter the fabric of Hindu society. Leaders of society who are devoting their attention to causes fundamental to the advancement of the human race will doubt-

less realize that if any nation is to achieve real and everlasting beatitude, its activities should not be confined to this or that particular phase of its development but to all. The machinery of legislation which is now employed unreservedly for the perfection of the society on the social, economic and political sides, should with advantage be resorted to in order to place the foot of religion on a very solid footing. Religious knowledge should be made available to the prince and the peasant alike by propaganda work on an extensive scale irrespective of castes or creeds. Temples and mutts should no longer be places of partisanship or asylums for the indolent but should become public properties. They should be expurgated of rites, ceremonies and festivals which in their present form are synonymous with mammon-worship and Satan-worship and run more or less on lines adopted by the more forward and progressive nations of the world. Their hoarded treasures should be prudently and profitably invested and the proceeds utilised for the diffusion of religious knowledge and—where charity is intended—for the benefit of philanthropic institutions which seek to discriminate and co-ordinate charities among the waifs and strays and the incapacitated. This will also put an end to the odious system of beggary which is a crying shame in this country. What is urgently needed is a widespread revelation of the Hindu Gospel throughout the land through the medium of all the vernaculars. The deep-seated prejudice against proselytism and the conservative orthodoxy which the ancient Hindu legislation perpetuated should vanish, and a well-thought-out scheme of proselytism consistent with the healthy ideals and traditions of the past should be initiated. The main and serious defect in the existing machinery of Hindu religious institutions is that the lion's share of their rights and privileges is enjoyed exclusively by one class of the society, although of course it is the other classes who swell the exchequer of these institutions to an incredible degree. The whole system should be re-modelled on rational lines and in a humanitarian spirit. The bitter animosity and vengeance which the different sections of the Hindu pantheon exhibit not only by plunging headlong into litigation for assertion of purely imaginary and temporal rights but also by resorting to means resulting in bloodshed and public ridicule should be removed and a reconciliation of a permanent nature should be effected. The ultimate aim should be the establishment, so to say, of a 'comity' of the Hindu religious institutions. In some quarters these observations may be treated as *choses jugées* but as the importance of the subject requires reiteration it is sincerely believed that this plea for religious revival will engage the earnest attention of the true patriots and sons of India.

A TEACHING UNIVERSITY IN CALCUTTA

"We do not disguise from ourselves the fact that the changes which we have proposed in this chapter, both in the methods of instruction and in the organisation of the university and its colleges, are so great as to amount to a revolution in the university system as it now stands."

SUCH is the comment of the Sadler Commissioners themselves on the body of recommendations made by them about the creation of a teaching university in Calcutta. We have been taught from our school-days that the English instinct is to rebuild an edifice on existing foundations, and to resist changes except where they are absolutely needed. But in the case of the Calcutta University this belauded instinct seems to have deserted the Commissioners. After the passing of the Indian Universities Act of 1904, the premier university of India was being slowly and steadily converted into a teaching university. The rate of progress proved perhaps too great or too small for the powers that be. The fiat has therefore gone forth that the University of Calcutta must immolate herself on a funeral pyre, and then,

"From out her ashy womb now teemed,
Revives, and re-flourishes, then vigorous most
When most unactive deemed,
And, though her body die, her fame survives,
A secular bird, ages of lives."

The following is a rough summary of the recommendations of the Commission pertinent to the matter under discussion

- (1) The stage of admission to the university should be that of the present Intermediate Examination
- (2) The duty of providing training at the Intermediate stage should be transferred from the university to new institutions known as Intermediate colleges
- (3) The Intermediate colleges for men should in all cases be separate from degree colleges
- (4) Honours courses distinct from the out-set from pass courses should be instituted in the university
- (5) The duration of the degree course should be three years after the intermediate stage. In appropriate cases honours graduates should be permitted to proceed to the degree of M.A. one year after taking their degree
- (6) The University should be organised primarily as a teaching university consisting of incorporated and constituent colleges. The incorporated colleges being institutions owned and managed by the university itself, the constituent colleges being distinct corporations enjoying full membership of the university, fulfilling defined conditions, performing defined functions and

enjoying defined privileges. The affiliating functions of the university (in regard to temporarily affiliated colleges in Calcutta, and to mufassal colleges) should be regarded as subsidiary, and of a more or less temporary order

(7) In future the authorities of the university should be

- (a) The Visitor (the Governor-General of India)
- (b) The Chancellor (the Governor of Bengal)
- (c) A salaried full-time Vice-Chancellor with the pay and status of a High Court Judge
- (d) A Treasurer
- (e) A widely representative Court of several hundred members
- (f) An Executive Council of 17 members which should be responsible for the financial and administrative management of the university
- (g) An Academic Council of 80 to 100 members, including representatives of all constituent colleges, and of all grades of teachers, which should be responsible for regulating the teaching work of the university, and in general for purely academic questions
- (h) Faculties, Boards of studies and examinations, etc., the mufassal board, and various committees

The Commissioners frankly admit that the carrying out of these recommendations will entail the outlay of a prodigious amount of money. This is what they say about the intermediate colleges

"The result of these calculations, on the basis on which we have made them, is that each intermediate college would involve the state (or private supporters) in a net annual outlay of about Rs. 50,000 or more for every college, after deducting fees, so that if, as might ultimately be the case, there were to be some forty intermediate colleges, the annual cost, apart from initial charges of land, buildings and equipment, might be about twenty lakhs."

They at the same time urge that the scheme of reform drawn up by them should be given effect to as a whole, and changes should not be introduced piecemeal. The first thing, therefore, which is needed is that before legislation is undertaken for the reconstruction of the University and the reorganisation of secondary and intermediate education, the financial aspect of the question should be examined, and a definite assurance given by Government that ample provision will be made for the huge additional expenditure that will be necessary. Strangely enough, the only light thrown on this all-important question by the Government of India is the expression in the concluding paragraph of their Resolution of the 27th

January last that 'funds will be required' It is estimated by those who ought to know that if the recommendations of the Sadler Commission were to be carried out in their entirety, the annual expenditure of Bengal for education from the lowest to the highest stage will be something like two crores of rupees Nobody has pointed out where the money is to come from After this, the apprehension entertained in many quarters that the whole scheme may be wrecked on the rock of finance, or that it may come out mangled and mutilated from the legislative forge, cannot be censured as unreasonable

The country will welcome the recommendation of the Commission that "the courses of the intermediate colleges should be so framed as to afford preparation not only for the ordinary degree courses of the University in arts and science, but also for the medical, engineering and teaching professions and for careers in agriculture, commerce and industry" But their further recommendation that "even where they are provided or managed by closely-linked authorities, (they) should be organised under a distinct educational and financial control" calls for criticism For it means that the intermediate classes must not be located in the same building or even in the same compound as the degree classes, and that these two types of colleges must be placed under separate governing bodies, have separate teaching staffs, and keep their finances strictly separate This is "the most unkindest cut of all" to the first grade private colleges in Bengal They will be so hard hit by it that many of them may not survive the blow The recommendation in fact does not take sufficient note of the resources of the country as regards funds and men There is an aspect of the question which does not seem to have given much concern to the Commissioners Two of the largest first grade private colleges in Calcutta very recently shifted to new quarters built at a heavy cost, in loyal compliance with the New Regulations of the University It will not be easy for them to find land and funds for building houses for the location of their intermediate classes, so that they must either give these up altogether, or themselves be reduced to intermediate colleges But it may be that the present buildings will be found too large for an intermediate, and too small for a degree college They will thus find themselves caught between the two horns

of a dilemma, from which the Calcutta University Commission will not be able to rescue them For all that they say in their favour is this

"It is necessary to recognise that many of the colleges in Calcutta, as they now are, will be quite unable to satisfy the conditions laid down above and these colleges now include some thousands of students, who are being given a kind of training quite unworthy of the name of university education It is essential that the needs of these students should be met We therefore recommend that, if the new system is brought into operation before many of the colleges are ready to take part in it, the existing system of affiliation with certain modifications, should for a time be maintained for the purposes of those colleges in the city of Calcutta which are not able to fulfil the conditions of recognition as constituent colleges"

But whatever hopes may have been created by these words in the minds of those interested in these colleges has been nipped in the bud by para 35 of the Resolution of the Government of India, as will be proved by the following extract

"In particular, the Government of India consider that the treatment proposed for temporarily affiliated colleges may, in practice, lead to difficulty If the new organisation in Calcutta is really to assume the functions of an efficient teaching organisation, it will be hazardous to permit the continued existence in Calcutta of a class of institutions insufficiently equipped for participation in the Teaching University and calculated by their proximity to depress the standards which such a University should maintain If on full consideration these apprehensions are found to be well based, it will be necessary to devise means for dealing with such colleges in a more expeditious manner than that contemplated by the Commission* and it will probably prove most satisfactory if the Executive Commission is instructed at an early date to class these colleges which hold out no prospect of fulfilling the conditions of constituent colleges as intermediate institutions which would be definitely separated from the University and placed under the Board of Secondary and Intermediate Education"

The Commission insist on the complete separation of the instructive staff of the intermediate college from that of the degree college—on grounds, it is difficult to make out from the pages of the Report One of them seems to be this

"One of the most fundamental distinction," they observe, "between the intermediate college and the present intermediate classes must be that the intermediate college will use the methods of a good school, in classes of a reasonable size wherein question and answer will be possible rather than the methods of the mass-lecturer"

The ground does not appear to be con-

* The Executive Commission may in that case earn the nickname of the College Execution Com-

vincing In the first place it does not necessarily follow that because a gentleman takes part in the teaching of degree classes (where perhaps he adopts the mass-lecture system, though not always and in all subjects), he therefore forgets altogether the methods of a good school, becomes incapable of adapting himself to the needs of the intermediate students and is thereby rendered unfit to teach his own subject in an intermediate college The present writer was head master of a high school and Principal of a first grade college for over a dozen years, and is now engaged in teaching intermediate, B A, and post-graduate classes He is unable to plead guilty to the charge of lacking adaptability to new surroundings Then, again, mass-lectures are not without their uses even at school—at certain stages of education they are indispensable In fact they do not deserve the condemnation meted out to them by the Commissioners The most suitable arrangement for an intermediate college will be, as in the case of a degree college, a combination of mass-lectures and school-methods or tutorial work A hard and fast rule requiring complete separation of an intermediate from a degree college will be, we are afraid, disastrous to the former we are also unable to endorse the recommendation that the teaching of English in the intermediate colleges should be, as far as possible, in the hands of English teachers The best teachers of English to Indian students are competent English-knowing Indian scholars, as in England the best teachers of foreign living tongues to English students are competent Englishmen knowing those tongues That this is so has been shown in a Note in the March issue of this Review by extracting from the *Times* of London the opinion of Mr J D Anderson And we have the high authority of Lord Haldane in support of this While speaking of the teaching of French on the continent he says, “up to a certain stage, the best teacher is found by experience to be a man of the same nation”

If the Intermediate be made the stage of admission to the University, the high school examination should be dispensed with It is not desirable that in the critical period between the ages of 15 and 19, Bengali boys should be subjected to the severe strain of two important public examinations “Every examination,” says Professor Paulsen of Germany, “which is not an absolute necessity

is an evil” (We quote from memory) We do not think the absolute necessity of both the high school and the intermediate examination has been proved We fail to understand, too, why with improved teaching in the high school and the intermediate college the degree course should be extended over three years

The Commissioners have proposed that some high schools may have intermediate classes tacked on to them That shows that, in their opinion, such development of high schools is not wrong from an educational point of view If that be so, we fail to see the necessity of building and maintaining even a single intermediate college at great expense in this poverty-stricken land For surely there are forty high schools, if not more, in Bengal which by additions to the buildings and the staff can accommodate and teach intermediate classes From another point of view, too, such an arrangement would be preferable to the Commission's recommendations A great part of the education of students consists in the good influence exerted on and by them by their more advanced and on their less advanced confreres respectively The Commission's scheme shuts out intermediate students from both being influenced by their seniors and influencing their juniors,—they hang in mid-air as it were Our suggestion has at least the merit of giving them the opportunity to influence their juniors Unbroken continuity is a great advantage in education Even as things are at present, there are more *alma maters* for our boys than they can manage to love Should we add another mother or step-mother? There is no doubt a theory that boys of 17, 18, 19, etc, ought not to mix with younger boys But in English public schools and other high schools, are school-boys of this age separated from younger boys and segregated and educated in separate intermediate colleges? A costly arrangement which has not been found necessary in the British Isles is being foisted upon us poor Indians This is not philanthropy

Having cleared the ground by disposing of the reform of secondary education and intermediate colleges, the Commission tackle the problem of establishing a teaching university in Calcutta We read on p 254, Vol IV of the Report

“The Teaching University of Calcutta must, therefore, be a university of colleges, superficially resembling Oxford and Cambridge, and, more closely, the

reconstructed University of London. But in many respects the analogy with Oxford and Cambridge, and even with London, will not hold, and may be misleading. We have in truth to find a new synthesis between the University and its colleges, wherein the University will not be something outside of and apart from the colleges, as it now is, but the colleges will be in the fullest sense members of, and partners in, the University. It must be a system wherein the University will be really responsible for the character of the teaching given in its name, and will realise that it is the training given to students which is of primary importance, and that the examinations which test this training are of subsidiary importance. It must be a system wherein the colleges, while stronger and freer than they now are, and able to command more fully than ever the loyalty of their students, will neither be tempted to rival the University and claim independence of it, nor have reason to feel any jealousy or fear of it, or to regard it as a competitor."

The ideal is an excellent one, but what it comes to in the actual working out of the scheme may be noted in the following salient features

(1) The system of post-graduate teaching which was organised by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee after such a tough fight in the Senate in 1917, and which received the sanction of the Government of India only a month or so before the European members of the Commission landed in Bombay is knocked on the head. Once more in the history of Bengal "a settled fact" is unsettled again. Be it noted that the following remarks of the Commission evoked no dissent from Sir Asutosh

"While the University has recently undertaken the direct control of almost the whole of the post-graduate work for the degrees of M A and M Sc, and has brought about considerable improvements in this regard, there is, because of this division, an unhappy cleavage between the higher and lower teaching work of the University and its colleges, which has led to some friction, and has tended to the impoverishment of undergraduate work" (Vol V P 303)

(2) As the result of the tripartite classification of the Calcutta colleges, some of the oldest and most popular private colleges will cease to be, or be reduced to the second grade, unless in the mean time education became a transferred subject and the ministers found the revenue to save them from strangulation. But this is not likely. For in Bengal alone, which we suppose is officially considered educationally the least advanced province, for five years after the introduction of the Reform Scheme secondary and university education will not be under the charge of any Indian Minister!

The following summary of the conditions of

admission to the rank and privileges of a constituent college will justify our contention

(a) The number of students admitted to a constituent college should not exceed 1000, and for this number,

(b) It should have not less than 40 teachers, all grades included

(c) The conditions of tenure and salary to be secured for the teachers ought to be as follows

(i) That no wholtime teachers should be paid a less salary than Rs 125 *per mensem*, and we consider that this minimum might very properly be raised by the University at a later date if it seemed practicable to do so,

(ii) that the heads of departments in which there is more than one teacher should in no case be paid less than Rs 300 *per mensem*, both in regard to this and to the preceding clause, however, it ought to be noted that missionary teachers who receive a merely nominal salary, or none at all, should be treated as if they were paid the salaries appropriate to the posts which they hold,

(iii) that, so far as possible, there should be graded rates of increment in the more important teaching posts,

(iv) that no teacher should be appointed for a shorter term than three full years, save in the case of temporary appointments or of the appointment of a young teacher without experience, who might be appointed for a probationary period of one year in every case the teacher to have the right of resigning within this term, but the college to be precluded from dismissing him except for gross neglect of duty or serious misconduct,

(v) that not more than one-fifth of the required staff should be at any time engaged on temporary or probationary appointments,

(vi) that every teacher on this appointment should receive a written contract stating the conditions of his appointment and the salary to be paid, a copy of every contract to be, at the same time, lodged with the University,

(vii) that the college should agree to accept the decision of the University tribunal which will be described later in any dispute regarding the fulfilment of its contract with a teacher in respect of his salary or the conditions of his appointment

(d) The buildings of the college must not be a 'mere barrack of lecture rooms,' though they may be simple and unpretentious, they must form a suitable home for a living society of teachers and students. There must not only be lecture-rooms, there must be common-rooms sufficient for the number of students enrolled by the college. Still more important, there must be small rooms suitable for small classes, and private rooms in which the teachers can meet their students individually or in little groups for tutorial purposes. There must be a reasonably good working library, with sufficient seating accommodation, not a mere *pro forma* library, and where the college undertakes to provide instruction in science, there must be efficient laboratories. And

(e) The conditions to be observed by the college regarding the residence of the students,

(f) The method of administration of the college,

(g) The conditions under which teachers appointed

by a college should be subsequently approved by the University should also be laid down by Statute

Colleges admitted to constituent ranks should enjoy the following privileges — (a) they should each be directly represented upon the academic council, (b) their students (under-graduate and post-graduate) should be entitled to attend University and inter-collegiate lectures without payment of special fees, (c) their recognised teachers should be eligible for appointment as university professors, readers, lecturers and examiners without leaving their colleges, and for membership of all academic bodies, (d) they should have full control over the discipline of their students, and (subject to general regulations) over the amount and type of instruction to be received by them

This is all very good, but it remains to be seen how many private colleges in Calcutta will be able to fulfil the conditions recommended by the Commission

(3) The teaching staff of the University will consist of professors (each with a salary of at least Rs 500 *per mensem*), and readers (drawing a salary of Rs 400 a month each) The College teachers will be divided into three categories (a) College teachers who are also 'appointed' teachers of the University, partly paid by the University, and some of whose lectures are open to the whole University, (b) college teachers who are 'recognised' teachers of the University, but, whose instruction (except by special arrangement) is open only to students of the college, (c) unrecognised teachers, who should be few in number

(4) The temporarily affiliated colleges with their students and teachers will be relegated to the class of Pariahs

"Such Colleges should not be directly represented upon the governing bodies of the University, their students should not be eligible to attend lectures given by University teachers or approved teachers in the constituent colleges, except by special arrangement and on payment of a fee, their teachers should not, as such, be eligible as members of University bodies, or be recognised as University teachers or be appointed as examiners

But as seen above, the Government of India propose to give short shift to such colleges So their case need not be considered

(5) Lastly there are grounds for apprehension that the upshot of the ambitious scheme set forth by the Sadler Commission may be that the area of high education will be considerably curtailed, that is to say, a much smaller number of students than now are to receive such education

One word with regard to the classification of teachers In a country like India, it is

ridiculous to decide on the status of a man by the pay he receives The Commissioners recommend an exception in favour of missionary teachers Evidently they were labouring under the impression that no Indian teacher ever cared to serve his country except for fat emolument The insinuation, if such there be, does not deserve refutation

We have already adverted to the recommendation of the Commission in favour of the importation of a number of western-trained teachers for secondary schools and intermediate colleges They recommend that Presidency College should establish ten or twelve Presidency Chairs or readerships, some of these being "named in honour of distinguished helpers or scholars associated with the history of the college, such as Ram Mohun Roy and David Hare They would presumably be filled in the first instance by distinguished teachers of the college" "But on the occurrence of vacancies in any of these posts, and perhaps also for a few of the first appointments, we suggest a special mode of recruitment" And the method which the Commissioners suggest is that the committees of selection for the Presidency Chairs should be appointed in England instead of in Calcutta "We think it important that a certain number of important posts should be reserved for men (whether Indians or Englishmen) who have been trained in the West, and that the salaries attached to these posts should be on such a scale as would ensure the appointment of men of the best type, and should be capable of special increment in particular cases" Our educated countrymen will take the strongest exception to this recommendation, for they will note with pain the solicitude of the Sadler Commissioners for the creation of a privileged corps from top to bottom in the educational service Nobody would utter a word of complaint if a Huxley, a Tyndall, a Kelvin, or a Roscoe were attracted by the terms recommended by them But Bengal has had enough experience of the types of men who are brought over from the West, as well as of the impartiality of treatment accorded to British and Indian scholars The Commission mention no time-limit for the special mode of recruitment It appears that they themselves have little faith in the future of the teaching university in Calcutta, the creation of which they recommend in such eloquent language For it is nothing short of a confession of failure if they think it abso-

lutely necessary that the appointments to the highest posts in Presidency College should invariably and for ages to come be made in England. It remains only to add that there is undoubtedly much virtue in training in the West, but we can name savants of European reputation, historians not unrecognised beyond India, and English scholars capable of holding their own against any European professor in the interpretation of the transcendental literature of Europe and America, who acknowledge the Calcutta University alone as their Alma Mater. To name only some of those who are no more with us, what chances would a teacher like Peary Churan Sircar, Gouri Sanker Dey, Prasanna Kumar Lahiri, or Ramendra Sunder Trivedi, none of whom ever crossed the seas, have had to appointment to one of these chairs under the mode of recruitment recommended by the Calcutta University Commission?

Our space being limited we have not been able to touch upon the many commendable features of the scheme of the reconstruction of the Calcutta University so lucidly described in chapter XXXIV of the Report. The exigencies of the situation compelled us rather to dwell on the points of disagreement. A careful perusal of that chapter has given rise to a thought which is weighing on our mind at the present moment, and it may find expression in the form of a question. Can a great teaching University be created by legislation alone? Every successful system of education is a growth of centuries, it is part of the life-history of the people among whom it is planted. English education in Bengal is hardly a century old, the Calcutta University was founded only in 1857. Half a century after it was completely overhauled,

and it is once again going to be subjected to all the throes of a revolution and all the pangs of rebirth. Education to be truly national desiderates a national Government, for there are problems in the life of a nation intimately bound up with the problem of its education which no outside authority can solve. Consider for a moment the question of the health of the people of Bengal. The enervating climate, the appalling death-rate owing to the prevalence of malaria, cholera, plague and other preventible diseases—these are not negligible factors seriously telling on the intellectual output of the country. Then there are social institutions which hamper the growth of a virile intellect in the community. Will the reformed and reconstructed university dare to debar married candidates from any of its examinations? Nobody will deny that “the system in Bengal calls for readjustment to suit changing circumstances.” But in order that this readjustment might be secured it was necessary that the proposals of the Commission “excited no apprehensions”, that no suspicion was roused that “vested interests were threatened”, that the sentiments which had grown round the university had not been touched. In other words, the motto of the Calcutta University Commission ought to have been *evolution* and not *revolution*. Every human institution requires rejuvenation from time to time, and educated public opinion in Bengal will render enthusiastic support to an honest and straightforward scheme for the expansion and development along normal lines of the University of Calcutta. Whether it will stomach an education cataclysm veiled in the guise of reform is more than we are prepared to say.

RAJANIKANTA GUHA

THE FLOWER MESSENGER

By SITA CHATTERJEE, B.A.

(1)

IN the shimmering rosy light of the early dawn stepping lightly on the marble-paved garden path of the Tripur royal palace, appeared a bevy of smiling girls

Their faces were alike to the blushing goddess of morning in fairness and innocence. These were the maids-in-waiting to the princess Ratna, they were starting for the cele-

to take place in the forest near by. The festival was intended as a tribute to the god of spring, who had just announced his glad advent.

The princess passed out of the royal garden in her golden palanquin, escorted by her smiling companions. The garden was left silent, but the way to the forest began to resound with the rippling laughter of the maidens and the birds became mute as though in shame. The bearers set down the palanquin as they reached the forest and retired to a distance. The maidens were to offer flowers to the god of spring and there must be no male eyes upon them. The citizens had been warned beforehand, so no man was to be seen near the place. As the damsels dispersed on all sides of the flower-laden forest, the only eyes that watched them were of the startled deer and the curious wood nymphs.

Everyone of the joyous band wished her own offering to be the best of its kind and the most pleasing to the god of spring. The greedy mind roved all over the forest to despoil the blossoming creepers and trees. They gradually wandered farther and farther away from one another bent upon their quest. Suddenly with a start Princess Ratna found herself alone. She looked all around eagerly and anxiously,—there was none. In the distance she caught sight of a waving green mantle, but did not know whether it belonged to her friend Manjuli or to some flying wood nymph.

The princess had not yet gathered her votive offerings. There was only one bunch of forest flowers in the skirt of her golden sari. Her large eyes were continually darting here and there with searching looks. Would she the princess, be defeated after all by her companions?

Suddenly a warm and strong fragrance was wafted to her nostrils. It seemed like the sigh of some young lovelorn nymph of the dale. Ratna looked all around her amazed. It seemed known to her yet strange.

But why were all the bees of the wood flying in that direction madly filling the air with their glad humming? Ratna followed them. Oh, dear, so it was nothing but

the wellknown mango blossom! But it was as different from the common mango blossom as she herself was from any serving wench of the kitchen. Whence did it come, this incarnation of beauty and fragrance? This was fit offering to the spring god, even the garden of Nandan in heaven could furnish nothing sweeter. But how to get it, it was totally out of her reach.

The fawn-like eyes of the princess roved in search of her girl companions, but none of them was in sight. But she must have those blossoms. The princess went back along the way she had come to find help.

But how was this? The path led her again and again to the same place. The flowering tree seemed to have fallen in love with Ratna, shining in her youthful splendour like Flora herself and so it drew her again and again towards itself with unseen arms. The princess flung herself down at last in despair, under the tree. She did not know what to do. No one would enter the forest that day, so where was the chance of aid?

She looked up startled at the sound of a footstep and sat up amazed. Who was this? Was he the god of spring come in person to receive her offerings or was he the god of love, the all-powerful and inseparable companion of Spring? Was such beauty ever seen in the person of mortal man?

The stranger seemed to have come from afar as the dust of the way still clung to his dress. Coming through the flower-laden forest paths many a blossom had fallen on him, the petals of which still rested on his dark locks. He came and stood before the princess and asked, "Lady, can you, in your pity, point out to a way-worn traveller the way to the capital of Tripur?"

Ratna raised her wondering eyes to his face as she answered. "I myself am lost and weary. I came here to collect flowers for the worship of the god of spring and I have lost both my way and my companions."

The traveller laughed and said, "Lady, this is fit abode for you. The wood

nymphs have once tasted the joy of your company, they will not let you go. But what they want with poor me, I am at a loss to understand."

A merry peal of laughter was heard behind them and a voice cried out: "The wood nymphs probably want more than one kind of friend."

Ratna turned round with a blush and found her pert companion Manjulika standing close by.

"Where are your offerings?" asked she. "We cannot offer ours before you and the flowers are withering. But you seem too much interested in man to care anything for the god."

At this pointed speech the blush on the face of the princess deepened, she turned to her friend and answered: "My dear, I have but caught sight of the thing I want, but to gather it is beyond my power."

They followed the glance of the princess and the eyes of Manjulika suddenly brightened with pleasure and envy. The stranger came forward and addressed Ratna: "Lady, I have found out what the wood nymphs wanted with me. Pray, condescend to take my help in your worship of the forest god." The mango-tree yielded its wealth to the strong arm, and the ungrateful blossoms forgot the loss of their parent in the happiness of kissing the fair hand of Ratna.

"Lady, I take my leave. I think I shall find out my way now, as my work here is done," the stranger said, and after another long and lingering look at the princess he slowly wended his way. Soon the fluttering end of his white mantle disappeared from sight.

Ratna could not tear her eyes off the green forest path, along which he had gone. But the ringing laugh of her companion recalled her to herself. That pert damsel seldom stood on ceremony with the princess and enjoyed to the full the privilege of a companion of childhood. Now she remarked with an arch glance: "It seems, princess, that the handsome stranger has not gone alone, but something else also has gone with him."

They were very late in finishing. The chief worshipper could scarcely give her

undivided attention to her work. Man seemed to stand as a rival to the god and claimed to the full a share in the offering of flowers. Manjulika looked at the face of Ratna and said: "Friend, you have managed to please the god of spring as well as the god of love at the same time." Ratna hotly denied the accusation, but her eyes pleaded guilty.

When the palanquin of the princess returned through the palace gate the sun was already high in the heavens and the flowers which decked the hair of the girls looked faded as if mourning the exile from their motherland.

Suddenly a loud and joyful blast of conch shells startled all the inmates of the palace. The attendant of the princess went for information and returned. The prince Arindam of Kekaya had arrived as a guest at the court of Tripur and this was his welcome. The eyes of Ratna and Manjulika exchanged looks. The princess retired alone to her apartment, while Manjulika disappeared for the rest of the day.

At night she returned and whispered to Ratna: "Princess, your heart had not played you false."

Nobody knew through what channel and from whom the message came but the heart of the princess was joyful.

(2)

The god of spring never condescended to stay on earth for more than two months. Then he left for his home, indifferent to all tearful and eager glances from youthful eyes. All must make the most of this time, for the idle had no chance of retrieving their error in the course of the whole year.

Our princess Ratna was certainly free from blame in this matter. Not one moment of spring did she waste. Every succeeding day of this glad season served but to deepen the blush in her face and to increase the sparkle in her eyes, which that first day had caused. An unseen drama was being acted. Among the actors were the lovely princess, a mortal youth, and an invisible god.

The royal guest to the court of Tripur went on prolonging his visit indefinitely.

The reasons assigned were many and of totally divergent characters. The old king thought with gratification that his cordial welcome had charmed the guest into immovability. The general thought that the far-extending hunting Grounds of Tripur ought to have the credit, while the court actors and players congratulated themselves knowingly. But that there were other kinds of play and hunt going on was known only to the fair damsels of the palace and to Ranabir, the young captain of the palace guards.

The red festival of Holi was fast approaching. The young people were busy storing large quantities of the crimson *Abir* and *Kumkum*. But the heart of Ranabir was gradually taking on a tinge which was neither festive red nor youthful green, it was sometimes black as a stormy sky, sometimes dark red as the blood of the enemy. The prince and the princess met frequently and the glad light in two pairs of eyes seemed to set fire to his brain, while his dreadful eyes looked death on all around.

The day of the festival arrived. The palace garden seemed to change from green to red, and the air became heavy with the pollens of flowers and the red powder of *Abir*. Joyous shouts rang from one end of the garden to another and songs composed to the honour of the youthful god knew no end. All were drunk with the wine of joy and youth. But sorrow found its way into two young hearts, tears extinguished the sparkle in two pairs of eyes. A sad strain of parting was heard by them underlying the glad music of welcome to the god of spring. For this full-moon night was to be the last one of the royal visitor at Tripur.

At the moment of parting Arindam took the hands of Ratna in his own and looking at her tearful face, whispered "Beloved, I take with me no other keepsake, except the memory of these tears. These will bring me back."

"When?" asked she in a trembling voice.

Arindam replied "When the full moon has come and gone five times more, you shall see me again. Every such night, a flower messenger shall come to you, you

will know from him that I am but counting the days, which separate us. It was through the god of flowers, that we first met. So I shall always choose my messenger from amongst his subjects. If the messenger does not come on the appointed day, know that I have been called to another kingdom from which no messenger can come."

Looking at this parting scene from his secret hiding place, Ranabir breathed hard and fast, like an infuriated cobra, about to strike. Even the full moon turned black in his eyes. But he could do nothing but wait, he was sure to strike but it must be in the dark.

The full moon went and with it the prince of the house of Kekaya. Ratna began to pine away like a nymph at the approach of the hot season. The love of Ranabir hovered round her seeking an entrance into her heart, but the castle was strongly guarded, and it had to sneak away like a thief at night.

The night of the full moon came round again. Ratna stood on the terrace of the royal palace and gazed with hungry eyes at the moonlit world beneath. Where was the flower messenger of her beloved? Her friends came near her, but their laughter found no response, and they went away disappointed.

The whole kingdom of Tripur lay like a picture before her. In front of her was the path which led to the garden gate, along which clanked the sentry, making a blot in the white moonlight. The night was advancing and the whole countryside was gradually becoming still. But where was the message of her love?

The sentry was still passing to and fro. All of a sudden he paused beneath the terrace on which stood the princess and his dark arm shot up into the air. At the same moment Ratna felt the soft touch of something on her feet. With a shiver she stooped and picked up a bunch of *Ashoka* flowers, red as her heart's blood. She looked down eagerly at the sentry, with the precious flowers clasped to her bosom. He, too, looked up at that moment. Ratna saw with wonder that he was a stranger, not that old sentry, whom she had been

seeing from her childhood By what charm had this daring servant of Arindam penetrated into this inner garden? The sentry soon disappeared and Ratna went back to her room

The envoys of Ranabir came and went but had no success So long as the messengers of Arindam had free access to her, there was no chance for anybody else Those speechless messages must be intercepted The jealousy of Ranabir, guarded the palace day and night in the shape of armed sentries and invisible spies

The full moon of the first month of summer arrived Ratna had been to the temple to ask the blessing of the deity upon their love She was returning in a hurry, afraid lest there be none to receive the messenger She went up to the moonlit terrace and looked down anxiously There were four sentries at the gate, their faces were black and frowning, no message except that of death could come through them

She stood there solitary and sad, brightening up even the moonlight with her wonderful beauty, but her heart saw no light How was the message to come through such barriers, she asked herself and found no answer

The full moon began to go down in the west when at last Ratna came down with despairing mind But who was that whiteclad figure standing silent at the foot of the stairs? Even her face was veiled which was strange in an inmate of the palace The figure advanced towards her and held up a bunch of flowers mutely It was white this time like the dress of a woman newly widowed The veil was then lifted and it disclosed no face of woman but that of the sentry whom she had seen on the preceding occasion Then he slipped out through some secret outlet, of which she knew not

Balked again Ranabir raged like a tiger despoiled of its prey Female spies now made their appearances whose eyes watched Ratna incessantly They glided in and out like ghosts filling with uneasiness the minds of all the other dwellers of the palace

But it was difficult for mortals to

contend against a god who was unbodied Through his mercy, the messengers of Arindam still reached their destination The second month of summer came and on the night of the full moon Ratna found a garland of golden champak blossoms floating in water in the gold pitcher in which water for her use was kept

The rainy season came with its clouds and showers This time the messenger appeared in the shape of *Ketakee* flowers, the spike was hedged in with sharp thorns, but its heart was full of fragrance

Only another full moon night lay between Ratna and her beloved Another appearance of the messenger and princess Ratna would pass away beyond the reach of Ranabir for ever His brain seemed to be on fire with anger and hatred He must intercept this last messenger

The appointed night came, but the full moon was totally hidden under a pall of dark clouds Blackness reigned everywhere except when the mad lightning tore through it Ratna went about seeking for her messenger, where was he hidden in this awful darkness? Fear began to steal upon her, was he then lost in yonder black torrent? The angry roaring of the storm winds made her shiver with unknown fears

The royal palace gradually became silent Ratna in her room lay sleepless, counting the hours of the black night What if it should pass without that desired advent? She wanted to pull back the passing night by its black mantle because its end would see the end of her own hopes

There was a great crash Its sound rose above the howl of the storm and the window of her room burst open as if for the victorious entrance of some conqueror A great wave of fragrance swept into the room together with the rain and the furious gust of wind Ratna advanced amazed, suddenly her whole frame thrilled and tingled with the soft contact of innumerable flowers She gathered handfuls of the sweet smelling wonders and buried her face in them The clouds lifted and the glorious light of morning came stream-

ing in, but it was pale compared to the sunshine in her heart

The black darkness now seemed to find shelter in the angry heart of Ranabir. With his naked sword he rushed among his men like the veritable god of death. "The moment the chariot of Arindam passes the palace gate will be your last," he roared to the amazed leader of his guards and spies. "Did you not boast that at last you have captured the secret messenger of the prince? Then how is it that the princess found her flower messenger waiting for her at midnight?"

The leader silently pointed before him. There seated in the midst of his captors was the daring servant of Arindam, bleed-

ing from many wounds, his dress torn into tatters and a bunch of faded flowers in his hand.

Ranabir ran to the palace garden. Who then could have done such a deed for the expectant princess? Suddenly one of his attendants pointed upwards. Ranabir saw and bowed his head before invincible fate. A branch of the flowering *Bakul* tree, which stood by the sleeping apartment of Ratna, had been broken off by the fury of the storm. Falling down it had struck the window of her room and found its way in with its wealth of flowers.

The loud blast of conch shells announced the advent of some welcome guest and the palace gate swung open for his entrance.

AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

By K. V. TAMHANKAR, B. A.

"Fro, in an agricultural country, agriculture should be as much part of school, as oxygen is a part of the air. We should not isolate agriculture from the environment of life, in order to teach it. We should teach the entire environment."

Dr. L. H. Bailey
(Director of the N. Y. State College of
Agriculture, U. S. A.)

EDUCATION is now as essential to the well being, nay, to the existence of a nation, as robust constitution and bravery were to the ancient Spartans. Whatever the calling, to which a man is destined, may be, he must have a sound general education if he is to succeed in life. As regards agriculture the necessity of education is being felt seriously, and the truth has been brought home, by the world-war, with greater force. Every man now realises the vast importance of placing agriculture on a sound basis, and this cannot be satisfactorily done, unless, agricultural education on the basis of good general education, is widely diffused.

The importance of Agricultural education was adequately realised, among European nations, by the Danes, in the early sixties. Their High Schools achieved splendid success,

thanks to the efforts of Grundtvig and others, in a short time, and the Danish cultivator of today is a thoroughly qualified farmer and a businessman too. Their neighbours, the Germans also did not lag behind, and some of the German states, like Prussia and Bavaria, have institutions giving agricultural education. The Americans, whose interest in Agriculture is well known, have been doing work in this direction for many years, and the United Kingdom is giving due consideration to agricultural education.

The results of research work in Agriculture can neither be appreciated nor taken advantage of, if those for whom that work is intended, are illiterate and ignorant. The truth is strikingly illustrated in a country like India, where the agriculturist is proverbially illiterate with strong conservatism. Demonstrations and lectures which are at times held by the officers of the Agricultural Department do not reach farmers living in obscure places, and those who have the opportunity of attending such lectures, sometimes do not thoroughly grasp the meaning of what is told to them. The preachings of the Agricultural Department cannot produce satisfactory

results so long as the ground remains unprepared. Education is therefore the first requisite. By education we mean that not only should people learn the three R's, but their faculties of observation and reasoning should also be developed. In these strenuous times when struggle for existence is becoming more and more acute, people must be thoroughly educated if they are to hold their own. This holds good in the case of a mechanic or an humble cultivator, in short every person must be as efficiently fitted for his calling as possible so that he should be a valuable asset and not a burden on the country.

It must be admitted that education in India has not made rapid progress during the last fifty years, since their educational policy was first laid down by the Government of India. The following figures give the percentage of illiterate persons in different countries.

| Name of the country | Percentage |
|------------------------------|------------|
| India | 94 |
| England and Wales | 18 |
| Scotland | 16 |
| Ireland | 174 |
| The United States of America | 77 |

This will give an idea of the amount of work that lies before us.

The awakening, though late, has now come, some of the Provincial Legislative Councils have passed resolutions making primary education compulsory in selected areas. Things like these, mean auspicious times for India, and the lateness may be compensated by earnestness and zeal. Mr Findlay Shirras, Director of Statistics, in a lecture at Allahabad rightly observed

"Education is of sovereign importance, because it is the key to employment and prosperity and to all national advance."

The most welcome result of the spread of education in India would be, that a desire for better living would be created, among the masses. It is therefore highly imperative that the nature of education must be such as to make the persons who receive it fit for the position, they are to occupy in life. Everything depends on the general education, which is imparted to the young, before they are sent to institutions giving special education useful for the particular profession they are destined to follow.

Indian youths have often been blamed for

want of liking on their part for any kind of work requiring manual labour. This is no wonder, when primary, secondary and college education in some cases is confined to the class-room. The boys are tied down to books, and they are not aware of the fact that education can best be imparted without books and even outside the class-room. They are seldom asked to do such light and pleasant work, such as gardening or carpentry. The idea even goes so far, that many think it below their dignity to handle a spade or use a chisel. The remarks, which the I I Commission makes in this connection, are worth noticing.

Another result of the present system of education is often to alienate boys from their father's callings, creating a dislike for any sort of manual work. The report says "Some witnesses stated that the spread of education among the artisan classes tended to bring manual labour into contempt, and that the sons of artisans, educated beyond the primary stage, showed a distinct tendency to forsake their fathers' callings in favour of clerical work, but we think this view must be due to the wrong system of education, which has been made available." The nature of education must, therefore, be such as to create in the mind of the boy, a liking for the profession intended for him. The remarks quoted at the beginning of this article strikingly bring forth the great principle of education.

Two important points in this connection are (1) The general understanding of the masses must be developed, (2) Specialization in education is necessary to assure skill that is required in any kind of business. The first of these can be best achieved by the spread of primary education, and the second can be facilitated by starting special schools and colleges. The first serves to prepare the ground in a proper manner, and the second helps to make the man fit for his work, but his education does not end here. If he knows that there is much for him to learn, then he is sure to become a successful man. Because, one of the obstacles in the way to success is to think that there is nothing to learn in life.

Agricultural education may be broadly divided into two parts (1) Education of grown up persons, 2) Education of the young. All the lectures, demonstrations, exhibitions, and the work in relation to agricultural subjects, done by the press, fall under

the first head This method of educating farmers is resorted to in all countries interested in Agriculture The system of employing travelling professors has found favour in some European countries and in America In a country like India, where the masses are still ignorant, this method would be extremely useful

"In the first place, there is, and for sometime to come, there must be a very large section of the Agricultural population of India, who are absolutely illiterate, or whose education is of a very rudimentary type In any case, it is not such as to enable them to profit by reading Their reasoning faculties are not developed In such cases, there can be no question of agricultural education Demonstration of improvements on their own fields and the rule-of-thumb observance of improved methods is the only way in which the Agricultural Department can influence them "

This is what Mr Mackenna says in 'Agriculture in India' This object of influencing the farmers cannot be fully achieved unless the propagandist work is undertaken as an important branch of the agricultural Department Every year, special sums may be set apart to be utilized in popularizing improved methods, by propagandist work Every district should have one Agricultural Inspector with an assistant for each taluka in the district Demonstration farms should be opened at suitable places in each taluka, where no experimental work need be done Besides, demonstrations should also be carried out on the farms of the cultivators, under the supervision of the Assistant Agricultural Inspector Pamphlets in the vernacular should be distributed gratis, and advantage should be taken of every fair or gathering for giving lectures on agricultural subjects Exhibitions are of great educative value as they promote healthy rivalry among the competitors, and this has a cumulative effect upon agriculture In short, no pains should be spared to reach the farthest corner and the most humble cultivator of the country

In this connection the great class of landholders can render immense service to the country In England the great landholders have done much to promote agriculture by taking personal interest in the subject H E Lord Willingdon, while Governor of Bombay, kept a dairy at Poona, in order that the sardars and other big landholders should follow the example, and thereby help to promote

agriculture in the presidency The landholders should introduce improvements on their own lands so that the neighbouring cultivators should adopt them It is, therefore, highly desirable that they should take more interest in agriculture, not only for their own benefit but for that of their country also

Another agency, which can be of utmost use, is the press The number of periodicals devoted to agriculture are extremely small in number in India, while in other countries, especially in America, their number is enormous This is no doubt due to the spread of education, that has already been made there Agricultural societies in every province should have a magazine or a newspaper, issued at a low yearly subscription The Deccan Agricultural Association at Poona, has set a very fine example in this respect The association issues a monthly magazine devoted to agriculture and co-operation at an annual subscription of one rupee only The example set by the Deccan Agricultural Association is worthy of being followed by agricultural associations in other provinces

Another agency, which can be of much use in educating the farmers, is the agricultural organization society The best example is perhaps of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, which owes its life and inspiration to Sir Horace Plunkett In India there are agricultural associations here and there, but none of them are doing work that can be compared with what the I A R O has been doing Our agricultural associations want men, who have at heart their country's good and who are prepared to do it at the sacrifice of time and even money In other words we want men who can devote their time and energy to the work of the association One or two such men in every taluka will do a great amount of work, by constantly advising the farmers and bringing to their notice the latest improvements in agriculture In fact, we want agricultural missionaries, mixing thoroughly among cultivators and winning their confidence, so that their advice should be readily followed by them

Every province should have the Central Agricultural Organization Society, with branches at district and taluka head quarters, so that the work will have uniformity and strength Membership should be open to agriculturists, as well as to those who take interest in agriculture The subject cannot

be fully discussed here, and we have only referred to it so far as the educative work is concerned

EDUCATION OF BOYS.

This can be divided into three parts — (1) College or Higher education, (2) Secondary education, (3) Primary education. The object of the first is to give higher and special instruction, in order to equip a student for research work. Secondary education in agriculture, is designed for the sons of farmers and landholders who want to go in for agriculture, and consequently what is aimed at is a sound knowledge of practical agriculture, with sufficient familiarity with the commercial side of the subject. Primary agricultural education is chiefly intended for providing the children of cultivators, with a knowledge of how and why of things they come across in their houses or on their farms, and for creating in their minds a liking for agriculture. The development of reasoning faculties must be duly accomplished without which primary education cannot be said to be complete. The importance of outdoor education is very great in this connection. The child should learn its surroundings first and the things with which it has much to do in daily life. Education should develop out of daily experience.

"The problem of the rural school is not so much, one of subjects, as of methods of teaching. The best part of any school is its spirit, a school can be conceived in which no agriculture is taught separately, but which may present the subject vitally from day to day by means of the customary studies and exercise. The agricultural

colleges have all along made the mistake of trying to make farmers of their students by compelling them to take certain practical courses, forgetting that it is the spirit and method of the institution that are what make the work vital, and what send the youth back to land."

These observations of Dr Bailey, if properly remembered, would help to avert failures that are often to be met with by educational institutions in general.

The importance of imparting agricultural education in all its three phases has been already recognised, and various systems have been evolved. One particular system cannot be expected to be successful in every country, modifications according to requirements are necessary. In Denmark, the Agricultural High Schools founded by Grundtvig and others became very popular and the high standard of agriculture in Denmark is due in most respects to the excellent agricultural education diffused among the farmers, by the high schools. In Germany agricultural colleges are designed to give highly technical education which an ordinary farmer does not care to have, and consequently these colleges are not looked upon as popular institutions, suited to the average requirements of farmers. Some of the states in America, having early perceived these drawbacks in higher education, are endeavouring to find out types, best suited to the requirements of ordinary farmers. Thus it will be seen that local conditions must be studied first and then institutions best suited to the conditions, may be started. A very brief review of what is being done in this respect in other countries will be given in the next number.

THE MYTHOLOGY OF THE PANCHAJANYA SANKHA OF KRISHNA

IN the course of my zoological studies on the Indian Mollusca I was led to investigate the mythology of the sacred chank of Krishna. The results of this investigation are here presented.

The Chank, the sacred *Sankha* of the Hindus, derives its sanctity from being one of the four emblems of Vishnu or the Saviour God of Hindu mythology. In the various representations of this deity the other three

emblems *Chakra* (wheel), *Gada* (mace) and *Padma* (lotus) are represented respectively in one of the left and the two right hands, while the *Sankha* is held in the other left hand. It is of interest to note in the beginning that normal specimens of the *Sankha* are dextral or right handed,¹ and are held in

¹ As has been correctly pointed out by Hornell a contradiction exists in the terminology "dextral and sinistral" as applied by European scientists and by

the right hand at the time of blowing when used as trumpets, while the *Sankhas* of Vishnu and Krishna were both sinistral or left-handed specimens. It is for this reason, and owing to the very rare occasions on which sinistral specimens are obtained, that the sinistral spoils, as one may call them technically, fetch very fabulous prices. Some are known to have been sold for their weight in gold, while good specimens even in these days fetch prices varying from Rs 2,000 to Rs 5,000 each. Even small and imperfect specimens are sold for Rs 60 to Rs 90.

As mentioned above, the *Sankha* is one of the emblems of Vishnu, the second of three Gods of the Puranic Trinity or *Trimurti*. Not only has Vishnu the *Sankha* as one of his symbols, but many of his incarnations or *avatars* are represented as holding it in one hand. *Matsya* the fish-form, *Kurma* the tortoise, *Varaha* the boar, *Narasimha* the man-lion (sometimes) and Krishna are often shown with this emblem in a left hand. In the effigies of Krishna, in which the *Sankha* is not depicted, it means that these refer to the earlier years of his life, before he had become possessed of his famous chank—so well known to the Hindus as the *Panchajanya*.

In the very first chapter of the Bhagawat Gita, the marvellous Sanskrit poem which is considered as one of the "Five Jewels" (*Pancharatni*) of Devanagari literature, we find a mention of the famous *Panchajanya* in the following words¹ —

"The aged Kuru grandsire (Bhishma), the fiery-hearted, in order to cheer him (Duryodhana), blew his trumpet (conch-shell) blaring out on high a lion's roar. Then suddenly the trumpets and the kettledrums, the cymbals, drums and horns were sounded the sound was an uproar.

Then standing in their great car, yoked to white horses, the slayer of Madhu (*Krishna*) and the son of Pandu (*Arjuna*) blew their celestial trumpets.

Hrishikesha blew the *Panchajanya* "

the Indian public. The European, viewing the chank from the apex downwards, considers the common specimens as dextral or right-handed, while Indians viewing it from the side of the mouth-opening call the same form sinistral or left-handed, the abnormal sinistral or left-handed specimens of Europeans being according to them *Dakshinavarta* (right-handed) in Bengal, and *Valamburi Sankha* in Southern India. In the present note the terminology used is that of European malacologists.

¹ Davies' translation of Bhagawat Gita (London, 1893), page 22, verses 12-15.

² One of the various names of Krishna, explained by Davies' as probably derived from *hrish* strong,

The legendary origin of the name *Panchajanya* as explained in the Vishnu Purana (Book V, Chapter XXI) is very interesting and is quoted here from Wilson's translation³

"The two excellent Yadu youths (Balarama and Krishna) versed in all knowledge, and possessed of all wisdom, then submitted to instruction as the disciples of teachers. Accordingly they repaired to Sandipani—who though born in Kasi resided at Avanti—to study (the science of) arms, and becoming his pupils were obedient and attentive to their master. When they had acquired all that he could teach, they said to him 'Now say what present shall be given to you, as the preceptor's fee (Guru-dakshina)'

The prudent Sandipani perceiving that they were endowed with more than mortal powers, requested him to give him his dead son (drowned) in the sea of *Prabhasa*. Taking up their arms they marched against the ocean. But the all-comprehending sea said to them, 'I have not killed the son of Sandipani. A demon named *Panchajanya* (who lives) in the form of a conch shell, seized the boy. He is still under my waters.' On hearing this Krishna plunged into the sea, and having slain the vile *Panchajanya*, he took the conch-shell, which was formed of his bones,⁴ (and bore it as his horn).

In the above quotation very interesting information is contained regarding the way in which Krishna became possessed of this curious chank. In what follows I propose to deal with the italicized passages one by one and to try to adduce facts in support of my contention regarding the real nature of Krishna's *Sankha*. The sea of *Prabhasa*, as has been rightly judged by Wilson and other authorities, is the famous place of pilgrimage in Guzerat, Kathiwar, on the west coast of India, in the Arabian sea. It is near the town of Puttun Somnath, the seat of the famous temple of Somnath. In this area and in its vicinity on the two sides there is at the present day the important chank fishery of the Kathiwar coast. The mention of the sea of *Prabhasa* in the Vishnu Purana indicates the great antiquity and importance of the fishery in such early times as the time of compilation of the Vishnu Purana.

The second point is the identification of the devil "*Panchajanya* (who lives) in the form of a conch-shell." Wilson in his translation puts the word "who lives" in brackets, these words to a very great extent clear up the riddle regarding this peculiar animal

and *kesha*—hair of the head, from Krishna's being represented with strong curly hair.

³ The Vishnu Purana—A System of Hindu Mythology and Tradition (London, 1870), Vol. V, pp 46-48.

⁴ The italics in these quotations are mine.

To any one acquainted with the animal life of the chank-beds the peculiar habits of the so-called sea-devil *Octopus*¹ are at once brought to mind. These interesting Molluscs with their eight long arms covered by peculiar cup-shaped stalked suckers and large eyes exhibit a special fondness for the empty shells of Gastropod molluscs. The habit is well known to fishermen and they take advantage of it by using the empty shells in capturing *Octopus*.

The shell-traps as employed now-a-days in the Gulf of Manar are very ingenious. Here large numbers of shells of the five-fingered chank (*Pterocera*) with their apices and fingers broken off, are tied at intervals of five or six feet to a long rope, some thirty or forty shells are attached to each rope, and a number of such lines tied end to end are then laid in shallow waters. The lines are left in the sea overnight and on being taken out next morning are found to have specimens of *Octopus* sheltered in the cavity of the shells. A similar device, with earthen pots instead of shells is adopted in Japan for the same purpose. Similar traps are probably in use in other places also. The adoption of such a device clearly shows that the fishermen were well-acquainted with the habits of the *Octopus* which from its peculiar appearance is rightly known as the sea-devil all over the world. In my opinion the clue afforded by the peculiar shell-trap points to the animal (or demon)

¹ Regarding the number of arms, I think there must have been some confusion between an *Octopus* and *Loligo* or *Sepia*. Both the latter species have five pairs of arms while the *Octopus* has eight, but the animals are similar and the habits of *Sepia* are similar in some respects to those of *Octopus*. For the clearing up of some of these doubtful points, I am greatly indebted to Dr N. Annandale, Director of Zoological Survey of India, who has been kind enough to go through the manuscript and help me in various ways.

which Krishna slew as having been a sea-devil which had crawled into the cavity of a shell. The words "Panchajanya (who lives) in the form of a conch-shell" are very significant in this connection. The name Panchajanya for the devil might also have some reference to the five-fingered Chank (*Pterocera*) or the cuttle fish, but it is impossible to decide with any degree of certainty.

The last passage italicized in the quotation from Wilson "which was formed of his bones" is contradictory in the face of the preceding portion of the same quotation. Bones are mostly enclosed within the fleshy part of the animal and do not surround the flesh. Further, no animal has bones of a type that could directly be converted into a chank shell. The contention that the shell referred to was probably one of the sinistral type of a chank gains great support from the first part of the quotation and the other arguments stated above.

Leaving mythology aside, what appears most probable was that Panchajanya and Sankha of Vishnu were both sinistral shells of the common chank known amongst Zoologists as *Turbinella pirum*, Lamarck. The sinistral rarities certainly were very choice adornments for the Hindu Gods and no more fitting gifts than these could be imagined. Indeed it reflects very great credit and ingenuity of mind on the parts of those who selected this symbol, because nothing could be a greater emblem of purity than the sinistral chank, which is so scarce as to appear once or twice amongst millions of normal dextral chanks fished every year.

B. PRASHAD

² Great controversy, however, exists amongst the philologists regarding the correct meaning of the word Panchajan and so much reliance cannot be placed on this argument.

A VIEW OF LIFE

By PROF. RAJENDRALAL DE, M. Sc.

THE history of the earth indicates that "until it cooled and consolidated, it was quite unfit to be a home of life. It follows that at some uncertain but

inconceivably distant date, living creatures appeared on the scene." Regarding their origin there are different suggestions, of which two may be stated here (see

"Evolution" by P. Geddes and J. A. Thomson, Home University Library series) One suggestion is that "germs of life came to our earth embodied in meteorites," the presupposition being that "life is as old as matter." "But it is difficult to conceive of anything like the protoplasm we know surviving transport in a meteorite." The other suggestion is that "what we call *living* evolved in Nature's laboratory from what we call *not-living*." "We must admit that as an hypothesis it is in harmony with the general trend of the evolutionary theory. If the dust of the earth did naturally give rise to living creatures, if they are in a real sense born of her and the sunshine, then the whole world becomes more continuous and vital, and all the inorganic groaning and travelling becomes more intelligible." The authors of the book on Evolution admit that "the doctrine of the origin of the *living* from the *not-living* cannot be held at present with a clear or easy mind." For, though the possibility of building up the substances that go to form the living organism is recognised by the chemical science, still, "there is a great gap between making organic matter and making an organism." We may see if we can get some light on the above problem from another point of view. And for this we shall consider the mechanism of an organism, and shall choose the human organism for our consideration.

The human organism consists of a body and a mind. The body may be compared to an engine which can convert heat into work. In the case of an engine there exists a definite ratio between the heat used up and the work performed. In the case of the body the same physical law relating to heat and work should hold good when bodily movements are accomplished by heat disengaged through metabolic changes. It will be observed that these movements, even though executed by the body, must be directed by the mind. The latter stands, therefore, in its relation to the former in the same way as a driver does with respect to an engine. A driver however is not a part and parcel of an engine in the same sense as

the mind is of the body. For, the mind grows as the body grows and its decay follows the decay of the body, the mind of an adult is more developed than that of a child, senility follows the physical weakness of old age, the reason being that the power of the mind depends on the brain, a part of the body.

The relation between the mind and the body appears to be a perplexing question. "Impressions from the outer world seem to come to us by our senses and to be transmitted along our nerves to our brain, and to be there in some way transformed into perceptions of things. And the problem of psychology has been to understand how this can be," (see "Henri Bergson: The Philosophy of Change" by H. Widon Cai. The People's Books series). Different theories have been suggested by philosophers to solve the problem, and they are based on different views on life presupposed by them.

We cannot consider life to be merely an *automaton*, nor simply as an *expression of consciousness*. There exists volition in life. The independent existence of the external world too cannot be ignored. To understand life, we should know what this world is, where life exists. A question may arise if this world consists of separate and independent realities such as life, matter, time and space, or if there exists one principle in which all are united. *Matter* is regarded by the physical sciences as being composed of electrons, which seem to be particles of energy. And as it is so, matter has got a real sympathy for energy, that is to say, matter can contain energy, and can also be affected by it. *Time* is only a modified expression of the conception of motion, i.e., the effect of energy on matter. *Space* is an outcome of the manifestation of energy. We cannot conceive of the possibility of the manifestation of energy without any conception of Space. The one reality is evidently energy, its manifestation has created matter, time and space. It seems possible that Life as well should be the manifestation of the very same energy.

Returning to the psychological problem

it may be stated that impressions from the outer world being forms of energy, the brain, as it is composed of matter, can receive them. The effects of these impressions on the brain are perceptions. For had there been no impression, there would have been no perception. But perception is not the only effect. It is, of course, the immediate effect of impression, and lasts as long as the impression lasts. We may compare the effect of perception to the effect of change produced in a wire and its surrounding media while an electric current is traversing it. Evidently, the effect of perception is a momentary one. And it would be natural to expect that the said impressions would leave behind them some enduring marks on the brain substance. These marks or records of impressions may be latent in character and on being revived as *images of perceptions*, just as photographic images, may constitute *memory*. There will however remain this difference that the photographic latent images can be developed only once, whilst the images of perceptions may be so revived more than once. Such a process will enable an organism to retain and revive its experiences formed by its various perceptions. We have presumed that the memory consists of images of perceptions revived from the marks of the impressions on the brain substance. For explaining our point further, we may compare these marks of the impressions on the brain substance to the markings on a gramophone record, and the image of perception to the song reproduced from the record. The memory is exactly this reproduction. With the help of the above assumption we are now able to offer an explanation of the phenomena of intelligence and instinct.

We should take into consideration that the organism is the centre of actions, whether the stimulus be external or internal. This is so because it is a seat of energy, as well as a medium for its manifestation. "Impressions which pass into the organism are incentives to action and the function of the brain is to respond to them by setting going the appropriate action" (Henri Bergson. *The*

Philosophy of Change). In doing so it may revive in the memory its past experiences. These experiences may consist of the images of perceptions and also of the images of the past corresponding responses of the organism following the perception. It may happen that during this revival there may appear the image of a mode of action that may interest the organism. The image in which it is interested will naturally be selected and translated into movements by the brain. The action following the line suggested by such revival of images is comparable to the intelligent action which follows "hesitation, deliberation and choice". It will be noticed that in intelligent action there is an element of sympathy existing between the organism and the mode of action. We cannot otherwise explain why a certain procedure should be adopted when there are a host of others present. In instinctive actions also we come across this very sympathy. Now, the difference between intelligent action and instinctive action will be observed to consist in the existence in the former, of an intermediate phenomenon of "hesitation and deliberation", which will be absent in the latter. Sympathy determines the action in both cases. In the first case the sympathy results from a revival of a host of images of perception and of past responses in memory, while in the second case the sympathy is spontaneous, and acts directly. This sympathy is an essential link between the organism and its actions. For as the organism is a seat of energy and its actions are only manifestations of the said energy, the link referred to is really one existing between energy and its manifestation, without which a possibility of manifestation of energy is inconceivable.

We are conscious of impressions and also of responses which follow them. Impressions are forms of energy received by the organism and its responses are effects of energy going out of it (organism). If the reception of energy in the form of impression can give rise to perception, it is natural to expect that a similar phenomenon should follow the going out of energy from the organism. Our perceptions, as

we have already stated, are due to certain states of the brain. Our consciousness, as well, which includes the phenomenon of perception seems to have been originated from similar states of the brain. And with the help of these states alone the brain will be able to direct our bodily movements when there can be no other index available to guide it.

The above view regarding consciousness need not reduce a living being to an automaton. There will be found a place for volition in life. For, there being many different ways available for the manifestation of energy, the element of choice naturally comes in if the energy is to manifest itself along only one of these ways. However, it must also be admitted that there will be found motives which govern our choice. And we often feel that all our motives converge to a certain end or purpose in life. So our volition is not absolutely free.

Let us now try to understand the teleological view of life mentioned above. Life being supposed to be an incessant manifestation of energy, necessarily a movement, it must have a certain direction and destination ahead of it. What that destination can be may now be considered. It can only be one of the two alternatives, either a cessation of the continuity of manifestation, or the very continuity itself. Our view of life, it will be observed, is compatible with the view of the evolution of the *living* from the *not-*

living. And if the evolution of energy has proceeded so far along this line starting from energy, traversing matter and reaching life, there will be no reason for believing it to end there. The destination of life will then appear to be the very continuity of the manifestation, i.e., a progressive evolution. To understand the nature of it more fully we should keep in view the place of individual living beings in this march of life. We find that generation after generation of a race perish, but life still progresses through it. Evidently life may be immortal but not an organism. For the existence of the Spirit after the decay of the body is incompatible with our conception of consciousness. And necessarily we consider the phenomenon of death as an annihilation of the manifestation of life exhibited through an organism. An organism perishes but not life. Life is like a progression of waves, where one wave giving rise to another but itself disappearing helps in keeping the continuity of onward motion.

Returning to the main question under discussion, it seems possible that the *living* have evolved from the *not-living* on our planet. The view of the transportation of life germs from other heavenly bodies to our earth seems to be not very convincing. For, besides the reason already stated, the sojourners might not have found in her (earth) a suitable environment.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Equality that is needed

Mr. S Jackson Coleman writes in the *Indian Review*

Idealist and realist are alike imbued with the vague flutterings of aspiring humanity towards a new world in which oppression shall be unknown, and of which the dominating spirit shall be the magic word "Equality."

Again —

There is, of course, no such thing as "Equality." Differentiation of type is the very law of life. The strength of England, in fact, has always come from the diversity of its interests and its training. Their schools have not suffered from the pitiless uniformity which is a curse in some other countries. It cannot be said of Great Britain as Matthew Arnold said of Germany—

that at eleven o'clock on each day every child in the country is repeating the same lesson. Uniformity is a vice and if we are to succeed it is essential that individualism should be developed to the utmost extent. Every man too should be allowed to develop in his own way.

In the new world that is opening out to us we shall therefore have greater differentiation, that is greater inequality.

Here the writer mistakes diversity or variety of talents and gifts for inequality. When he says, "Greater equality of opportunity—yes," we perfectly agree. But when in the next sentence he says, "Greater equality of brain and capacity to achieve—no," we ask, "Why not?", remembering that it is of *greater* equality that he speaks, not of perfect equality. There is, however, no fault to be found in the passage quoted below.

But what is this equality that is to be the sign manual of the new world? Is it a demand for "equality of opportunity",—that is, an equal chance for every baby born into the world to reach the highest of which it is capable? No man who calls himself a good citizen could carp at such a demand. If it be a claim, however, for a levelling of mankind "down" to the average every good citizen will fight against such a proposal, and he will have the experience of evolution on his side in so doing, for all evolution consists of a levelling "up".

The only equality that is worth anything is the chance to develop. Many are not allowed, under present conditions, this opportunity, and the community loses by not recognising this need.

It is a noteworthy fact that nearly every advanced thinker, whether one takes such widely divergent types as Anatole France, H. G. Wells, or Bernard Shaw, agrees that this is a primary consideration.

Work for Students.

Mr P. K. Telang writes in the *Young Collegiate*

There are many who can do things with their hands, many fortunately have the energy and capacity for physical action but there are always few who can think out solutions to social and economic problems or even visualise these problems clearly. In every country during a time of upheaval there are always members who can do what they are told to do but there are few who can with authority and sincerity decide what it is to do. It is the duty of students, especially the more advanced ones at College, to take up or study and investigation those problems of civic and social well-being which are pressing

themselves on the attention of every thoughtful observer of the conditions around us. It is they who have the necessary intellectual enthusiasm to undertake reading on a large scale, it is they who have the necessary mental training to be able to draw conclusions from their reading and to apply them to the actual facts of the life around them. It is they who can have the necessary, patience and persistence to inspect and investigate the necessary detachment to come to unbiassed conclusions. Moreover, actual contact with facts of life will add depth and accuracy to their studies, especially of civic and economic subjects, which, when restricted entirely to the class room and the library assume a tone of unreality. These subjects, again, are studied and taught in our colleges to-day from books and by men whose horizon is entirely western and there arises a tendency either to ignore eastern facts and ideas or dismiss them summarily as abnormal or as indicative of a lower order of social organization. The expenditure of time and energy involved in such pursuits, therefore will rather help studies than hinder them.

One feels very keenly that if our students will take to a study of social problems, such as Housing, Wages, Welfare of Labour, Pauperism, Sanitation and Hygiene and will, under able guidance, organise work of actual investigation into conditions as they exist in our midst, they will be taking in hand a thing which can be properly done only by intelligent and trained people and not by amateurs and theorists, however well-meaning they may be. Members of the Servants of India Society have already been engaged on work of this kind and there seems to be no reason why they should not be asked to put themselves at the heads of student-groups, guiding and directing their studies and activities. One thing will have to be kept in mind. Our reading of these subjects will provide us with principles drawn from a review of Western conditions and facts. We shall have to test these in the light of facts and principles of our own life and the effort should be to find a way out in keeping with our traditions and ideals not only to plant conclusions and principles, alien to them, in their midst.

We should give due weight to the experience of other nations and peoples, but we must never forget that we have a view-point on life which is all our own and a social and civic organisation which has a distinctive character of great value.

"Message of Robert Burns to India."

In an article on "The Message of Robert Burns to India, in *East and West* Mr Francis Watt writes —

Burns celebrated the universal brotherhood of man. He voiced the aspirations of nations

struggling upwards in the path of progress
Like Heine he was a fighter in the great cause
for the liberation of humanity. It is here that
he speaks what is in reality his message to
India. His precious words on such subjects may
be studied with profit by the Indian student and
thinker, by all who can grasp the essential
meaning underneath a diversity of expression.

One of Burns' most striking traits is not
merely his universal humanity, but his universal
sympathy which embraces not merely mankind
but the brute creation—nay even the inanimate
things of the earth. Here are some examples
taken at random. It is not merely the good
man overwhelmed with unmerited misfortune
who calls forth his love

Ev'n you, ye hapless crew ! I pity you ,
Ye, whom the seeming good think sin ta pity,
Ye poor, despised, abandoned vagabonds,
Whom vice, as usual, has turned o'er to ruin

Again, the inequalities of life press upon him.
Again he looks on the bright side of the
humble life. Even the poorest have their pleasures
and consolations.

His finest effort is to be found in his famous
song, "A man's a man for a' that," the Mar-
seillaise hymn of all the poverty-stricken on the
earth. Well known as the verses are I cannot
refrain from quoting the first and the last

Is there for honest Poverty
That tings his head, an' a' that ,
The coward slave—we pass him by,
We dare be poor for a' that !
For a' that, an' a' that,
Our toils obscure an' a' that,
The rank is but the guinea's stamp,
The man's the gowd for a' that
Then let us pray that come it may,
(As come it will for a' that,)
That sense and worth, over a' the earth
Shall bear the gree, an' a' that
For a' that, an' a' that,
It's coming yet for a' that
That man to man, the world o'er,
Shall brothers be for a' that

There is a direct message in that song of
consolation and hope to the toiling, poverty-
oppressed millions of India.

His sympathy transcended the limits of
humanity.

Through the whole of his life Burns was in
intimate contact with the soil of his native land.
He ploughed her fields and gathered her harvests
year after year. The products of that soil
almost took sentient existence to his loving
eyes. When he turned down a mountain daisy
with his plough, he lamented that he was
crushing it in the dust, and he turned his
weeding clips aside to spare the thistle because
it was the emblem of his country and he could

not endure its destruction. When we go a step
higher and come to the animal creation, we
expect that his sympathy will go forth in large
measure and are not disappointed. The animals
that he reared, that helped him in his care of
the fields, that were pets in his home or those
wild in the woods and the meadows, were ever
the objects of keen attention and kindly
thought. In many a humorous and pathetic
line he has touched on their lives and fortunes.
Thus he turns up the nest of a field mouse and
has some moving lines on its destruction, it
affects him with pain that the little animal
should run away from him.

I'm truly sorry man's dominion
Has broken nature's social union,
An' justifies that ill opinion
Which makes thee startle
At me, thy poor, earth-born companion
An' fellow mortal !

He could pity even the devil

In his *Address to the Devil*, he has a half
humorous half regretful reference to the evil
fate of this evil spirit

But fare you weel, auld Nickie—ben !
O wad ye tak a thought an' men !
Ye aiblins might—I dinna ken—
Still hae a stake ,
I'm wae to think upo' you den,
Ev'n for your sake !

India in Current World Literature.

The following paragraphs are taken
from "The World of culture" in the
Collegian ,

YOUNG ISLAM

Mohammedanism is being reinterpreted in
Sir Theodore Morison's recent articles. In the
Nineteenth Century (July 1919) we are told that
the Young Moslems in India, Turkey and Egypt,
are either sceptics or hold unorthodox opinions
which would scandalize the divines of El Azhar
or Deoband, but "it is just these young men
who are taking the lead in championing the
cause of Islam." The explanation of this
apparent anomaly lies in the fact, says he, that,
"Islam is more than a creed, it is a civilization,"
—it is a social group with a philosophy, a
culture and an art of its own.

HINDU MUSIC

Quite a number of articles on Indian Music
have of late appeared in the musical and other
journals of the United States, such as "Eastern
and Western Music" in *Musical America* (1918),
"Music and Musical Instruments of India" in
the *Music Courier* (1918), "Message of Hindu
Music" in *Asia* (1918), and "Patronage of
Music in India" in the *Musical Observer* (1919).

All these contributions are from the pen of
B K Roy

THE OXFORD HISTORY OF INDIA

In the December number of the *Political Science Quarterly* (1919) the fallacies of Mr Vincent A Smith as historian are exposed by Benoy Kumar Saikar in a review-essay on "An English History of India" The article emphasises the distinction that there is between archaeology and history

ON THE COLOURS OF THE STRIÆ IN MICA

In the Proceedings of the Royal Society (London), A Vol 96, we have a full investigation of the phenomenon of the coloured striæ observed when mica is examined by the Foucault Test by Mr P N Ghosh, Lecturer on Optics in the Calcutta University A preliminary communication in *Nature* (November 14, 1918) by Prof C V Raman and the present author described briefly the phenomenon The experimental work described in this paper was carried out by Mr Ghosh in the Palit Laboratory of Physics of the Calcutta University

Universities of the Future.

Writing in the *Kalpaka* on "the New Renaissance" Mr Victor E Cromer quotes from Professor Thwing's work on *Universities of the World* a long passage which concludes as follows —

'By reason of the presence of three elements—the increasing complexity of civilisation, the increasing competition of civilisation, the increasing sense of the need of conservation of natural resources—the education which the colleges and universities of the world seek to give, becomes of greater worth and of widening relationships In this enlargement, the universities of the world may easily fall into four classes'

The writer then summarises Prof Thwing's description of the four types of universities

The first of these four classes, Professor Thwing says, 'has for its purpose the discovery and the publication of the truth,' and comprises mainly the German Universities The second class is the type which has for its 'primary purpose the development of character through the power of thinking,' represented by the Scottish and some of the American Universities The third type, he says, 'has for its real, though seldom spoken of, purpose, the making of a gentleman,' and Oxford and Cambridge are cited as finest examples of this class Professor Thwing then goes on to say that 'It is a far cry to the fourth type of the University, a cry far in place and in function. This class seeks to train men

in efficiency, its members endeavour to make graduates who are able to earn their living In this respect they are like all other professional schools, and especially like the schools of engineering Of course the efficiency is of a liberal sort, and the living, for earning which the opportunity is given, is of large relations The Universities of this class belong especially to the Far East The means of subsistence are so small, the margin dividing starvation from bare existence so narrow, that every force must be utilised, every method employed, which shall add a crumb to the food or a thread to the garment The characteristics of all the Universities of each of these four classes are, of course, found in less or greater degree in every University'

The writer concludes his article by elaborating his idea of the co-ordination of all methods which should characterise education in the coming day

In the development of the University system that will come in the years succeeding the Great War there will be a co-ordination and a re-synthesis of all existing systems The historical growth of each distinctive type of University, college, and school will have contributed a distinctive point of view, methods that are unique, and lessons to be learned, in the founding of the Universities of the future India, starting from the beginning with her University system, will have the experience of all other Universities throughout the world on which to build the edifice of her future system of learning

Between the primary school systems and the Universities there must arise an intermediary system, by means of which the University will be fed with students This intermediary system will be compulsory and universal All children will have to pass through the intermediary schools, and those who are fit or ready for the wider education of the University will be passed on to it as a matter of course Once the career is chosen, all efforts will be bent towards giving the best possible facilities to the child to study and develop its faculties, whether the tendencies be musical or domestic, electrical or oratorical, literary or mechanical There will be scope for all There will be a place found for the large groups who are fitted to become engineers or architects, carpenters or draughtsmen while there will even be facilities provided for the precocious individual who has no compeer in the State in his particular direction, and therefore needs individual instruction and unique facilities From a hod carrier to a Shakespeare, from a bootmaker to a World Teacher, facilities will be provided in this intermediate system for all classes to find their vocation, and to develop efficiency in that vocation

And if a nation is so happy as to possess an individual who stands head and shoulders above his fellows in any given direction, then it is to that nation's interests to provide the utmost

facilities for the studies of that individual. The hour and the man have a way of coming into correct juxtaposition in the world's economy, but if the man is not sufficiently awakened to realise the greatness of his opportunity, the hour passes, and the world suffers. The educational system must be broad enough to provide for the single genius as well as the enlightenment of the masses. When that time arrives the New Renaissance will be within measurable distance of realisation.

Western Nationalism and Ideal Nationalism

In his lecture on "Christian Nationalism," reproduced in the *Young Men of India*, Mr K T Paul observes —

The breakdown of Western Civilisation in 1914-1918 is due to a type of Nationalism which is fundamentally opposed to the Spirit of Christ. No one is more anxious than the religious leaders of the West to make this point perfectly clear. The war is reckoned rather as part of that process of the evolution of nature red in tooth and claw, when it rejects the superior guidance offered by Christ through self-restraint in thoughtfulness for others.

But Nationalism truly so called is not Prussianism. Take the analogy of individual personality. Who will deny the infinite value of the self-knowledge, self-reverence and self-control implied in individual personality? The beast in man may lower it to arrogant conceit or beggarly selfishness. The spirit in man however does raise it, thank heaven, very often, to most useful purposes in the economy of Society. The same is also true of the family. Social advancement, social graces, progressive maintenance of culture from generation to generation, most things which make life worth living, are all impossible excepting for the great fact of the family. On the other hand, family interests and family pride may and do degrade people only too often.

In the same way the fact that nationalism was notoriously malformed in the Europe of the XIXth Century should not blind us to its essential values. The history of mankind cannot be read from a teleological view-point without discerning the inscrutable wisdom of Infinite Providence. It was in His design that nations should emerge in the course of human evolution, should develop peculiar characteristics of their own, should at a later stage so freely intermingle as to teach and help one another and to advance the race towards its goal of perfection. What wonder if in such an immensely complicated process drawn out over thousands of generations there should be failures and conflicts, even Armageddons and revolutions. One might as well condemn individual personality or family feeling for the same reason.

The possibility of failure is the one condition for virility in success. Such is God's own method of nurture. The process is costly, involving suffering which sometimes falls on the undeserved. We cannot enter now into the metaphysics of that side issue. The main fact is that in the 'one increasing purpose' of God for mankind nationalism has a designed place of necessity.

Mr Paul then gives us his ideal of what nationalism ought to be, and in doing so says 'For the perfection of individual personality Christ revealed the master-secret. "Do unto others as you would be done by" was the dictum.' Here it may be observed that this was not a new revelation made by Christ. This rule of conduct is to be found in the ancient writings of several countries of an age anterior to the days of Jesus, e.g., in the Talmud and in the works of Confucius. Let us, however, proceed with Mr Paul's ideal of nationalism. He says that just as the above master-secret of reciprocity helps in the perfection of individual personality, so it "leads the family upward, and the same is the secret for Nationalism."

The so-called Christian West finds it difficult to learn this lesson, and needed all the tragedy of the Great War to bring it vividly to attention. Like the individual, it is only the nation that loses itself that can find itself. That God may be the King of mankind, that mankind may carry out His will and purposes of Love in the great true freedom of obedience, with this high purpose it is for nations as for individuals to forget themselves in altruistic service. Over and over again this prescription has been found true in the individual. There is no reason why it should not be equally unfailing in the case of a nation. It is the survivals of barbarism in Western nations which have made this so far impracticable in spite of their Christianity.

In India, then, no nationalism can be counted as Christian which would be so self-centred as to want isolation, so self-seeking as to exploit other nations, so self-concerned as to despise other cultures, so self-willed as to refuse others' counsels.

In this connection some of Mr Paul's observations on the culture of India are worth quoting.

Of all the ancient cultures of the world the one which has maintained its progress unbroken for thirty centuries is that of India. Egypt and Chaldea, Iran and Greece made their contributions, and departed many centuries ago. Even

Imperial Rome, well established on solid foundations of law and statesmanship, found its master who shivered it to pieces and threw its empire into barbaric darkness for seven centuries. Of Japan and China I have no knowledge, beyond this, that their light was lit from India. Leaving them aside for a moment, India presents the unique phenomenon of a great Oriental culture which has braved the confusions of thirty centuries of political vicissitudes. Her strength lay not in physical power or material pelf, but in the abiding vitality of the inner light which secured high intellectual achievement, profound spiritual aspiration, and a masterpiece of social organization at once adaptable to the demands of changing conditions and tenaciously conserving the heritage of art and culture as each generation carried them a stage further towards perfection.

It is these things that we call the 'National Characteristics of India.'

Again, the sterling success of Indian culture to subsist, to progress, and to dominate for centuries many more millions than ever came under the heel of the Kaiser, all without any political power and authority, has demonstrated once for all to the world the truth of the dictum 'Blessed are the Meek for they shall inherit the Earth.' The rest of the world went on the idea that political power is indispensable for a chance in the world. This fallacy worked itself out into the absurdity which Europe had to undergo during the last five years. India has stood on a pedestal above material and political power, and her exalted throne has weathered all storms, and the nations of the world might turn to her wistfully for a demonstration of the truth uttered in all its simplicity on the shores of Galilee.

Among the most precious heritage of India is her ideal of womanhood. As daughter, as wife, and as mother, her throne is in the heart of man and from there her sceptre is stretched without hindrance over his head and hand. Not by becoming a man but by realising perfectly the sacred office of womanhood, she has provided the complement without which mere man is utterly poor and ineffectual.

India's Duty in relation to the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The editor of the *Young Men of India* has published the complete text of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which, he says, has not yet appeared in any journal published in India, and in that connection observes —

India is a signatory to the Covenant, and thereby we accept certain responsibilities and duties towards the world, in the consideration of which, on the other hand, we have failed lament-

ably. Every civilized Power, possibly, with the exception of the Hedjaz, has brought up the Peace Treaty, in which is incorporated the Covenant, before its respective Legislature for discussion, criticism, and ratification. The Dominions, such as Canada and Australia, have done this. On the other hand, in India the Government has failed to explain the Treaty even to responsible leaders, and on the part of the latter there has been a lamentable lack of interest even though it would appear that some of the concrete provisions of the Covenant affect us most profoundly and in them large masses of our population have a definite interest. (The italics are ours —Ed, M R) We have had meetings all over India demanding that Turkey's Sovereignty should in no wise be curtailed, even territorially. In article 22 of the Covenant the plenipotentiaries, including the representatives of India, signed the following: "Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be the principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory." Here a question of capital importance and of the deepest import to India has already been settled under the guarantee of the principal Allies and Associated Powers.

We would advise our readers to turn aside from the conflicting controversies regarding Turkey, as reflected in the Indian newspapers. We would urge them to turn to a map of the Middle East, that is to say, Turkey in Europe, Anatolia, Armenia, Trans-Caucasia, Kurdistan, Persia, Afghanistan, Arabia, and Mesopotamia. Surely it is time that we enlarged our vision and looked beyond our boundaries. We are being drawn into the greater world, but this is nothing new. The fact is that our national relationships have been for a century and a half looked after for us, and hence we have failed to be interested in them. Does it surprise many of our readers to learn that Lahore is nearer the Russian Frontier than to the capital of a sister Province, such as Allahabad? This fact is true, and yet we have failed to apprehend its significance and meaning to us. We are on the eve of rearing in India great democratic institutions, but on our frontiers, and indeed in an area larger than the whole Indian Empire — in the Middle East, there is turmoil and unrest, instability, great anxiety, and fear. Indeed the whole aspect is threatening. In the distant past our north-west frontiers were never safe from invasion. Who can predict that this new India, just come to birth, can be kept safe and intact and in that peace which is necessary for our existence and development?

Work at Pusa

"Rusticus" writes, in the *Mysore Economic Journal*, of Pusa wheats —

Pusa wheats Nos 4 and 12 continue to spread throughout the country side. The area under them in 1918-19 was estimated at half a million acres and the additional profit to cultivators which accrued from them at 75 lakhs of rupees. Their success is not confined to this country. In New South Wales, in West Australia, and in Uganda, they are coming into general cultivation. They are being extensively tried in South Africa and Nigeria and samples have been asked for by countries as far apart as Canada and Java.

Of the waste of water in irrigation, he writes —

That the cultivator all over India wastes an appalling amount of water is a well known fact which is the despair of irrigation engineers, but it has been left to Mr and Mrs Howard to frame the best estimate yet made of the extent to which he misuses his supplies. They have demonstrated that excellent crops of wheat can be grown in North-West India on one preliminary irrigation only, whereas the cultivator in Sind applies four or more waterings to the standing crop and his brother in Baluchistan six or seven. Mr and Mrs Howard point out that the water which could be set free by more economical methods could be used most advantageously for the production of leguminous fodder crops such as lucerne or berseem (Egyptian clover) and that the general improvement in the organization of the local fodder supplies which would follow the increase in the fodder crops would go far to solve the cattle and milk problems and would also increase the supply of manure. It is satisfactory to find that Mr and Mrs Howard's work on soil aeration has convinced them that any fears of soil depletion in the plains of India are groundless. They hold that increased rather than decreased yields are to be expected as surface drainage is improved, as erosion becomes checked, as the texture of the land is improved by the extended use of suitable leguminous rotations and as the conditions necessary for nitrogen fixation are elucidated and applied.

Trade Unions Worse than Caste in one Respect.

From the ancient literatures of India and from modern historical works based on them, one learns that, whatever the other faults of the caste system, it did not in general stand in the way of persons of any caste following any trade or industry they liked. Modern Hindus also enjoy

similar freedom. But in the West the Trade Unions stand in the way of men and women freely choosing their means of earning. The following extract from Mr Arnold Wright's article on "Economics in the West" in the *Mysore Economic Journal* is made in support of our opinion.

How selfish and monopolistic are the tendencies of modern Labour in this country is shown by the manner in which the Trade Unions are dealing with the question of female labour. During the war over a quarter of a million of women were employed in various industries, some of them in positions of great responsibility and all working on lines usually followed by the ordinary male workers. Naturally it was assumed that these often highly self-sacrificing women, when the war concluded, would, if they cared to remain at work, be permanently employed. But those who expected this were reckoning without the exclusiveness of the Trade Unions. A report just issued by the Women's Industrial League, which has been making inquiries on the subject, shows that of the quarter million women originally employed only 79,000 were in the workshops at the end of May last and that this number was rapidly dwindling because the Unions would not allow the women to be employed. One firm wrote as follows to the Society on the subject —

"Since the armistice, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers has insisted upon our dismissing the women working on armature work, because we were not employing women in the same room or department as formerly. We don't think the decision was a fair one, and we make our protest accordingly, but without avail. We venture to express the opinion that women's work is infinitely better than men's for many branches of our work.

"We are more than pleased with the loyalty, cheerfulness, and willing service of the women in our employ. They are unquestionably an example to the male labour, practically without exception.

"We intend to keep women as long as allowed, for they have given complete satisfaction and are displacing no men."

It is hardly necessary to comment on the spirit here revealed of the mind of Labour as it is directed by the Trade Union leaders. The old mediæval Guilds usually cited as monumental examples of selfishness were not more narrow in their exclusiveness than the up-to-date Labour organizations are showing themselves to be. It is their tendency which excites the greatest apprehension for the future of British industry. For the full development of our resources free trade is just as necessary in the sphere of artisan employment as it is in the wider region of international competition. Under modern conditions what possible future

can an industry have which is hedged round with a high wall over which no one can climb who has not first passed through the extremely fine sieve of the Trade Union's laws. There is the less excuse now for the barriers raised, because all the world is crying out for British goods and manufacturers do not find it possible even to a limited extent to keep pace with the demands they receive. A striking example of the mischief wrought by the curious obtuseness

of the Trade Unions to the needs of the time is supplied by the action of the Bradford wool-workers who for weeks resolutely declined either to do overwork or to permit the employment of female labour though the demand for the Trade's goods was never greater. When these things happen one is almost disposed to question whether the British worker will ever rise to the necessities of the present unexampled situation

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Typical Englishman.

In the opinion of the *New Statesman*,

By a curious chance, the person whom the typical Englishman—at least, the best type of Englishman—is most unlike is John Bull. That stupid and irascible figure of plethora—where is he to be found? One might walk the streets of London all day and never meet him once. He does not frequent fairs or markets. One never sees him driving a motor 'bus. There may be a few elderly gentlemen of a John Bull figure in clubs—but they are mere commentators without influence on events. They talk a great deal of politics, but they might as well talk racing for all the effect they have. They are not important but self-important. They are outside the national life. They could not get a seat even in the present Cabinet, they could not get a seat even in the present Parliament.

The writer proceeds to observe —

We suspect John Bull of being the invention of an anti-Englishman. John Bull could never have done a single one of those things that have made the name of England renowned through the world. He could neither have written *Hamlet* nor have gone with Scott in search of the South Pole.

The three great contributions of England to the world, it seems to us, have been made in the spheres of poetry, adventure, and political liberty. John Bull would have scorned the first, hated the last, and been much too dull and fond of his food even to dream of quitting England in search of the impossible. The only fine quality he possesses—and it is undoubtedly a great quality—is dogged courage. John Bull may be as stupid as a stone wall but he is also as unshakable. We have no doubt that it is this quality in him that has kept him alive in the popular imagination. Human beings, aware of the chase of hopes and fears that sweeps over them at times with so unsettling an effect, are led to worship an ideal of unflinching steadiness

as though it were one of the primary virtues. It is certainly a virtue for lack of which the primary virtues are of little—or, at least, lessened—account. Thus it may be that John Bull, though he is not typical of Englishmen in general either in his features or in his character as a whole, does typify the English love of doggedness and stability. One would like to believe that dogged courage is consistent with a little more charm of manner. But perhaps the average Englishman prefers his doggedness 'neat'.

How does the Englishman himself see his average fellow-countryman?

He thinks of him chiefly as a blunt, honest man, whose word is his bond, who has a sort of schoolmaster's mission to the inferior and ungrateful outer world, the chivalrous protector of women, a moderate drinker with a hatred of teetotalers, with a touch of unimaginative stupidity that keeps the pure gold of his nature from being too soft, not a perfect man but a better man than any other man. The Englishman would not go further than that he never boasts.

The New Statesman suspects that it was not the hostile critics of the Englishman but the Englishman himself who invented the description of himself as stupid and unimaginative.

It seems odd that he should do so, seeing that he is not given to self-abasement. Mr. Shaw, if we remember right, attributes it to protective mimicry. The Englishman sits down, politically speaking, to play cards with the Irishman, and he at once begins telling the Irishman how brilliant he (the Irishman) is and what a blundering idiot he (the Englishman) is. The Irishman is only too ready to believe it is all true, and he shows his pleasure by the easy-going recklessness of his play. Then, when the game comes to an end and it is time to count one's winnings, the Irishman notices that there

are no winnings for him to count, while the Englishman needs a bag in which to carry his away. Happy is the nation that can pretend to be stupid. Were we a wolf, we should say to the lamb 'What a dazzling creature you are! How beautiful and how perfectly clever!' There could be no better way of insuring against hunger

The 'Right of Revolution.'

Le Temps, in criticising the assertion of the French Socialists that militant minorities have a 'right of revolution'—a 'right of violence'—writes —

The right of revolution can exist only in so far as a national majority is oppressed, is the victim of a tyranny, or of a dictatorship whose powers are self-constituted. The right of revolution, thus understood, triumphed definitely on the day when the fathers of the French Revolution caused the equality of all citizens before the law to be maintained and founded the first great democracy based upon the rights of man. From that time forth the right of revolution disappeared, abolished by its very conquests, for by the creation of a regime of liberty and political justice, a regime in which every citizen possesses the same legal means of making known his will, every violent act against the regularly established order is condemned in thought and deed.

Looking forward to the violent overthrow of an order legally and peaceably established according to the will of the majority, the recourse of a militant minority to the pretended right of revolution, is a criminal act—a crime against democracy. It is the very negation of democracy, the overthrow of everyone of those principles of liberty and equality without which no democratic civilization can exist. It suffices to make it clear that those who invoke the right of revolution (there are some who speak of the 'duty of revolution') wish to impose upon a majority, the crushing domination of a minority; they wish to create special social and political privileges for a small group of citizens at the expense of the others.

The translation given above is taken from the *Living Age* of Boston

"To critics of the League."

Mr Arthur J Balfour says that the League of Nations has had many critics, but he is "not aware that among the multitude of criticisms that have been offered, any suggestion makes its appearance for finding a substitute for that organization

which we desire to see entrusted with the great task of preserving the peace of the world."

Those who criticize the League of Nations have no substitute for the League of Nations. They are prepared, it seems, for the civilized world to go on in the future as it has gone on in the past, oscillating between those scenes of violence and sanguinary disturbance, and the intervals in which great and ambitious nations pile up their armaments for a new effort. To me such an ideal appears to be absolutely intolerable, and I am not prepared, seriously, to discuss with any man what the future of the international relations should be unless he is prepared either to accept in some form or another the League of Nations, or to tell me what substitute he proposes for it.

The objection that human nature being unchangeable, men will continue to fight in the future as they have done in the past, is met thus —

'Human nature,' say these critics, 'never changes, the world has always suffered from wars, what has been will be, the future must resemble the past, and war, which we have never succeeded in escaping hitherto, will dog our footsteps to the end of time.'

Now, I do not, of course, deny that the notion of fundamentally altering human characteristics is only the crotchet of the doctrinaire and the pedant, and that no practical statesman ought to lend his hand to any project which clearly involves a fundamental alteration in our inherited characteristics. But are we, therefore, to give up all hope of amelioration? Grant that the raw material on which statesmen and legislators work remains substantially unaltered, are we, therefore, to say that society is inherently fixed in all its old habits, be they good or be they bad? That seems to me to be a counsel not only of despair, but of foolishness.

I have noticed that the very people who tell you the League of Nations has failed, that was, after all, is a necessity, perhaps in the long run a beneficent necessity, and that in any case it is ingrained in human nature—these are the very people who tell you that we are not as good as our forefathers—that in the good old days men were really indifferent to money, and really preferred their country to their private interests, and were always prepared to fight for any cause which they thought to be the cause of right. But is human nature only to go downhill? Then, if we are so much worse than our progenitors in these particulars, it shows, at all events, that we can change. Must we only change for the worse? I take an entirely different view, not only of what the history of the past has been, but of what the history of the future may be.

It is perfectly true that you cannot change

as by a miracle the hearts of men, but what you can do and what you ought to do is to make such changes in the habits of men that that which seemed natural and inevitable to their forefathers should seem monstrous and avoidable to their children. And that you really ought to be able to do. For that you have done—that civilization has done in many particulars.

He gives an example.

We say with truth that, after all, at the root of society there must be the element of force, and there must be a criminal law for criminals, that the peaceable citizen must be protected by the police. All that is quite true, but just consider the amount of work which has to be done by those guardians of society now, compared with the disorder, the crime, the recklessness, indifference to life which habitually and commonly prevailed among our not very remote ancestors. If you can do that in social life, why can you do nothing comparable to it in international life? What you have to do, and what you can do if you seize the propitious moment and use it to the best advantage, is to create such a habit of dealing with international difficulties by international machinery that the very thought of settling international disputes by the abominable practice of mutual slaughter will seem as truly alien to the views of civilized men as some of the habitual disorders under which society suffered not so very long ago.

He does not deny that the task is a difficult one.

Indeed, I belong to a school of thought which thinks that progress is difficult to attain, and is not only difficult to attain, but is not easy to maintain. There are some who are optimistically framed, and their outlook on the world is so optimistic that they seem to think that progress is something that comes of itself and by itself without human effort, and that each stage that is conquered by this almost automatic procedure is one that will of itself forever remain. I take a different view. I think society may go back as well as forward. I think it requires, and has always required, the constant effort and the best elements in every society, not merely to improve it but to maintain it at its level. It is on that condition alone that civilization, in my judgment, is possible. But the very thought—the very kind of reflection which makes me anxious, makes me also hopeful—the very thought that without effort we may slide back assures me that with effort we can press forward. All that I ask these critics of the League of Nations is that, if they can find no substitute for the machinery we propose, they will, at all events, throw themselves into the task of making it work if they can, and that they will go forward in a spirit of hopefulness and faith, and, while conscious of all the difficulties, and recognizing all the obstacles in their path, will nevertheless say that is the path which we must

pursue. There lies peace, and with peace an improvement in our international relations.

But there are two conditions of success to be fulfilled.

The League of Nations provides the machinery, but machinery without motive power—a body without a soul—is utterly useless. Behind the machinery of the League of Nations must be the motive power derived from the wills of the peoples of the world. And their action must be founded on the common conscience. That is the first condition. Another condition is that all the Powers, and more especially the great Powers, on whose action so much in the near future must inevitably depend, should take an equal share of the burden which I do not for a moment deny that the League of Nations is going to throw upon them.

But the pity is, this "burden" is being recognised by neutral and dependent peoples as that old unregenerate thing, "the white man's burden." So that the condition that each great power should have a Mandate seems equivalent to an attempt to stop the mouths of all the powerful peoples by giving them a share of the spoils of victory.

The Purdah System.

An Indian Lady, writing on "The Purdah System" in *Britain and India*, says—

The general idea is that this system is of Islamic or Mohammedan origin, but we are told on good authority that there is nothing in the Moslem scriptures which can be said to have given rise to the Purdah with the exception of a few verses, which, though they may be said by some to have reference to the custom, yet give no warrant to the seclusion of women. On the other hand, we are told definitely that seclusion was at first the punishment meted out in the Koran only to the women who had been unfaithful to their husbands. It was later, in the Ommeyyade period (661—749 A.D.), that the custom was generally extended among the Mohammedans to the faithful as well as the unfaithful, on account of the laxity of public morals.

The following observations show that the writer is not a prejudiced critic of the Purdah—

We are told, and told justly, by the speakers who advocate franchise for Indian women, that the Purdah makes no difference to the influence of Indian women but that their voice is still heard from behind it with force.

and insistence. The example of the aged and revered Begum of Bhopal, as well as of other capable rulers of India, is enough to prove this. We also know that the Pudrah women themselves are reluctant to come out of their seclusion, in fact will be most unhappy to do it.

The lot of the secluded women of India is not as unhappy as outsiders are apt to think. Taking the case of the Ranis alone, we can say that their privileges are many.

She then describes the ways of life of many Ranis of the present day. The concluding paragraphs are devoted to a description of the evils of the system.

With all these compensations, however, the Purdah system has many disadvantages. Life is apt to become self-centered and selfish in seclusion. Healthy curiosity and observation are stifled, superstition and ignorance are encouraged, and education is retarded. Thus the influence exercised over the men is sometimes likely to be in the wrong direction. And seclusion casts a doubt on the character of the women themselves. It implies that no reliance can be placed on their virtue, and by this very doubt sometimes suggests unfaithfulness. The smug goodness, which cannot through force of circumstances ever become lowered, is very different from that true virtue which is tried in the fire and emerges victorious.

Moreover Purdah tends to make women unhealthy. For it is only the rich who can afford private gardens and parks. The poorer women have often to pass their lives in one crowded room and become easy victims to wasting diseases. Even among the rich there are inconvenience. The Purdah woman has no men friends, who are so indispensable to the women of the West, nor that intercourse which helps to broaden character and induce independence. When the Purdah woman goes for a drive she is hidden carefully behind the nearly-closed shutters of her carriage and can only peep through them at the sights and scenes she passes by. When she goes on a journey her position is an uncomfortable one, for she must either step directly into her compartment from her palanquin which is a closed box long enough to recline in and high enough to sit down under, carried on the shoulders of men, or she must walk on the railway platform under a covering curtain held up by men, and it is a really amusing sight to see a number of pretty feet, sometimes bare and sometimes in slippers, moving to the jingle of silver and gold anklets, under a shapeless mass of cloth held up by frightened and perspiring attendants. There are many other inconveniences, which need not be mentioned here.

It is time that this system should be entirely uprooted from India. It is a time-honoured custom though, and very hard to get rid of.

All the more credit, therefore, to the Indian women and men who are breaking through it everywhere. There are immense capabilities for thought and action in the women of India, which have only to be given an opportunity to make them equal to the women of any nation however cultured. Such a process will naturally be a long one, but we already see the firmly established beginnings of it.

"Compelling Self-Protection."

Japan's naval programme having been commented upon by the puissant European peoples and their descendants outside Europe, *The Philippine Review* says in defence —

We find it interesting to quote the following cablegram

"London, January 8 — *The Daily Mail* publishes a dispatch from Sydney, Australia, stating that Japan's announcement that she intends to spend 750,000,000 yen in an eight year naval program, and that of this sum 350,000,000 is to be spent in 1920, is causing great uneasiness throughout Australia where the scheme is regarded as a further whittling of the league of nations and the plan to limit armaments.

"Japan's contention that the program is needed by the responsibilities of the Pacific mandates is ridiculed, as it would not take 207 new warships to police the Caroline and Marshall Islands.

"The *Sydney Evening News* declares that Japan's action is certain to create reaction throughout the world."

With the Nations' denial to grant Japan the right to race equality, one cannot but feel that the time is not as yet ripe for an unselfish, indiscriminating world comradeship. Japan's loyalty and share in the recent war can never be overestimated, and yet she is denied what is due her.

This is an object lesson for the whole Far East, with Australia, of course, excluded, for it looks as if the latter, rather than a Far Eastern country, was a Western island merely ingrafted in the Far East. For it is curious enough to note that while the nations are talking of peace and of leagues of nations, at the same time race inequalities are fostered, and evidence is given of the fact that they are not yet ready for a world union for universal good, except when it is to the unmistakable advantage of the West. The good of the Far East is of a secondary nature, evidently. It is, however, useless for us to discuss this question any further, we want only to say that Japan's own interests and self-protection are compelling her to maintain a navy that is strong enough to meet outsiders and outside interferences, and to prevent the latter from

licking her to death. Apparently there are still questions that the nations can only settle through recourse to arms, and we are afraid Japan is not neglecting herself in this sense. Unless, therefore, the race equality question is settled in time, a race clash the world over may become necessary to put an end to this unjustifiable attitude as taken by certain powers.

Moreover, as the newly started *Asian Review* of Japan writes,

America and Great Britain were the chief advocates of the League of Nations, and by an irony of fate, they are the first to break the very backbone of the League by embarking on an ominous programme for augmenting their navies. Undoubtedly militarism has been crushed, if it was a militarism at all, but the world is again threatened with a Navalism.

Marquis Okuma on Modern Japan.

Marquis Okuma has contributed to the *Asian Review* of Tokyo an article entitled "The Modern Japan" which explains how Japan has come to be what she is. Incidentally the Marquis writes

Such a big country as India which if united could never be vanquished by the whole of Europe allied, was conquered by England alone owing to the dissension among the native princes. If we look back to the Japan of the days when India succumbed, being unable to resist European civilization, we shall find that much the same conditions prevailed also in this country.

How then did Japan survive? By the unification of the country under the Emperor by the Restoration of the Imperial Rule, by harmonising the civilisation of the East and West acting on the principle of "saicho hotan" or "Making good one's deficiency by learning the superior points of others," by the complete destruction of feudalism and the establishment of democracy, thus respecting the will of the people.

As a result of this reformation the Caste System was so completely abolished that the sons of Prince Tokugawa, the late Shogun, the daughters of court nobles who are descendants of Fujiwara Kamatari and the children of common citizens, millionaires, Government officials and working men, all alike, are taught the same lessons in the same schoolroom. Neither in England nor in France nor in Germany is education so democratic, therefore in regard to education Japan may be said to be the

most democratic country in the world, and it should be remembered that this is an outcome of the Restoration.

The Japanese who are capable of effecting such a great reformation can assimilate any civilization they come in contact with and they are endowed with faculties for learning and utilizing without difficulty any science, philosophy or law which never before existed in their own country, and can also correct their errors the moment that they discover them. Of all the nations of a lower standard of civilization that have come in contact with European culture since the beginning of the history of Europe, the Japanese are perhaps the only nation endowed with the faculties referred to above.

Marquis Okuma's article, which deserves to be read in full, ends with a warning to all nations, including his own, which are arrogant or may be arrogant.

When a country grows powerful it is apt to become arrogant. Germany collapsed because she became too arrogant. At present some nations practically control the world, and although they may be quite unaware and be doing things with good intention, to a third party their attitude seems arrogant, and if this thing goes on, I fear that in course of time the countries which resent them will increase in number, and eventually who knows if they may not be placed in a position much the same as that in which Germany was placed. At all events it is necessary for us to study each other carefully, as mutual understanding is most essential. For this reason we need to introduce to the world the true state of things in Japan through the instrumentality of the English language, and also it is essential to learn the true state of things in the world by the same means. Those who wish to learn must teach, and those who wish to teach must learn. I wish Europeans and Americans would study China and Japan more carefully. At the same time Japanese are required to pay greater attention to the study of the state of things in Europe and America, and the mental condition of Americans being intricate we are prone to commit an error in carelessly criticizing them. Despite the tedium of repetition I counsel our countrymen not to wax selfish and concerted, and if there be such men we must do our best to admonish them.

Japan's Racial Equality Proposal

The editorial notes, in the first number of the *Asian Review* pass in review many of those international questions which continue to cause uneasiness in the world. Among these the problem of racial equality

is the most fundamental. It was for this reason that Japan placed her racial equality proposal before the Peace Conference at Paris. But it could not be carried into effect "because of the opposition of six of the Allied and Associated Powers, who stuck tenaciously to their immediate gains."

It is certainly an irony of fate that those who were loudest in proclaiming themselves before the world as the champions of justice and humanity, should be the first to take the lead in offering the most determined opposition to this proposal, which if the world is not to see another war more blood-curdling and more humanity-staggering than the last one should be accepted by the Conference of the League of Nations at its first sitting.

The Japanese editor rightly observes —

'Racial equality' is a life and death question not only for Japan but for all the coloured races of the globe. With the solitary exception of Japan, practically the whole of Asia and Africa is under the domination, partial or complete, of the whites, with the result that the people of those countries had no facilities offered them to voice their feelings in connection with this momentous question at the Peace Conference. Consequently Japan took upon herself the onerous task of representing them so far as the question of this galling injustice was concerned.

What are the causes which led to the failure of the proposal at the Peace Conference?

The chief cause, in our opinion, was the absence of unity among the coloured races, although their lack of material and spiritual strength also contributed not a little to its failure. Consequently we call upon all our coloured brothers of all shades of opinion to present a united front in regard to this question and cultivate what is understood, in the modern sense, as 'real' strength. It is needless to say that the Japanese people are determined to get this rankling disgrace removed forever. Humanity and justice, unless their meanings vary with the change in the colour of the skin and the exigencies of the situation, demand that the racial discrimination be abolished once for all, otherwise the real and permanent peace so eagerly solicited by the statesmen of the Allied and Associated Powers will never be established on earth.

Belief in Immortality Among Christians and Hindus.

Mr James Bissett Pratt, author of "India and Its Faith," writes in the *Harvard Theological Review* that belief

in immortality is being weakened within Christianity, and that more rapidly in Western Christendom than in other parts of the world. The author then gives it as his opinion that in India there is a more widespread belief in immortality than in the West, and also mentions the causes of this difference.

One of the things that strikes one most forcibly on a visit to India—at least if I may trust my own experience—is the vitality of the belief in immortality among all classes of society except those that have come under Western influence. Not only does there seem to be comparatively little theoretical scepticism on the subject, the belief seems to hold a vital place in the lives of a surprisingly large proportion of the people. The chief cause for this contrast is undoubtedly the fact already pointed out, that modern Western science tends both to destroy authority, undermine various ancient arguments in favor of immortality, and also induce a form of imagination distinctly hostile to this belief. I think, however, there are several additional factors which give Hinduism a certain advantage over Christianity in nourishing a strong belief in immortality. One of them is connected with the question of the imagination already discussed. The Hindu finds no difficulty whatever in imagining the next life, for his belief in reincarnation teaches him that it will be just this life over again, though possibly at a slightly different social level. I am inclined to think, moreover, that the Christian and the Hindu customs of disposing of the dead body may have something to do with this contrast in the strength of their beliefs. Is it not possible that the perpetual presence of the graves of our dead tends to make Christians implicitly identify the lost friend with his body, and hence fall into the objective, external form of imagination about death that so weakens belief in the continued life of the soul? We do not teach this view to our children in words, but we often do indirectly and unintentionally by our acts. The body—which was the visible man—is put visibly into the grave and the child knows it is there, and at stated intervals we put flowers on the grave—an act which the child can hardly interpret otherwise than under the category of giving a present to the dead one. And so it comes about that while he is not at all sure just where Grandpa is, he is inclined to think that he is up in the cemetery. Much of our feeling and of our really practical and vital beliefs on this subject, as on most others, is of course derived from our childhood impressions. And so it comes about that this attitude toward the body and the grave is not confined to children.

The Hindu is not likely to make this identification. The body of his lost friend is

burned within a few hours after death, and the ashes swept into the river and forever dispersed. There is no body left and no grave in which he may center his thoughts of the departed. If he is to think of him at all, it cannot be of his body and must be of his soul. The Christian decks the tomb of his departed one with flowers, the Hindu instead performs an annual Shraddha ceremony to the spirits of those gone before.

But there is, I believe, one further reason for the greater strength of the Hindu faith over the Christian, and that is to be found in the contrast between the two conceptions of immortality. In the Christian view the soul's survival of death is essentially miraculous. The soul is conceived as coming into existence with the birth of the body, and the thing to be expected is that it should perish when the body perishes. This is prevented through the intervention, so to speak, of God, who steps in and rescues the soul and confers upon it an immortality which, left to itself, it could never attain. Thus it comes about that when the idea of supernatural intervention has been generally discarded, and even the belief in God

as an active force outside of nature has been weakened—as is the case all over western Christendom—there is little left to support the belief in the continued existence of the soul after the death of the body. In India all this is changed. The soul's immortality has there never been thought dependent upon any supernatural interference or miraculous event, nor even upon God himself. There are atheistic philosophers in India, but they are as thoroughly convinced of the eternal life of the soul as are the monist and the theist. For in India the soul is *essentially* immortal. Its eternity grows out of its very nature. It did not begin to be when the body was born, and hence there is no reason to expect that it will cease to be when the body dies. Existence is a part of its nature. If you admit a beginning for it, you put it at once out of the class of the eternal things, and are forced to hang its future existence upon a miracle. But for the Hindu "the knowing self is not born, it dies not. It sprang from nothing, nothing sprang from it. It is not slain though the body be slain."

A COMMONSENSE VIEW OF SOME FINANCIAL OPERATIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

BY PROFESSOR PRIYANATH CHATTERJEE, M A

['Councils', 'reverse councils', 'export bills', 'the balance of trade', 'paper currency reserve', and many such other expressions have nowadays become familiar to many. A short explanation of some of them may not, however, be unnecessary to the few who have not troubled themselves with the meaning of these technical expressions.

The Secretary of State for India, on behalf of the Indian Government, spends annually large sums in England which are included generally under the name of the Home charges. These include interest on the promissory notes of the Government of India held in England, the interest on which is payable in sterling (this sterling debt amounts to about £200 million), pensions and furlough allowances payable in England, etc.

The Secretary of State raises the amount by the sale of what are known as Council Bills, or Councils, or cheques drawn by the Secretary of State on the Government of India. These bills on the Indian treasuries of the Government, are, of course, purchased by those in England who have to remit money to India. The Secretary of State gets what he needs in sterling in London, and the bills are sent to India by the buyers and are cashed at the Government treasuries in

Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Thus, the balances in the Indian treasuries of the Government are reduced by the sales of Councils which increase the balance in the London treasury of the Government controlled by the Secretary of State. In other words, a transfer of funds from India to England is thus, effected without having to ship the money from India to England.

There is a demand in London for these bills. The Exchange Banks here in financing the foreign trade of India, pay for Indian goods shipped abroad in rupees, in lieu of export bills (bills on foreign countries for goods exported to them). The bills are sent to London, the clearing-house of the world, for realisation. The foreign branches of the Banks similarly pay for goods which India imports and the bills for these goods are sent to India for collection. So the cash balances of the Banks in India, reduced by the value of the exports and increased by that of the imports, would steadily diminish and ultimately disappear, as there is invariably a balance in favour of India (the value of her exports exceeding that of her imports) if the Banks did not replenish their balances in India by the purchase of Councils in London.

which are cashed in India, or by the importation of gold and silver which they sell here

Reverse Councils are cheques drawn in India by Government on the Secretary of State or sterling drafts on London sold in India. They are obviously purchased by those in India who have to remit money to England. The necessity arises when the balance of trade is against India.]

THE question of Exchange and Currency is no doubt fit to be discussed by experts only, but the effect of some of the measures of Government in that connexion, seems to be so every obvious that an ordinary member of the public should be excused if he shows a desire to satisfy himself that the financial wisdom of the Government is not causing loss to the country. It is not inconceivable that the difficulties of the subject are sometimes exaggerated to silence criticism, and to conceal occasional errors. At any rate, an attempt should be made to help people to discover the latent wisdom in the acts of Government, which seem to throw away crores of rupees. One would like to understand how the loss is only an apparent one, has compensating advantages, or avoids greater losses in future. These questions nowadays enter very largely into daily affairs, and have become vitally important to the people, so that they cannot be silent lookers-on any longer. One would, therefore, welcome a fuller discussion of the subject, even at the cost of a rebuff from some of the Anglo-Indian journals which seem to make a monopoly of financial wisdom, which, however, they seem to be not very anxious to impart to others, and whose vigorous support of some of these acts of Government strengthens the suspicion that they may not be after all so very beneficial to the country as they seek to make out.

The recent sale of Reverse Councils has been very much commented on, and the portion of the Narrative of the Finance Member dealing with Ways and Means for the current year (Paragraphs 29 to 32) shows how the sale has affected the funds of Government in India and England.

CONSIDERABLE LOSS ON THE SALE OF COUNCILS AND REVERSE COUNCILS

The sale of Councils and Reverse

Councils has resulted in considerable loss. As the result of these sales, the cash balance of the Government in London, increased by £31·2 million by Councils, and reduced by £21·7 million by Reverse Councils, shows a net increase of £9·5 million, the balance in Indian treasuries, however, reduced by 14·5 crores by Councils and increased by 18·1 crores by Reverse Councils, suffers a net diminution of 16·1 crores.

Calculating losses and gains, (on the basis £1=Rs 15) in the manner explained by the Finance Member in Paragraph 20 of the Narrative, the gain from Councils is $31·2 \times 15 = 468$ or 12·3 crores, the loss from Reverse Councils is $21·7 \times 15 = 325·5$ or 18·4 or 18·6 crores. It is evident, that on the sale of Councils and Reverse Councils, there is thus a loss of 6·3 crores. It is not surprising that it is so, as Councils sold mostly in the first nine months of the financial year, seem to have realised an average of Rs 11 per £, and Reverse Councils sold in the last three months, an average of about Rs 7½ or about ⅔ of that.

LOSS INDIRECTLY ADMITTED BY THE FINANCE MEMBER

The above loss is in a manner admitted by the Finance Member. In Paragraph 21 of the Narrative, he says "up to the end of December, the Secretary of State sold £29 million of Council Bills on India on which we realised a gain of 11½ crores, during January and February we expect to have sold £16½ million of Reverse Councils, on which we will incur a loss of 12 crores." On these operations, there is, then, a loss of half a crore. We have to add to the above, £2·2 million more of Councils, probably sold in January, to make up the total amount of £31·2 million, and £8 million more of Reverse Councils, apparently to be sold in March, so that the total of £24·7 million may be reached. The first of the operations results in a profit of about a crore, the second, a loss of 6·6 crores. The net result is a *further* loss of more than 5½ crores and a total loss of more than 6 crores, the same as has been shown above.

THE FULL EXTENT OF THE LOSS

It is apparent that the above loss

would have been averted, and a further gain in Exchange of $9\frac{1}{2}$ crores, as shown below, would have been made if the Secretary of State had sold £6.5 million of Councils and if no Reverse Councils had been sold in India. The Secretary of State would have got the necessary funds (31.2-24.7) and the net outgoings from Government funds in India would have been $6\frac{1}{2}$ crores (on the cautious estimate of 2s for a rupee) instead of 16 crores as has actually happened. The sale of Councils for more than £6.5 million cannot be justified, as having been done in the interest of trade, for the Chamberlain Commission on Indian Currency and Finance, in their report in 1914, clearly stated that the Council Bills should be sold, not for the convenience of trade, but to provide the funds needed in London to meet the requirements of the Secretary of State on India's behalf. This additional $9\frac{1}{2}$ crores would have gone a long way to pay for the expenses of the Afghan campaign which has caused a deficit this year, and would have soon brought many urgent measures of improvement within the range of practical politics.

PROBABLE EXPLANATION WHY THIS LARGE SAVING WAS NOT MADE

An explanation is due from Government as to why the Secretary of State withdrew funds from India by the sale of Councils, three-fourths of the proceeds of which had to be subsequently transferred back to India by the sale in India of Reverse Councils when the sterling had further depreciated.

In other words, an explanation has to be found for the apparently unnecessary sale of Councils and Reverse Councils of £24.7 million each.

One would of course hesitate to suggest that Government were not fully alive to the wisdom of avoiding needless conversion of sterling into rupees, or *vice versa*, by the sale of Councils and Reverse Councils, in these days of uncertain exchange. The steady depreciation of sterling is described in Paragraph 11 of the Narrative. It is well known

how the Exchange Banks nowadays often follow the cautious policy of selling sterling drafts on London up to the value of export bills only (the value in sterling of what they pay in rupees for Indian goods shipped abroad), so as to avoid the risk of sale by an equal amount of purchase. The suggestion that Government are selling Reverse Councils only to help Englishmen to remit their savings to England should not be taken seriously. The sale is no doubt helping them, but the underlying motive is different. Obviously Government cannot help others at so much sacrifice. We must look for other reasons.

Paragraphs 31 and 32 of the Narrative show that in India, war expenditure to the extent of 67.3 crores was incurred on behalf of Home Government, for which payment was received by the Secretary of State in London. Government had to experience considerable difficulty in India in keeping themselves in funds, in view of these gigantic financial operations, the Afghan campaign, and considerable increase in the ordinary army expenditure. From Paragraphs 35 and 36 we learn that in September last, Government had to offer tempting rates of interest on treasury bills (a form of the floating debt of the Government which is paid off with interest after 3, 6, 9 or 12 months), borrow $18\frac{1}{2}$ crores from Presidency Banks, and in the language of the Finance Member, "exploit all possible sources of assistance." If the Secretary of State had *then* made large recoveries from the British Exchequer, for war expenditure incurred on behalf of Home Government by the Government of India, he would have stopped the sale of Councils, which, as we learn from Paragraph 35, were consuming about a crore of rupees weekly in India. The reduction in Councils would have meant similar reduction in Reverse Councils sold later in India. That the sale of Councils was not stopped then, would show that the Secretary of State had not then made large recoveries from War Office. The delay necessitated the sale of Councils, the proceeds of which had to be retransferred to India, when recoveries were made, by Reverse

Councils, sold in the last quarter of the financial year

able depreciation of sterling, results in no loss to the Paper Currency Reserve

A CAREFUL EXAMINATION OF PARAGRAPH 31 SUPPORTS THE THEORY OF DELAY IN RECOVERY

A careful examination of Paragraph 31 would show that the Secretary of State

(1) Purchased silver for shipment to India (£6.9 million) by withdrawal from Special Reserve¹ (£6.9 million).

(2) Met expenditure chargeable to revenue (£23.3 million), paid Indian War Loan proceeds to British Treasury (£8.8 million) by selling Council Bills (31.2 million) and reducing his cash balance (0.9 million)

(3) Sold some sterling investments or British Government Securities repayable in sterling, held on behalf of Paper Currency Reserve² (£13.1 million), and used the proceeds in meeting Capital expenditure on Railways etc (£12.9 million), the balance swelling his cash balance (0.2 million)

(4) Recovered £61 million from War Office, and used earlier recoveries in the purchase of gold (£32.1 million) for shipment to India, met sundry liabilities such as refund to War Office (£4.7 million), and remitted the balance together with half a million from his cash balance by Reverse Councils sold in India (£24.7 million)

His cash balance reduced by £0.9, £0.5 million by (2) and (4), and increased by £0.2 million by (3), suffers a net reduction of £1.2 million

LOSS INVOLVED IN THE TRANSFER OF A PORTION OF PAPER CURRENCY RESERVE FROM LONDON TO INDIA DOES NOT APPEAR

It is to be noted that transaction (3) led to the transfer of 19.7 crores (the equivalent of £13.1 million on the basis of £1 = Rs 15) to Currency Reserve in India (vide Para 32). So, a portion of the Paper Currency Reserve held in London is thus transferred to India, apparently to give effect to the recommendation of the last Currency Committee. But the beauty lies in this—the transfer in spite of the consider-

THE LOSS IS 5 CRORES

As will be shown below, the loss is no less than 5 crores. The loss is taken from profits in Exchange, without any mention being made of the same. This is an instance of financial jugglery.

PROBABLE DELAY IN THE RECOVERY OF DUES FROM WAR OFFICE ACCOUNTS FOR A LOSS OF ABOUT 4½ CRORES

It may be pointed out, that but for the necessity of transferring a portion of Paper Currency Reserve, which suddenly arose as an effect of the recommendations of the Currency and Exchange Committee, Councils would have been cut down by £13.1 million, and in consequence Reverse Councils by a similar amount. So that the loss on the sale of Councils and Reverse Councils of £13.1 million each is to be attributed to this transfer. Taking the average rates which Councils and Reverse Councils seem to have realised, this amounts to about 5 crores (the gain on Councils is 5, the loss on Reverse Councils 10 crores).

The balance of the loss (9½—5) 4½ crores is thus probably due to the delay in the recovery of dues from War Office. The other alternative is the want of knowledge, on the part of the Secretary of State, as to the amount recoverable from Home Government, which resulted in his finding himself suddenly in possession of ample funds, a large portion of which he had to remit to India by means of Reverse Councils. The second possibility is unlikely. No Government worthy of the name would be so very shortsighted.

It is very likely therefore that there was delay in recoveries, and in the meantime expenses had to be met, and this was done by the sale of Councils. If the recoveries had been timely, there would have been less Councils in the 3rd quarter and so less Reverse Councils in the last quarter of the financial year and thus more profit in exchange.

LOSS ARISING OUT OF THE LOCATION OF PAPER CURRENCY ISSUED IN DIS- REGARD OF PUBLIC OPINION

It is absolutely clear from the above, that profits in exchange should be increased by 5 crores, and then a deduction for the same amount may be made therefrom, for loss in transferring a portion of Paper Currency Reserve from England to India. This is necessary in the interest of truth. Besides people have a right to know what the persistent ignoring of the Indian demand to locate the Paper Currency Reserve in India has cost her. In Paragraph 22, the Finance Member estimates the deficiency in the Reserve at about 40 crores. It is admitted there, that *two-thirds* of the loss is due to the investments being in sterling securities or securities of the British Government payable in sterling. This would not have been the case if the wishes of the people were not disregarded. It is thus quite easy to see why Government would not like to make the loss appear greater as the suggestion made here in the interest of truth would do.

SUPPOSED LOSS ON GOLD TRANS- ACTIONS

In Paragraph 19 we find that a loss of 6¼ crores on gold purchases, acquisition and sales is deducted from the gain in exchange. It is explained that "the loss arises from the premium over sterling parity at which the Secretary of State's purchases of gold have been made." In other words the loss represents the depreciation of sterling.* It is important to know what gold purchased thus is likely to fetch in rupees in India, and by how much the total receipts would exceed the amount spent by Government in India to finance war expenditure of Home Government, for

* On account of the indebtedness of Europe and the balance of trade against her, as the Finance Member explains in Paragraph 11 the pound sterling is no longer convertible into the gold sovereign which is worth 4 dollars 86 cents in America. Now a days the pound sterling is worth about three-fourths of what the English paper money has depreciated by 5 per cent in America and a British Currency note of £1 is so held to be the equivalent of about 15s in America (in gold).

which payment of £32 million was received by the Secretary of State, which amount he used for the purchase of gold shipped to India. The objection to the heading adopted by Government is obvious—that it is very misleading. Government is expected to make large profits on the sale of gold, purchased in America and shipped to India. Should it appear as profits in exchange arising out of transactions on behalf of Home Government, because it is with the money received in England for payments made in India on behalf of his Majesty's Home Government, that gold was purchased? If no such transactions had taken place, the Secretary of State might have found the money for the purchase of gold, by the sale of Councils, for which there was a demand, on account of the favourable trade balance of India, as the shipment of gold to India was considered necessary to help trade, and the business was likely to be highly profitable to Government besides.

THE SUGGESTION THAT INDIA BENEFITED ENORMOUSLY BY FINANCING WAR EXPEN- DITURE OF HOME GOVERNMENT IS NOT SUPPORTED BY FACTS

As the analysis of Paragraph 31 above would show, if no war expenditure had been incurred in India, on behalf of Home Government, and if it had not been necessary to transfer a portion of Paper Currency Reserve to India, the Secretary of State would have required £49.7 million, which he could have got, by the sale of Councils yielding a profit of 20 crores, representing the savings due to the payments being made in London, when the sterling value of the rupee had considerably risen. So that most of the profits in exchange is due to this and not to the suggestion of Government, that the bulk of the profits arises out of transactions on behalf of Home Government.

CALCULATION OF LOSSES AND GAINS IN EXCHANGE BY THE FINANCE MEMBER IS FUNDAMENTALLY WRONG

The Finance Member estimates profits in exchange at 22½ crores.

Apparently it is arrived at thus—

(1) On the sale of Councils, a gain of 12 3 crores

(2) On the sale of Reverse Councils, a loss of 18 6 crores

(3) On transactions on behalf of Home Government, a gain of 28 8 crores

He has not explained how (1) is arrived at

COMMONSENSE VIEW OF LOSSES AND GAINS

It has been already shown above, that at least 20 crores of the gains or savings, should be attributed to the depreciation of sterling, resulting in considerable savings, in respect of Home charges, capital outlay, miscellaneous liabilities, and Indian War Loan proceeds paid to Home Government

A loss of 5 crores should be attributed to the transfer of Paper Currency Reserve, a loss of $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores to the probable delay in realising dues from War Office, a considerable gain to gold transactions, then a much smaller gain to transactions on behalf of Home Government

CONCLUSION

To sum up, the considerable savings during the current year, in the expenditure of Government, on account of the depreciation of sterling, would have been considerably greater, by timely recoveries of dues from War Office which would have made Reverse Councils, so detrimental to the best interests of the country, unnecessary. India has lost heavily by the location of Paper Currency Reserve in London against the wishes of Indians. The loss due to this is estimated by the Finance Member to be 40 crores. On account of this, four or five years must elapse before the full benefit of the higher exchange value of the rupee is reaped.

The sale of Reverse Councils seems to have adversely affected the money market and in consequence, Government will find it difficult to float a large Rupee loan this year. So the probable delay in recovering dues from Home Government, has far-reaching consequences, and it is worth while investigating the matter to have

an idea of how much India has lost. The necessity of husbanding the resources of Government was never greater than now, when the military expenditure has grown in an appalling manner, and there is an all-round increase of expenditure on account of economic causes and the excessively liberal scales of salary recently sanctioned by the Secretary of State for the Indian Civil Service and other Imperial Services and when education and sanitation, hitherto much neglected, are certain to make, in the era about to be ushered, much larger claims upon the resources of Government.

In a recent speech in the Imperial Council, the Finance Member has justified the location of Paper Currency Reserve in London as an imperial necessity arising out of the war and reminds us that India was not a neutral country during the war but a partner in it. England should not therefore bear the loss which will occur in transferring a portion of Paper Currency investments back to India. One would like to know if the reserves of Colonial Governments were similarly located in London during the war to meet this imperial necessity. England is not however called upon to make good the loss, but England might well regard this loss amounting to about 40 crores as a *war contribution* India has made *silently* in addition to her *open* gifts of one hundred million sterling in 1916, and forty-five million in 1918.

Yet the Anglo-Indian journals of Calcutta have recently been making little of the services of India in the war and been wondering if she has made any sacrifices worth mentioning. Tens of thousands of her sons that have fallen fighting in distant lands, in the cause of the Empire, seem to them but pure mercenaries. Hundreds of crores she has paid towards the expenses of the war, when her own crying wants were unattended to for want of funds, are to them nothing, in view of the colossal sums England has spent in the war. Even if the vast sums representing India's war contributions were but a drop in the ocean, they might well be regarded as a widow's mite, and a generous spirit would appie-

ciate the gift, instead of belittling it and finding in it an instance of "India's meanness" and an indication of "her grudging spirit."

1 The Finance Member explains in Para 30 of the Narrative that a special reserve of £ 20 million was built up in London during the war, of which the amount of £13 million was used up in 1918-19, and the balance in the current financial year. This reserve was apparently held in London, to prevent so much money going from England to India, in part payment of the latter's favourable trade balance. It was thus dictated by the same wisdom which required the location of the bulk of the Paper Currency Reserve in London instead of in India during the war.

2 A reserve of gold and silver coin, bullion or securities of the British Government or of the Government of India, to ensure the convertibility of the currency notes in circulation. On the eve of the war, July 31st, 1914, the reserve stood thus —

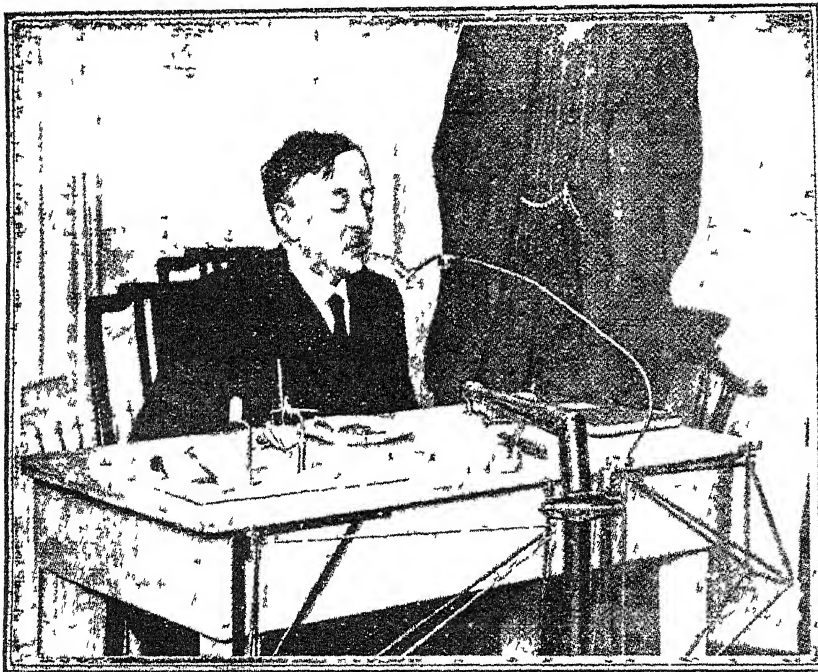
| | |
|----------------------------------|------------|
| Total circulation | 75½ crores |
| Silver coin in India | 34 " |
| Gold coin and bullion in India | 18½ " |
| Gold coin and bullion in England | 9 " |
| Securities in India | 10 " |
| Securities in England | 4 " |
| | <hr/> |
| | 75½ crores |

During the war, [as has been stated above most of the reserve in India was transferred to London

GLEANINGS

A Mechanical Hand

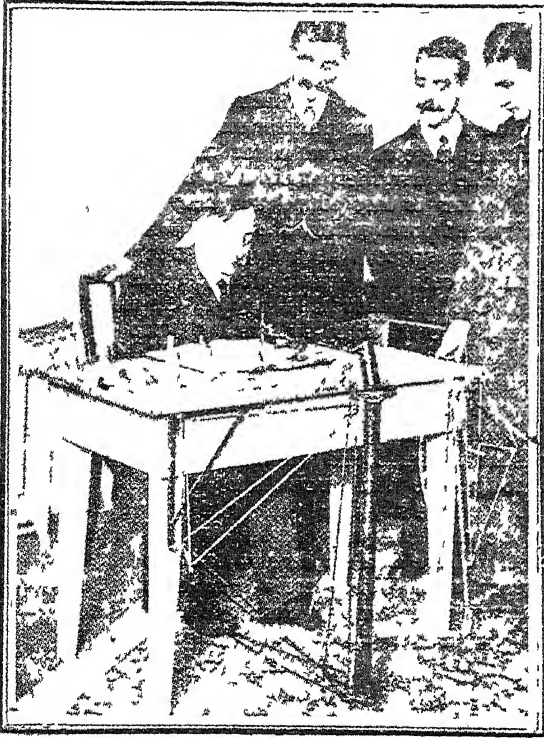
Mr G Thomson, a gasfitter of Edinburgh, has lately come into prominence by successfully demonstrating an instrument devised by him which will enable



THE MECHANICAL HAND

Using the feet in place of the hands —an invention for the disabled
—taking a meal

handless persons to perform works of almost every description that are performable ordinarily with hands. The structure of the mechanism is simple to a degree,—a series of connected rods that may be likened, for want of a better analogy, to the legs of a spider. It is operated with the ankles and toes with the utmost ease conceivable by the handless man seated comfortably in a chair. Warm woolen socks are worn and the feet are placed on a felt carpet with a view to facilitate movement and touch. With the help of this device it will be possible for a handless man to write a letter in clear handwriting, fold the letter up and enclose it in an envelope, to use knives and forks at the time of eating, raise a cup of coffee to his lips, drink his soup without spilling a drop of it, to place a cigarette between the lips, light it after striking a match, to sponge his body, etc., etc. The instrument is very sensitive and works at the slightest touch. The method of its operation also is easily learned, and as its structure is devoid of all niceties of detail, it is expected to be within the easy reach of all purses when placed on the market. Let us hope, that the armless persons all over the world will have very little reason to fret hereafter, if, of



THE MECHANICAL HAND

Using the feet in place of the hands how the machine is worked by the stockinged feet

The device here illustrated has been invented for the benefit of armless men. Mr G. Thompson, the inventor, is shown writing.

course, the question of personal appearance be excepted

—*The Illustrated London News*

Life on Other Worlds.

Whether the world upon which we live is the only one on which there is life—as we know life—or whether throughout space there spin other worlds on which dwell plants and living, mobile creatures, has long been a bitterly contested question.

It has been answered definitely and finally. Science now believes in the affirmative.

Meteors falling to our earth's surface out of the illimitable interstellar depths have been subjected to the most exacting microscopic and chemical analysis. Under this they have revealed not only the mineralised forms of such lower animals as the crinoids—to which the star-fish and the sea-urchin belong—corals and sponges, but peat and coal as well. Furthermore, in some of these aerolites water has been found and in others oxygen!

These four things, contends Dr W. H. Ballou, whose paper we quote, imbedded in the stony masses form a message compact, unequivocal and startling. They show that the world they have been torn from must have been much like our own. The crinoids,

sponges and corals prove that it possessed an ocean, the peat and coal that it had vegetation, the water and oxygen that it possessed an atmosphere.

Where rolled that world of which the meteorite was a part? What ruled it—creatures comparable to man, lower forms, higher forms, or strange shapes produced by processes of evolution unknown to us here? And what happened to that world?

The first and second questions can be guessed at only. Anything might have become its dominant race. It might have been a planet of our own solar system, destroyed aeons ago—it might have been a world spinning about a sun incalculable distances away from us.

But to the third question there is a definite answer. Whatever world it was of which it was a part was destroyed in some vast cataclysm that sent its fragments hurtling through the void like an exploding shell!

But, it will be asked, could not these aerolites or meteors be parts of our own earth projected into space beyond the range of earth's gravitation in the frightful volcanic convulsions of the past?

Meteors are of two kinds—the stony or litholites, and the metallic fragments which contain no trace of stony matter. The evidence of organic life are found only in the litholites, the metallic meteors are composed entirely of iron, with now and then traces of cobalt, chromium, tin, sulphur, arsenic, phosphorus, aluminum, chlorine, nitrogen, hydrogen and carbon.

It is true that no element has ever been found in any meteor which is not also found in earth.

But this is offset in the case of the metallic meteors by the fact that their crystallisation is absolutely unlike any crystallisation of any iron yet found within earth—a difference so striking that it is one of the things that enable scientists to tell at once whether the substance before them is or is not meteoric. It is further offset by the fact that about no volcano on earth are such masses of metal found. Volcanoes do not eject masses of iron and never did. This would seem to dispose of the metal meteors as earth exiles, returning home after long voyages in the infinite.

The same argument as to the volcanoes applies to the litholites. And volcanoes are the only guns we have ever had capable of shooting any objects outside the influence of earth's gravitational force.

But beside that the total mass of the meteors alone whose orbits, like the planets, are around our own sun, is inconceivably vast. Unless we are prepared to admit that our earth shot off at least a thousand times its own present bulk into space before it steadied down, we are up a stump. There are countless other swarms which do not revolve around our sun. There is, too, another law, involving celestial mechanics, the possibility of return to our own comparatively tiny sphere, and many other things which space forbids going into here.

It can be set down that Science, on sufficiently good grounds, has dismissed finally the theory of meteors being volcanic debris of our own world.

LITHOLITE TO BE SEEN IN VIENNA

The conclusive evidence that the stony meteors were once parts of worlds like our own has been provided by scores of these litholites but mainly by one that fell near Knyahinya, Hungary. It weighed 550 pounds and is now in the Vienna National Museum. It was subjected to minute analysis by Dr Otto Hahn, an internationally distinguished geologist and physicist.

"The organic forms in this Knyaznya chondrite or meteor," writes Dr Hahn in his report upon it, "are all simple, organic ones, such as sponges, corals, crinoids, etc., small in form but perfect in external and internal organic structure."

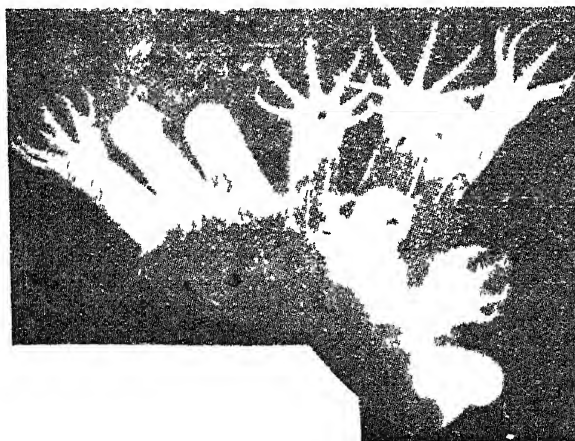
"Only the soft parts are lacking. All of the rest is preserved, even as it lived and moved in water."

Another great investigator, the German chemist-physicist, Cohen, states in *Meteoritenkunde*,

"Hydrocarbons (organic matter in meteorites) are of several classes. There are compounds of carbon, hydrogen and sulphur, compounds of carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen, etc. Hydrocarbons especially characterise carbonaceous meteorites, and are obtained by a treatment with alcohol and ether. These are resinous or waxlike bodies which completely volatilise on application of heat."

"When heated in a closed tube, the resins first fuse, and are then decomposed, forming amorphous carbon and an oil having a bituminous or fatty odour."

"Such subjects are considered by Wohler to be similar to ozocerite, and by Shepard to be meteoric petroleum. Freidheim states that he extracted a substance from the meteorite of Nagaya, by means of



A Coral Animal of Earth of which Almost Exact Duplicates in Mineralised, Fragmentary Form have been found in Stone Meteors

ether, which had a bituminous odour and volatilised at 200 degrees heat. It resembled, was in fact, a product of distillation from brown coal. Roscoe got the same substance from the meteorite of Alais.

"Smith and Berthelot got hydrocarbonates of the second class. They obtained oxygen from the meteorites of Orgueil and Hesse. From Orgueil they got peat, humus or lignite in both composition and properties."

EXPLANATION OF LIGHT TRAILS IN METEORITES

"When hydrocarbons are present in meteorites, it proves that they have not been subjected to any high degree of heat subsequent to the formation of life matter and that their heating during their fall to earth was only superficial."

"The trails of light sometimes enduring several minutes, observed in the wake of meteorites, indicate the presence of carbonaceous, or life matter in the bodies. The meteorite of the Hesse fall was accom-

panied by luminous effects and the precipitation of a brownish black powder, which contained 71 per cent of carbonaceous matter. Some stone meteorites fall without luminous trails, showing that their carbonaceous matter was not heated to burning. Others fall dead cold with no luminous phenomena whatever."

"Stone meteors have water as well as oxygen, in appreciable quantities, their substance being porous. When water is not found in them there are always found rusted pores which show the former presence of the liquid in space. Their water supply ranges from 6 to 11 per cent. It was copious in the meteorites of Alais, Cold Bokkeveld, Nagaya, Orgueil, etc., and can readily be extracted by heating to 100 degrees."

Other investigators, the late Lord Kelvin, etc., have recognised mineralised impressions of bacteria, minute fungi and so on.

As yet no form of organic matter in which life still persists has been found in meteors. But there is reason to believe that such forms of life have reached earth's surface still filled with vitality and that to them may be due the very beginnings of life itself on this planet. There is, also, reason to believe that comets, of which many are merely swarms of meteors, carry minute organic forms, among them disease germs, which they scatter upon us in their passing.

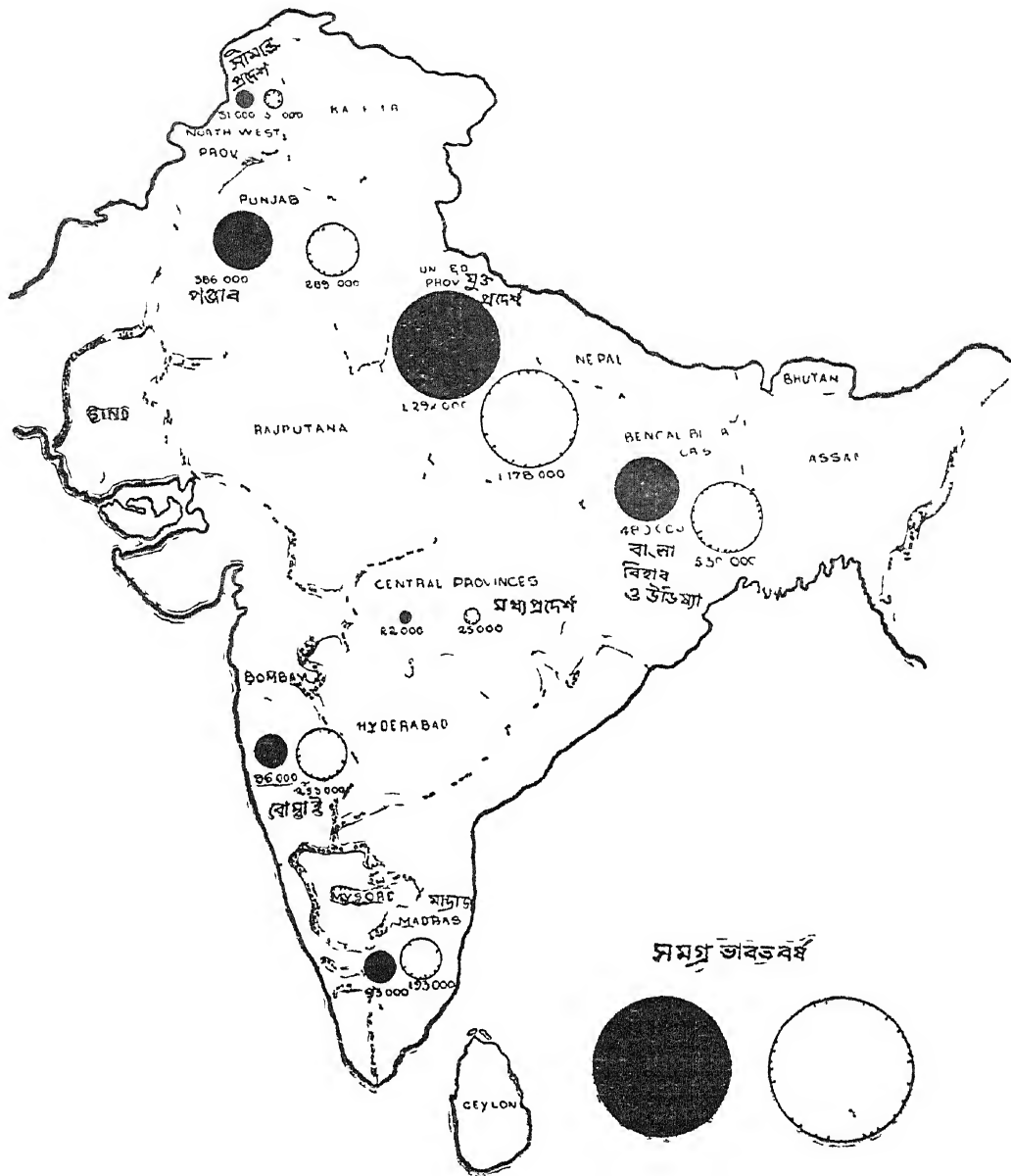
—*Popular Science Siftings*

Quantity of Cane Sugar Produced in India and the World

The steady increase in the quantity of white sugar imported into India, together with the depressing effect which such importations, combined with their low prices, was having on the indigenous Gur (crude sugar) industry, made the Government of India, in the year 1911, direct their attention to this important industry with a view to try to put it on a satisfactory basis. The discussions on the subject, at the meeting of the Board of Agriculture in 1911, showed that the problem will have to be tackled in at least two directions, *viz*, (1) the manufacturing or the mechanical aspect, with a view to improve the present wrong or wasteful methods, and (2) the agricultural including the botanical aspect with a view to improve the varieties at present grown and carry out other improvements in the methods of culture.

That the sugar industry in India is at present, in a bad state, is evident from the figures given in the accompanying chart. It is seen that, though India can boast of nearly half the world's acreage under cane, her output is only a fourth. It further contrasts the yield per acre in India with those obtained in the other cane countries, a contrast which gets all the more emphasized to India's disadvantage, when we remember that, whereas in the other countries the figures represent the quantity of refined sugar, the Indian figures are those for *gur* or *jaggery*, a more impure product. But we take heart from the fact that Java, which in the year 1860 was able to produce only about as much sugar per acre as India at the present day, has since been able to force up production in such a manner that in the year 1918 that country ranked second only to Hawaii in the matter of production per acre. In the case of India, it is doubtful, if we shall ever be able to rise to the level of the other tropical countries owing to insuperable difficulties of climate, but let us remember, that even a small increase in production will go a

Map of India showing the acreage under cane and outturn of Gur or Jaggery in the different Provinces



2,446,000 acres 2,532,000 tons
Total for British India

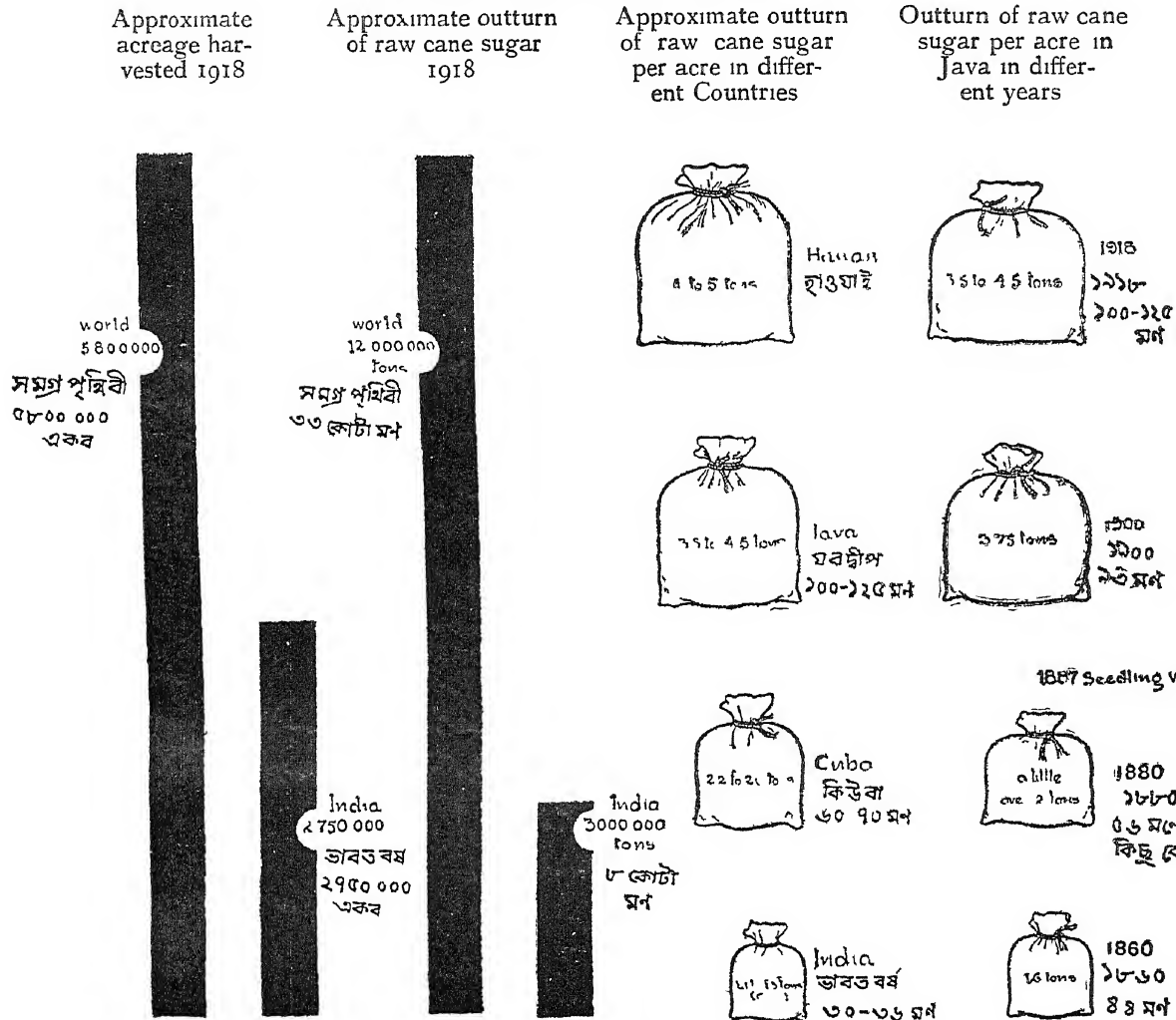
The shaded circles represent the acreages under cane in the different provinces and those with dots the total yield for the province in tons. The figures are for the quinquennium ending 1916-17.

great way to ameliorate the position of India as a sugar-producer

From the map of India reproduced herewith it is further evident that to improve the Indian industry, attention will have to be concentrated on North India, chiefly the United Provinces, because (1) that province contains nearly half of India's acreage under cane, and (2) it is a vital industry in that province and sugarcane is the chief rent-paying crop, a crop "which could not easily find an equivalent in any other crop grown there." The Punjab and Bengal would come next with their one-third to half million acres under cane

The purely botanical work, *viz.*, that of breeding a better cane for North India, was entrusted to a breeding station which in November 1912 was started at Coimbatore in the Madras Presidency under Dr C A Barber, C I E, who was appointed Government Sugarcane Expert for all India but with headquarters at Coimbatore. This was sought to be attained by raising canes from seed, instead of from cuttings as is ordinarily done by the ryot, a method which had already proved its utility in the other sugarcane countries of the world. The difficulties experienced in previous trials at raising cane seedling

A FEW SUGARCANE FIGURES



were soon overcome—in fact even before the land intended for the station was taken possession of—and we soon had a very large number of seedlings, some of them the much-desired crosses between the thin indigenous North Indian and the thick tropical kinds. But it was not until the February of 1918 that the station was able to send out the first batch of selected seedlings for trial to North Indian farms.

In this bulletin are presented the results of this first year's trials. The subsequent behaviour of the Coimbatore productions, when introduced into North India, has always been a matter of anxious consideration for the station, but it is fortunate that the first year's results appear to be on the whole encouraging.

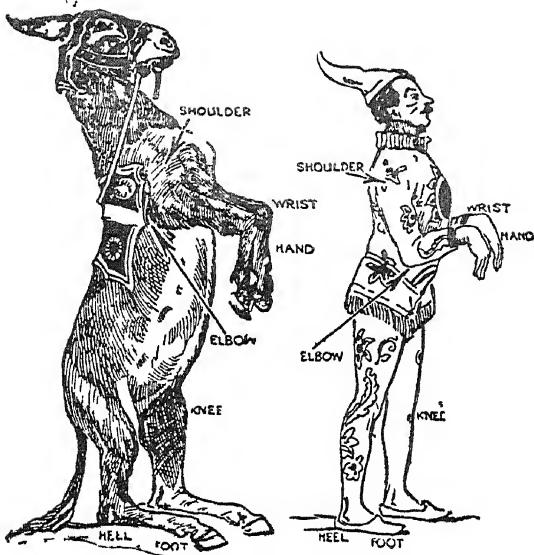
—A Preliminary Note on the Behaviour in North India of the First Batch of Sugarcane Seedlings Distributed from the Sugarcane Breeding Station, Coimbatore, By T S Venkatesan, B.A., Acting Government Sugarcane Expert, Madras Bulletin No 94, Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa

How the Big Toe Made Mankind.

Why Four-Footed Animals Cannot Walk Erect

SCIENCE has discovered that man's big toe is the feature which first made him really human, which now distinguishes him from apes and all the lower animals, and which has set him free during his evolutionary history to develop his great mental powers. Prof John C Merriam, who has expressed this interesting view, furthermore stated in a recent address explaining the descent of man as read from the geological record that,

"In the foot of man, with the same fundamental plan seen in the apes, we find an extreme modification rarely duplicated in vertebrates, in that the normally short first digit (big toe), while retaining the normal number of phalanges for mammals, has been greatly enlarged and elongated until it equals or exceeds the longest of the other digits. This extreme modification of the human foot is clearly to be coupled with the specialisation of the whole limb for running in a longlegged two-footed form, running normally with everted toes."



Drawing showing the Relative Position of the Important Joints of the Skeleton of a Man and a Horse

In explaining the bearing of the very peculiar human foot and big toe upon the development of the human brain, Prof Merriam said "It seems that we must set the human type off as very unusually modified for the special function of bipedal locomotion so necessary if the hands are to be set free to serve the head."

Few people probably stop to think of the importance of the big toe. If they do they will realise that it is this feature which enables a man to stand erect, to attend to his work efficiently, to run and walk, and to perform most of his remarkable feats of endurance and agility.

Such observations as Prof Merriam's concerning the importance of man's big toe help to explain the course of man's evolution during those countless ages in which he has grown from a little lemur-like or monkey-like animal.

Prof Merriam says that man's relationship to the anthropoid apes is evident, and that it is more important to study the differences between the two than the similarities.

The most striking contrasts between man and the apes are the shape and size of the head, and after that come the differences of the extremities of the legs—they can hardly be called feet in the apes. The brain capacity of the gorilla, the largest ape, is under 36 cubic inches, while that of an intelligent male human is 90 cubic inches, and even the brain of a Vedda woman of Ceylon, one of the lowest of human races, measures 57 cubic inches.

WHY THE APE HAS FAILED TO DEVELOP

Differences in skull are marked by the enormous and very prominent jaws of the apes, the relatively very high top head of the man and by the position in which the head is placed on the neck.

Prof Merriam says that the difference in limbs between man and ape is fully as marked as in the

skull. The differences in limbs are not merely in degree, but in kind and function. In most apes the relatively long forelimbs are the principal structures for moving about which is by springing through the trees. In some extent, however, the forehands of the apes serve the head.

The hind limbs of the apes are used for grasping, and the feet serve as hands. The ape's feet have a big toe acting as a thumb in a more marked degree than the first fingers of his forehands. In man the relatively long posterior extremities are used solely for walking or running. The human hands with their wonderful opposable thumbs serve the head mainly. They are sometimes used incidentally to help in climbing or crawling on the ground, but their primary function is now to carry out the conceptions of the mind.

The opposable human thumb is specialised to a high degree and freedom from use in locomotion permits the hands a great development of skill in many directions. In apes there are really four hands, but the pair with opposable first digit is situated on the portion of the body farthest from the head, so that neither pair is advantaged to specialise after the manner of the hand of man. This physical condition alone would prevent the ape from reaching the same mental development as man.

The foot portion of the posterior extremity of both ape and man represents in its fundamental plan the typical extremity of all vertebrates above the fish. It has the same elements arranged in the same order with relation to each other. It is characterised, as in normal mammals and reptiles, by five digits or fingers, in which the inner or first digit corresponds to the thumb and is composed of a smaller number of phalanges or finger bones than the other digits.

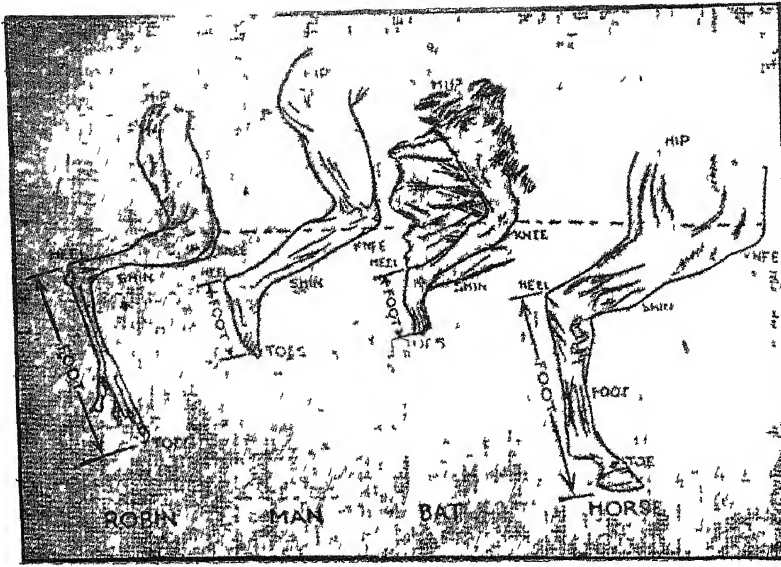
In the apes the first digit of the foot is, as in normal mammals and reptiles, much shorter than the other, but is distinguished by extraordinary mobility, including opposability to the other digits, as seen in the thumb of the human hand.

FOOT INDICATES MAN'S FAREWELL TO MONKEY

In the foot of man, with the same fundamental plan seen in the apes, we find an extreme modification rarely seen in the vertebrates in that the normally short first digit, while retaining the normal number of joints for mammals, has been greatly enlarged and elongated until it equals or exceeds the longest of the other digits. This is what we call the big toe.

The big toe has relatively very small mobility, and is not in any sense opposable. The type of modification is so extraordinary among the great number of foot forms known among different families of animals that we must assume for it an important relation to an extraordinary use. This we find, says Prof Merriam, in the usual position of the fore and aft axis of the foot, which runs obliquely across the foot and through the great toe, instead of through the middle toe, as in most animals, thus giving us a foot with the toes turned out, the weight of the body being borne very largely upon the end of the big toe.

This peculiar modification of the human foot has been a most important part of the evolution of man into a long-legged two-footed creature running with outturned toes. The development of these rigid, powerful feet has had the effect of leaving the hands free to serve the head and of developing the head. Thus we



A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE FEET OF VERTEBRATES

The Difference Between the Human Foot and the Foot of Birds and Animals is shown in these Comparative Drawings. They Indicate Relationships not often Suspected by the Layman. It is the Big Toe that enables Man to Stand Erect and do the many Upright Things Calling for Endurance and Agility which no other Creature can Imitate. The Evolution and Specialisation of the Entire Human Body Evidently Depends on the Big Toe. The Simian Toe is merely a Thumb Specialised for Tree Climbing and not for Walking on the Ground.

owe our powerful position as the highest of thinking animals largely to our big toes

This difference between the human foot and the ape's foot is, in the opinion of the present-day scientists, the strongest evidence of wide separation between man and the ape. The attractive chimpanzee can only be regarded as our distant cousin. Prof. Merriam considers that the separation is wide enough to indicate that the beginning of changes leading towards the human type of foot must have occurred at a very remote time, at least as early as the incipient specialisation of the ape group. That specialisation tended to produce a peculiar adaptation to tree life through use of the fore limbs for swinging or climbing, with the hind limbs used for grasping.

—*Popular Science*
Siftings

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH

INDIAN THEISM FROM THE VEDIC TO THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD, by Nicol Macnicol, M.A., D.Litt. Published by the Oxford University Press. Pp. xvi + 292. Price 6s.

This book belongs to "The Religious Quest of India" series which is being edited by Mr. Farquhar and Dr. Griswold.

The writers of this series are, as the editors say, governed by two impelling motives:

(i) "They endeavour to work in the sincere and sympathetic spirit of science."

(ii) "They seek to set each form of Indian religion by the side of Christianity in such a way that the relationship may stand out clear. Jesus Christ has become to them the light of all their seeing and they believe Him destined to be the light of the world. They are persuaded that sooner or later the ageless quest of the Indian spirit for religious truth and power will find in Him at once its goal and a new starting point and they will be content if the preparation of this series contributes in the smallest degree to hasten this consummation." They start with the idea that

there is one and only one religion that can be worthy of acceptance and that is the religion of *their* forefathers,—the religion which *they* have inherited,—the religion in which *they* were born and brought up. You are a non-Christian! The religion of *your* forefathers,—the religion which *you* have inherited, the religion in which *you* were born and bred, this religion must be intrinsically false and unworthy of acceptance. Such is their way of thinking and such also is the way of thinking of the herd and of every uncritical and illiberal mind of every clime and every age.

Now what can we expect from the writings of such Christian writers? They look through the spectacles of Christianity and the light is dim. And what do they see?—

Subnormalities and Abnormalities and Monstrosities—The idea never crosses their mind that things may not be what they seem to them. But who can convince them that these may be visions and visions due to the defects of their Christian eye, the Christian medium and the Christian light? Their conviction, they think, is sacred, fixed and unalterable.

Our author belongs to the same group of Christian men and is obsessed by the same ideas. In eleven chapters he has described the various types of Hindu

Theism from the Vedic to the Muhammadan period and he has described them with a view to demolishing them. He is not always prejudiced. Here and there there are words of praise too. But the praise is faint, and what he has praised he has damned with faint praise. The treatment of the subject is throughout superficial. The author has not been able to enter into the spirit of Hindu Theism.

The historical portion is followed by "criticism and appreciation." His criticism is directed mainly against the Law of *Karma*. The *Karma* doctrine, in its extreme form, is no doubt untenable, but that does not mean that there is no truth at its basis. *Karma* is nothing but the external manifestation of one's inner nature. The Law of *Karma* means the law of one's inner nature. Character and *Karma* are inseparable. *Karma* follows from, and, at the same time, re-acts on 'Character'. You may think of stealing but may not steal, but when you have actually stolen, that act has definitely transformed your character. *Karma* cannot be thought of as separate from and existing independently of 'Character' and the *Karma* theory becomes monstrous only when it is so thought of. The fundamental principle of '*Karma*' is that the 'past' is not dead and gone, it is not altogether 'past', but it fully enters into the frame-work of the 'present', and the 'present' will become a part of the 'future'. The 'past' cannot be ignored but the 'present' and the 'future' may be modified, thus transcending the 'past'. According to Hindu philosophers, this may be done in three ways, viz — (i) by Knowledge, (ii) by *Bhakti*, (iii) by Will as manifested in *Karma*.

Strange that the benighted non-Christian philosophers of India should make a discovery of the three-fold functions of the mind and should make a practical application of this psychological truth in things spiritual long before it was formulated by Tetens, Mendelssohn and Kant.

But what is the Christian means of salvation?—*Vicarious Punishment*. You have sinned, God-Jesus has been crucified and the world has been redeemed. The Hindu mind cannot understand the logic and the psychology of the process.

According to our author the 'theism of the Rigveda is not properly Indian theism, there are elements in it which may possibly be Semitic'. The god Varuna has 'Hebraic flavour'. Comments are useless.

According to the author "Indian theism is oftenest a cold discourse of reasoning," "Or, again Indian theism is a carnival of emotion," "It is a sub-moral order." He has weighed different types of Hindu theism and found them wanting and in their place has offered us Christian theism with its 'God as manifested in Christ'. According to him, God—the unconditioned—is a 'dark abyss' out of which must emerge 'a human face,' 'else there can be no worship, no fellowship of love'.

In another place we have quoted a verse from the *Mahanirvana Tantra* (XIV 122) according to which there are four forms of worship, viz — (i) Realisation of the Divine Presence—the highest form, (ii) Meditation—the middling state, (iii) Prayers and Hymns—the lowest form, and (iv) the external worship which is lower than the lowest.

To which of these forms does our author's Christianity correspond?

The Christian God is, to most orthodox Christian believers, an extra-cosmic God having a local habita-

tion from which he at one time, came to this earth and became flesh. He could show his grace and forgiveness only by becoming a particular man and by being crucified for other men's redemption. But the Hindu mind has never remained satisfied with an external God. The God of the highest form of Hindu theism is immanent as well as transcendent. He is not only ruler without, but also ruler within. He is our *Antaryamin* or the Restrainer dwelling within us. Realise this and everything shall follow from it, and the world shall be transformed. That is the Highest state. In spite of the lower ideal that the author has offered us the book is instructive and worth reading. It gives us an idea of what an orthodox Christian thinks of Hindu theism.

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE HINDUS. EXTRA VOLUME. A CATECHISM OF HINDU DHARMA (JANUARY, FEBRUARY, 1919 NOS 115-116) by the late Rai Bahadur Syasa Chandra Vidyaratna. Published by Babu Sudhindranath Vasu at the Panini Office, Bahadurganja, Allahabad. Pp 79. Annual subscription Inland Rs 12 Foreign Rs 15. Price of this copy Rs 2.

This is a revised edition of the author's 'Hindu Catechism' published some twenty years ago. The subjects discussed in the book are —

Scriptures, gods as manifestations of Brahma, worship, Atma or soul, Karma and re-birth and rules of conduct.

The author shows that idolatry is denounced by the scriptures in the strongest terms. A passage quoted from the *Mahanirvanatantram* (XIV 122), says that there are four grades of worship, viz —

(i) Realisation of the supreme—the highest form, (ii) Meditation—the middling state, (iii) Prayers and Praises—the lowest state, and (iv) the external adoration—lower than the lowest.

The author quotes verses from the *Mahabharata* and the *Vargasuchi Upanishad* to prove that caste does not depend upon birth.

The book is worth reading and should be studied by every Hindu—orthodox or liberal.

MY OWN REPERTORY OF ENGLISH WORD COMBINATIONS utilizable by Indian High School Teachers and College-undergraduates, by Babu Sarat Chandra Mukherji, M A, B L, Emeritus Professor, Canning College, Lucknow (To be had of the author at 27 Nawapura, Benares City.) Pp 589. Price Rs 3.

It is a book of phrases and idioms. A useful handbook.

PANDIT SIVANATH SASTRI. A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND TEACHINGS (WITH A PORTRAIT) by Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhushan (210-3-2 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta) Pp 46. Price eight annas.

It is a short biography of a worthy man written by a worthy writer. It deserves to have a large sale.

THE JAPJI SAHEB Pp 21. Presented free exclusive of postage. Apply to Lal Singha Khatri, Jagsar, Bhagalpur.

It is an English translation of Japji, the well known book of Guru Nanak. It is a book to be reverently studied.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH

CASE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM IN CEYLON. The present political situation and the Presidenti-

al Address of Sir P Arunachalam, Kt (Publications of the Ceylon National Congress, Colombo)

No wonder that in this age of reforms and reconstructions Ceylon is taking a retrospective view through the above publications of her National Congress Committee. The chiefs and representatives of the people surrendered the Island to British government "with full reservation of the people's rights and privileges, laws and institutions which was guaranteed by the government" at the Convention of Kandy (1815). Just after a century of British rule the eyes of the Ceylonese were suddenly opened by the misrule and outrages of the bureaucracy during the Riot of 1915. The Governor responsible for these measures and his successor Sir John Anderson both declared that there was not the slightest stain on the loyalty of the people and Sir John Anderson added that some of the repressive acts had been Hunnish in their violence and injustice and "deserve the loathing and disgust of every decent Englishman." Yet the offenders were not punished, being protected by an Act of Indemnity secretly obtained from the Imperial Government, and the Royal Commission of Enquiry demanded by the people as well as by 40 members of Parliament has not yet been granted. The parallelism of the Panjab and the revelations of the Hunter Committee are instructive no doubt when placed by the side of these exposures in the Crown Colony. The crowning futility of the Government of European bureaucrats and their army of subordinate native officials is patent in almost every department of administration. Official helplessness and demoralisation of the people are appalling. Condemnations by leading Ceylonese officials, like the Hon'ble Mr Ramanathan and Sir P Arunachalam (ex-Solicitor-General) cannot be gainsaid. We accord our heartfelt sympathy and support to the cause of suffering Ceylon. Belief in the infallibility of the bureaucracy has landed Great Britain on such constitutional muddles everywhere. It is high time that her political prevision should prompt her to a more equitable and reliable path of imperialism.

THE BASIC BLUNDER IN THE ORIENTALIST RECONSTRUCTION OF INDIAN CHRONOLOGY by M K Acharya
B A 16, Cral Merchant Street, Madras

The author displays remarkable boldness in challenging the foundation of the entire chronological scheme of Ancient Indian History. But there is more evidence of his power of destructive criticism than of positive reconstruction. The identity of Sandracottus Chandragupta, Asoke, and Samudragupta is rather a hard nut for the present generation of Indologists. That implies a disturbance of our basic plan little short of a historical cataclysm. We want more positive proofs from the author to be convinced.

KALHAN

INDIAN REFORMS *The Government of India Bill, 1919* Mr Montagus speech, Sir Sankaran Nair's minutes, Summaries of the Southborough Committee's reports, Government of India despatches and connected papers &c G A Natesan & Co, *adras* Pp 300 Price Re 1

One of the recent useful publications indicating the indefatigable enterprise of this well known Madras firm,

THE BATTLE OF LIFE HOW GURU GOVINDA SINGH

FOUGHT IT by Bhai Sardul Singh Price 3 annas.
The Sikh Tract Society, Lahore, II (a) **THE GROWTH OF RESPONSIBILITY IN SIKHISM** by Tej Singh, M A

These tracts are well printed, and give, in a short compass, the main features of the Sikh cult as it developed under the different Gurus, A useful series

THE PRINCIPLES OF EFFICIENCY, by H N, Pherwani, Karachi, 1918 Second Edition, enlarged

The book professes to give the reader a greater grip on himself and his affairs. The first edition was appreciatively noticed in this review and we observe that the second edition has been much enlarged.

SWAMI VIVEKANANDA, by S V Vairuntam Price one anna

A pamphlet giving a short account of the Swami's life

AN INDIAN ACADEMY A REPORT AND AN ESSAY, by Alban G. Widgery Baroda.

A dissertation on the desirability of establishing an Indian Academy Baroda is a centre of intellectual ferment, whence new ideas may be expected to emanate in every direction, and this is an instance in point

AU JAPON, Paul Richard Tokio, 1917

This is an address to Japan printed in French, English and Japanese

"Liberate and unify Asia, for Asia is thy domain.

Ally of those who say 'We fight for the liberty of Europe,' say to them now, 'I will complete your task and fight for the liberty of Asia.' Thus, but only thus, wilt thou secure their respect for thee. For they only respect those they fear. They will respect thee if thou compellest respect for Asia. But only in becoming free will she be respected. Hail to thee, warrior, in whom salute each other the archangel of Force and the archangel of Peace."

The nice get-up and the impassioned exhortation equally appeal to the sense and mind.

A SHORT HISTORY AND ETHNOLOGY OF THE CULTIVATING PODS, by Mahendra Nath Karan Kuntaline Press Price Re 1

THE ORIYA MOVEMENT BEING A DEMAND FOR A UNITED ORISSA By two Bachelors of Arts Printed at the Sri Gauranga Press, Calcutta and published by the Oriya Samaj, Ganjam 1919

These two books form a very remarkable addition to the ethnological literature of Bengal and its bordering countries. The latter is much more the bulkier of the two, and covers a wider field, for its object is political and administrative unification of the Oriya country. It is fitly dedicated to Young Orissa and quotes as its motto the following dictum from Daudet: 'However fallen a nation may be, if it clings closely to its language, it holds the key of its prison.' It has an excellent map and an index, and in its 350 pages it discusses the problem from all possible points of view—social, literary, linguistic, economic and artistic. The census and other reports, the history and traditions of the country have all been touched upon. An excellent bibliography and some useful appendices complete the volume. The monograph on the Pods, though much shorter, is more learned, and deals with the history of

the race exhaustively, by reference to ancient and modern literature, and the Smritis, Tantras, the census reports and other standard sociological works have been freely laid under contribution. There is much in the two books which deserve the sympathetic consideration of all well-wishers of India, and they are the outcome of the new spirit which is manifesting itself in all the Indian races which have reason to think that they have been unjustly repressed in the past and have a mission to fulfil in the future development of the country by contributing their quota to the new India that is going to be. Both the books have been excellently printed and bound, the authors are conscious that the books deserve a permanent place on our shelves and have been at some pains and expense to make these as attractive on the outside as they are rich in their inner contents. We recommend them to all students of sociology and politics and our only regret is that we have no time to make a more detailed use of the excellent material placed at their disposal.

SOCIALISM ITS EMBRYONIC DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA by D Pant, B Com Lahore Price Re 1

This is a compendium of the socialistic literature and ideas prevailing in the western countries, with the author's own views on their applicability to Indian conditions. The treatment is summary but not without merit as an introduction to the elements of socialism, though there are some crude conceptions. The printing is good, but the get-up is ordinary.

EMERSON AND VEDANTA by Swami Paramananda, *The Vedanta Centre, 1, Queensberry Street, Boston, Mass U S A 1918*

This little book contains three lectures, e.g., on Emerson and Vedanta, Karma and Compensation, and Atma and Oversoul, first published in the *Message of the East*, a Vedanta monthly of Boston, and their purport is to set forth the striking similarity between the writings of Emerson and the sacred teachings of India.

HANDBOOK OF COMMERCIAL INFORMATION FOR INDIA by C W K Cotton, I C S, *Collector of Customs, Calcutta Superintendent of Government Printing, India Price Re 1 (1919) To be had of the Principal Booksellers Pp, 383, with map, index, glossary, schedules, rates, abstract of mercantile law, &c*

"The object of this handbook is to give readers in other parts of the world a bird's-eye-view of the foreign trade of British India. It is hoped that this varied material will enable all who are anxious to purchase India's manufactures or raw materials to make larger use of the opportunities which undoubtedly exist for increased trade."—Preface

It is a book which ought to be in the hands of every one interested in Indian trade and commerce. It is excellently printed, priced cheap, and contains a vast mass of useful information which it is difficult for ordinary enquirers to obtain from any single source, and we hope foreigners bent on the exploitation of the raw materials of our country will not be the only ones to benefit by the publication of this book. Q

THE ANATOMY OF SOCIETY, by Gilbert Cannan, *New York, E P Dutton and Company, 681 Fifth Avenue Pp 216, cloth bound and gilt lettered, price not mentioned*

This book, as its name implies, is a running survey of social problems. It is one of those rare books which serves as an intellectual tonic and never fails to claim our unqualified homage. The author has brought to bear his deep culture, wide outlook and heart overflowing with sympathy for humanity aspiring to reach greater heights in life and thought, on the production of this illuminating work. He possesses in abundant measure the rare gift of being able to see beyond the visible and into the heart of things. He is altogether free from even the slightest stain of dogma or class prejudice and as such is eminently fitted for the task he has undertaken.

The war has brought to the fore a host of problems, primarily social or communal which needs must be re-adjusted for ushering in that millennium of peace and plenty which we all are crying ourselves hoarse about. The author goes about his business like a skilful surgeon, probes into the diseased organs of the society we live in and successfully locates the plague spots with admirable precision. He wisely takes the reader into his confidence from the very start and through a style simple and unostentatious endows his statements with a vigour and dignity possible only to the consummate literary artist.

The book is divided into ten chapters, all of absorbing interest, viz., Definitions, Humanity, The Social Contract, Patriarchalism, Marriage, Women as Citizens, Science and Art, Social Structure, East and West, and Democracy.

It were futile to recount all the good points of the book, it is full of them. I shall content myself with reproducing a few passages taken at random.

"It is only when the mind begins to see the visible as a symbol of the invisible that it can perceive truth at all."

"A law passed hastily to meet an emergency breeds diseases which only afflict the grand-children of those who make them. The rich can secure themselves against the physical but not the moral consequences, and if they can leave their children the gold of the earth they are indifferent to the fact that they are filching from them the gold of the heart, which is the deepest and most subtle offence by which human beings can sin against humanity." "tyranny through the ownership of machines has replaced tyranny through the ownership of the land."

"Humanity follows very slowly in the wake of its leaders of thought, who are never in a hurry, knowing perfectly well that great changes only come when the increase in the population of the world makes existing economic and political systems embarrassing and uncomfortable." "The will of humanity like that of a tree or a flower or a human being, is creative and destroys only to create. When it is unhealthy and exasperated it destroys only for the sake of destruction, and that neither materially nor spiritually can provide any lasting satisfaction, though there is something to be said for an outburst of temper as clearing the air."

"there can be no rest until the principle is established that the doles taken from the daily toil of humanity shall be used for humanity to lighten its physical toil that it may be free for spiritual effort. That is the aim of all human endeavour."

"Unfortunately, marriage has been of all contracts the most lop-sided, because women have not been regarded as capable of entering upon the social contract. Woman could only have a relationship with the

community through a patriarch, her father or her husband" "Equality must exist in the home before it can appear in the life of the commonwealth, and men cry in vain for freedom so long as women are trammelled" "Marriage is a natural merger of two lives to create a holy state that is greater than either, and this state is fortified by daily habits and responsibilities With the best will in the world a man and a woman in their relationship may fail to bring this holy state into being, and therefore no marriage has taken place Churches and laws have evolved a system by which marriage is regarded as existing through patriarchal blessing, and they make no provision for dissolution in the event of failure, leaving it to daily habit and responsibility to preserve the tie But when there is no spiritual bond the tie of habit is irksome and devastating"

"A man and a woman joined in a brief sensuality soon part in hatred, bitterness or contempt, or, worse still, in an indifferent nullity If they happen by force of circumstances, or under a heated illusion—most frequently from pity on one side or the other—to have entered upon a legal contract, it is most cruelly anti-social to insist that they shall remain together through innumerable crises of nauseated reaction" "Marriage being the profoundest of human relationships gives the greatest room for hypocrisy, and the more degraded it is the more room A hard-and-fast law degrades marriage If the parties to it cannot rescind an irksome contract, they have somehow to make it tolerable, and the easiest way of doing that is by lying to each other and resorting to the game of bluff, by which human affairs are for the most part conducted"

"Humanity aims higher now—to break first the tyranny of men, then the tyranny of the human mind, that the human spirit may at last know its freedom and live in unison with the creative spirit by whose will all that lives has its being" "A tyranny even with the support of the greatest number, has no authority, and it is the tragedy of the nineteenth century that it followed Napoleon instead of Goethe The glory of a Napoleon fades, while that of a Goethe increases in perennial fecundity, but the slave mind in its stunted ignorance is always so dazzled by a successful tyranny that it cannot see the light of authority, and women hitherto have been slaves, the slaves of a system even when they have gained the freedom of love"

The chapter entitled 'East and West' is of great interest to us Easterners and I cannot forego the pleasure of presenting a few extracts to our readers "In the struggle against physical afflictions spiritual distempers are ignored, though it is worse for herds of men to perish in mid-life than to be swept away by some raging pestilence, because the harm done to humanity by the morally dead is infinitely worse than that which is done by the actively evil, for this is a flame that burns itself out while that is a smouldering and creeping fire The East approaches the mystery of being from what we, following Wordsworth have called intimations of immortality, while the West attacks rather than approaches it from the phenomena of existence which it elects to call life"

When interested European powers along with the whole capitalist press of the world is loud in their denunciation of the Neo-Russians the following observations of an independent thinker are refreshing and ugly welcome

"There are three logics that of the spirit, that of the mind, and that of the heart—the first is Eastern, the second French, the third English The Russians, in whom the great drama of East and West is being played, are attempting to reconcile all three That is the significance and importance to humanity of the Russian Revolution"

Whoever goes through this masterly production will not fail to be touched to fine issues by the deep spiritual fervour which runs through the book from end to end like a perennial stream, of this I harbour no doubt

S B

A MONOGRAPH ON MIRA BAI, THE SAINT OF MEWAD, by S S Mehta, B A, (Bombay) 134+10, Rs 18 as

This little book is more than a monograph on Mira Bai, for it is really a tract on *bhakti* and deals with the mystic communion between Man and his Maker, especially the Vaishnav form of personal devotion Mira Bai is treated only as a conspicuous illustration of the general theme, and her life is given here in its setting, as one pearl in the long rosary of Indian *bhaktis*

The author in some of the earlier chapters (e.g., 2, 3, 6 and 7) digresses into the history of Gujrat and the displacement of the priestly Sanskrit by the homely Prakrit that went straight to the hearts of millions and was, therefore, adopted by the saints and preachers of medieval India in their songs and sermons He then discourses on the rise and growth of Vaishnavism, (ch 8-10), whence he naturally proceeds to Mira Bai, "at once poetess, martyr and saint" A critical study of her life (circa 1419-1470) follows, in which the author has fully used all available materials,—mostly traditions and the results of their modern scholarly examination Her songs are studied in detail, extracts being freely given in the original with English renderings in some cases, but not always This is a disadvantage to readers unfamiliar with Rajasthani and Gujrati, and should be remedied in a second edition, when the style also should be subjected to a severe revision and the opportunity taken to rearrange the subject matter

This piece of fervent devotion is the first volume of the Dorab J Saklatwala Memorial series That youngman was snatched away by death at the early age of 28 In his portrait, he looks the picture of health, manly beauty and a winsome brightness, which add a keener edge to our grief at his loss His parents could not have conceived a better memorial to him than this series, the first volume of which will carry consolation to many a stricken heart We are quite sure that the following lines by Mr Dorab's afflicted parents will touch a sympathetic chord in the bosom of many a mourning father, who has loved and lost

"Still seems it so impossible a thing

That thou art gone,—

That not in all my life I evermore

With pleased ear,

Thy quick light feet advancing to my door

Again shall hear,—

That thou not ever with inquiring looks

Or subtle talk,

Shalt bring to me sweet hindrance 'mid my books

Or studious walk,—

That whatsoever else of good for me

In store remain,

Thy lieth out of hope, my child, to see

Thy face again."

J SARKAR.

BHAVABHUTI AND HIS MASTERLY GENIUS by Tallapragada Suryanarayan Rao, M R A S Kovuri, Godavari Banks Pp 21 Price Six annas

According to Sanskrit rhetoricians the prominent feeling or sentiment रस in a drama should be either शृङ्गार or वीर and so, as regards the *Uttaracharita* it is generally held that its principal feeling is विप्रलम्भ शृङ्गार. The author does not accept this opinion, arriving at the conclusion that it is nothing but कदम्ब. The disquisition is well written.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN ANCIENT INDIA by Radha Kumud Mukherjee, M A, Ph D, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1919, 12-6d net Pp 229

The following extracts from the introduction explain the theme of the book and give the author's conclusions "One of the characteristic features of ancient Hindu civilisation is the marked development of associated life it exhibits. That development was achieved in varying degrees in the different spheres of life. We find it in those of religion, learning, politics, civics and economics. In all these spheres organizations grew up on what may be regarded as a democratic or popular basis to fulfil the ends of national life. A proper presentation of Hindu culture in all its aspects and phases should take into account these diverse developments of the associated life, the many manifestations of the democratic principle which that culture presents. The fact is that India presents the rare and remarkable phenomenon of the state and the society coexisting apart from and in some degree of independence of each other, as distinct or separate units, or entities as independent centres of national, popular and collective life and activity. In the west the predominant tendency has been towards an extension of state interference and state control so as to bring within its limits all the main departments of social life and national activity. In ancient India the King was head of the state, but not of the society. He had a place in the social hierarchy, but it was not the highest place. The foregoing characterisation of the system of local government in ancient India and the relations that obtained between state and society as independent organizations and centres of national life will also perhaps help us to explain and account for the somewhat perplexing phenomenon of the rise of the few empires in early Indian history administering vast and varied areas, and, on two occasions a territory more extensive than British India stretching from Afghanistan to Mysore. The fact is that for an adequate explanation of this puzzling phenomenon we have to look beyond the physical and the natural, to the subjective and the spiritual aspects of the situation. Man's inventiveness is meant to triumph over the difficulties of his natural environment. And so the natural difficulties in the way of the Mauryan empire were solved by human statesmanship by the application or evolution of a system of administration giving effect to an extensive decentralization and utmost latitude to the operations of local government so that numerous autonomous centres were at work to cope with the administrative requirements of an extensive territory. They formed an administrative machinery fairly adequate

to its purposes, already in existence and operation that had stood the test of centuries, the strain of political revolutions ministering to the normal needs of national life in the deeper strata of society unaffected by the political currents that disturb the upper strata or the changes in ruling dynasties and all the while conserving the vital elements in the culture of the race. In the same way, the existence of a system of social self-government in practical independence of the ruling powers and unaffected by the vicissitudes of fortune to which they are naturally exposed will account for the somewhat remarkable fact that even during the period of so much unrest and unsettlement under the Muhammadan rulers, Hindu India was able to show a good record of material, mental, and moral progress. Hindu India was able to live her usual life to continue the course of her normal intellectual and spiritual progress in her own socio-economic system in which the Muhammadan had no place. The alien kings took possession of the political capital, but they have to live in the mere suburbs of the real metropolis of India. In this sense the so-called Muhammadan period of Indian History may be regarded as wrongly named because it continued to be a period of the usual Hindu activity, the normal course of which was hardly interrupted by the political changes of the times, which were nothing new to Indian history. The culture of the race kept up its uninterrupted flow, as is evident from the many intellectual and religious movements, and the appearance of many great men in the realms of both thought and action which characterise the period. It is indeed a remarkable fact that, under the adverse political conditions of the rule of the Sultans, Hindu society evolved new means of self-protection against alien influence by means of rigorous domestic legislation in some of the most important *Smriti* compilations which were all produced during this period."

The book treats of popular local bodies, guilds, corporations, assemblies, municipal and communal institutions, known by various names, e g, kula, gana, puga, jati, sreni, singha, samudaya, samuha, parisat, sambhuya-samutthana, etc, and their constitution, the boards and committees, e g, garden committee, tank committee, gold committee, animal committee, committee for the supervision of justice, etc, their very remarkable legislative and criminal powers, their method of election, qualifications of membership, their voting system, their functions as banks for receiving permanent deposits to serve as charitable endowments, their extensive benefactions, sometimes secular, but more often religious, the high position of the leaders of the guilds, the temples, *maths*, village pastures, tanks and gardens and irrigation works, colleges, hostels, and hospitals of which they were in charge, the guild seals used by them, and similar other matters, of which the ancient sacred literature of the North, and more often the temple inscriptions of the South, furnish ample testimony. In his learned treatise on Indian shipping, the author gave a rather imposing bibliography. In the present book, he gives none at all. Had he done so, we might have known how largely he has drawn his materials and references to original sources from such books as Dr Romesh Chandra Majumdar's 'Corporate Life', Aiyangar's 'Ancient India', Havell's 'History of Aryan Rule', and Bhandarkar's Calcutta University Lectures.

Several interesting and instructive glimpses into ancient Aryan society may be obtained in the pages of this valuable work. "Considerations of caste did not affect the admission of apprentices into a craft. This shows that the barriers between occupations were not so fixed and rigid as those between castes. Members of all classes were free to indulge in the economic pursuits they might affect." The peculiar local laws and customs of castes, trades, guilds, districts, peoples and families, down to the laws of the heretics (Pashandis, who were universally execrated) were respected. All the twice-born castes were represented on the local assemblies. Members of all the castes took part in the administration of municipal justice—Caste questions were settled by learned assemblies down to the thirteenth century. Ranade's History of the Marhatta People shows by extracts from the Bakhars that they were so settled down to more recent times, and the contemporary history of Nepal shows that in Hindu kingdoms the power of the Royal Councils to modify caste observances is not yet quite obsolete. Soothsayers, fortunetellers, and astrologers, and temple priests, were held in total disrespect, both by the ancient lawgivers and in mediæval Hindu society. It is only now that they have obtained so strong a hold even on the respectable classes. Poverty, hopelessness and lack of energy are perhaps responsible for this helpless reliance on destiny.

In South Indian inscriptions merchants are given the significant epithet *Nānadesi*. They were eulogised as heroes (*Viras*) born to wander over many countries, and they wielded vast influence in their 'Hansa Leagues,' and their charitable benefactions benefited the community at large. Some inscriptions indicate a remarkable growth of the civic spirit and local patriotism. Village Hampdens who had defended the countryside against an invading horde, prevented a cattle-raid, or reconsecrated a temple polluted by foreign invasion, were rewarded by a grant of land or honourable mention in the inscriptions, or conferment of temple privileges and the erection of votive tablets and stores. "The test of the efficiency of a government lies in its capacity to deal with extraordinary circumstances and abnormal situations and to develop a proper degree of public spirit in the governed. There are numerous proofs and instances on record which will enable us to conclude that, judged by those two tests of government and the criteria of its efficiency, our ancient system of local administration will not be found to be wanting or to break down. In trying times and exceptional situations, such as those of a famine for example, we find that the assemblies rise to the

occasion and to a full sense of their responsibilities in that regard.

When the strong arm of a vigorous central government was withdrawn we find a local administrative body stepping forward to afford full protection to the people under its charge in the disturbed state of the country. "If this be so what better training could the history of India afford for assumption of full responsible government in modern times under British rule?"

The mistakes in the Sanskrit texts which we have noticed during our cursory perusal do not redound to the credit of the Clarendon Press, which deservedly enjoys a worldwide reputation.

POL.

SIR ASHUTOSH MOOKHERJEE *A character study*
By Bipin Chandra Pal. Published by Deva Prasad Datta, 32, Simla Street, Calcutta Rs 1-8 Pp 88 and a portrait Cloth.

This small book is neatly printed and got up. It is written with ability and skill. The author has tried to be impartial and to take a favorable view of even those doings and aspects of the character of Sir Ashutosh which may appear to call for unfavorable criticism.

R C

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE HINDUS EXTRA-VOLUME A CATECHISM OF HINDU DHARMA, by the late Rai Bahadur Srisa Chandra Vidyaratna Panini Office, Allahabad Pp 79, price Rs 2

The author is too well known to require any introduction. As the title of the book implies the subject matter is arranged there in the form of questions and answers. It is divided into five chapters dealing respectively with (1) Dharma, the Supreme God, and worshippers, (2) worship, (3) Atma or soul, (4) Karma and rebirth, and (5) rules of conduct. The answers to questions raised here are quotations from different Sanskrit works. Almost all these quotations, which are in original text and English translation, breathe a very high tone of liberal ideas which should by no means be ignored by the present generation of Hindus. The book deserves to be published in different vernacular editions, so that it may be widely circulated among the bulk of the members of that society.

The paper on *Sanskaras* by that distinguished scholar, "the recluse of the Vindhya-chal," does not possess merit, and should not have been allowed room therein (pp 38 ff).

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

THE HINDU PARLIAMENT PAURA-JANAPADA

WHETHER or not *Paura* can mean an assembly, an association, according to the rules of Sanskrit grammar, is not to be determined by one who has a second-hand knowledge of Sanskrit. Mitra-misra, the Hindu jurist, author of the

Viramitrodaya who may be trusted to have known more of Pāṇini and traditional interpretation than an ill-equipped critic of Hindu law definitions and Sanskrit Grammar, expressly says "*Paurah pura-vāsīnām samūhah*," "*Paura* is the *samūha* of the inhabitants of

Pura.¹ Pura he explains as the chief city=capital (*puram*=mukhya nagaram) *Samūha* is a well known constitutional term known to Hindu Law. Kātyāyana, for instance, defines *pūga*, which according to the accepted interpretation means a guild, as the *samūha* of merchants (*Samūhah vanijādīnām pūgah samparikīrtitah*) Brihaspati, the lawyer, describes bodies already known to have been assembly-ruled organisations, e.g., a *pūga*, a *gana* (republic), a *sangha*, as *sanūhastha* 'Varga' Chandesvara, the famous author of the *Vivādaratnākara*, who may be credited to have known more of Sanskrit lore than any man living today, explains *samūha stha* as *militāh*, 'combined'. *Samūha*, which ordinarily means a collection, has a technical sense with Hindu lawyers—an organised collection or body. Kātyāyana speaks of separate laws of the *Samuhas*. *Samūhānām tu yo dharmas tena dharmena te sadā* etc

Paura, which was a 'Samūha' of the inhabitants of the capital, does not therefore mean the same as *pura*, as that dangerous thing, a second hand knowledge of Sanskrit, understands. The absurdity of its contention can be shown by an example. According to Pāṇini as understood by it, *Paura* and *Jānapada* cannot mean an assembly unit and it means either a native of *pura* or *janapada*, or, *pura* or *janapada* itself. *Naigama* also, which is a similar derivative from *Nigama* (meaning 'town'), therefore, according to it, cannot mean a collective body. But the existence of individual, corporate *naigama* is proved by its seals and coins struck in its name, and scholars have taken the word in the collective sense by treating *naigama* as a guild. Chandesvara takes *naigama*, *pūga*, *gana*, *sangha* etc, as technical terms and he gives a chapter to them. It is the last chapter in his book, he calls it *Naigamādī sanjñā*—"The definition of the term *Naigama*, etc." He quotes Kātyāyana, who in turn quotes Brihaspati, calling the known corporate bodies (*pūga*, *gana*, *sangha*, etc) *samūhas*. *Naigama* according to Kātyāyana was a *Paura-samūha*. We know from an inscription of about the beginning of the Christian era or a little earlier that *Nigama* had its *Sabhā* which M. Senart translates as 'the Town's Hall' (E I, viii, p. 84), where a document was 'registered' (Senart).

Mitra-misra quotes a text based upon Bṛhgu which calls *grāma*, *paura*, *gana*, *sreni*, "vargins", i.e., what Brihaspati has called a *Samuhas* *stha* *varga* (*Grāma-paura-gana-srenyas-chaturvidhas-cha varginah*). Now *grāma* here is not the village but the body of the village people, as Chandesvara defines (p. 179) *grāma* *grāma-vāsi-samuhah*, *grāma* is the *samūha* of the village-inhabitants. Chandesvara equates *paura* with *naigama* writing on the text of Nārada dealing with the laws of *pasanda*-(*sangha*)-*naigama*, etc,—*naigamāh* *paurāh* (p. 177), again on Yājñavalkya's *sreni*, *naigama*, etc.—*naigamah* (singular) *paura-samūhah* (p. 180). In face of these data from Yājñavalkya, Bṛhgu and earlier down to Mitra-misra and Chandesvara, to deny the collective significance of *naigama* or *paura* is mere, to use a Hindi term, *Vava-chechi* method. A *Vavachechi*'s (*vava*=word, *chechi*=splitter) method is an inverted criticism which indulges in such undertakings as to prove the non-existence of Akbar and Tulsi Dasa. All these—*paura* (*naigama*), *gana*, etc,—were collective bodies, artificially and consciously united or organised, as Mitra-misra defines one of them—"milito *jana-sanghah*" Nothing frightens the cheap wisdom

of Indian history more than an inscription. For Hindu literature in its eyes is worthless, its *gurus* who understood it less (if it was possible to do so) having declared Sanskrit literature unreliable for "historical purposes." If *paura* in the singular is found in the inscription of Orissa, it does not leave any room even for a 'Vavachechi' denial. The existence of the inscription cannot be safely denied, my inspection of the original cannot be safely denied. But the value of an inspection of the original is denied and the extraordinary statement is put forward on the ground of 'experience' that a copy of an inscription is more reliable than the original inscription itself. That 'experience' was obtained in writing a memoir in support of certain theories. It would do good to all concerned to know what the late Dr. V. Smith thought of that 'experience'.

"I may say that —'s memoir, ASB, is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the purely paleographical method" (letter dated 14th January, 1920).

Like the *paura* the *janapada* also cannot be denied to have existed by any one who can understand Sanskrit without translations. The Hindu law books discuss documentary evidence. Vishnu, for instance, says (vii), *Atha lekhyam trividham*. *Rāja-sakshikam* *sa-sakshikam* *asakshikam* *cha*. *Rājadhikarane tanniyukta-kayastha-kritam tadadhyaksha kara-chihnitam*. *Rāja-sakshikam* "Documents are of three sorts: one attested by the king (or state), one attested by witnesses, one not attested. In the royal office, if it is drawn up by a clerk appointed thereby (by the king or state), and is marked by the hand of the officer thereof, it is one attested by the king (or state)." In other words a document registered is opposed to documents unregistered and unattested. King Apararka in his legal book after writing on the question of proof in the event of the death of witnesses discusses the relative superiority of different kinds of documents and quotes a text from Vyāsa's *Smṛiti* (now lost). Vyāsa gives his opinion on a document in the handwriting of the executant, a *Janapada* document, and a royal document. He says that an autograph can be forged by men who can write several hands and a similar hand. Hence the *Janapada* document is better. *Dwi-tri-lipijnah swakritena salekhyena yuktibhih*. *Kuryād hi sadrisham lekhyam tasmān-janapadam shubham*.

Now it would be absurd to say that *Janapada* means here a man or thing belonging to a country. As if to disarm all 'Vavachechi' objection, Vyāsa further adds, *Deshadhyakshādina lekhyam yatra janapadam kritam*—the *Janapada* document was done by the *Deshadhyaksha*, who, as shown in the article published in the February issue, was the President of the *Janapada*. "Done" *Krita*, means 'registered', like the *rāja-krita* 'done by the king' to which he opposes the *Janapada* document. Documents could be registered or attested in the offices of both *Naigama* (*Paura*)—at the *Nigama-sabhā-phalakavāra* ('registered at the town's hall, at the record office'—Senart) as in the Nasik inscription—and *Janapada*, as well as at the royal office. As the king's authority was delegated to his officer for the purpose, so the President's authority would have been delegated to the man in charge of the office—hence the "*Deshadhyakshadi*." The evidence on *Paura* and *Janapada* thus is too strong for any 'Vavachechi' denial, and convincing enough for one who can understand matters constitutional and legal. The 'critic' undertakes also to preach

"It is by critical sifting of this evidence with infinite

patience and not by giving free play to imagination and sentiment and ascribing to words meanings unknown to tradition that we can hope to reconstruct a bare outline of our ancient political life."

This being preached to me (who has devoted ten years of his life to a study of the subject) by one who has not contributed a single line on the subject, partakes of the nature of *anadhikāra-charchā*. This has been preached on the subject of constitutional history by one who does not know even the technical term constitutional, for he talks of 'political life' and materials for 'the ancient political history'. 'The Hindu Parliament' is not a subject of *political history* but constitutional history. Criticising is cheap and any one may affect it. The passage quoted shows the real object of the 'criticism'. The insinuation is that I write out of imagination and patriotism, called here 'sentiment'. The latter is exactly what I had been told by Dr

Spooner, when I opposed a certain theory of his. 'Sentiment', of course, propels me to write, on these matters, for it is not for money that I write. Scorn for patriotism may be an equipment for certain purposes. But it completely disentitles an Indian to say a word on the constitution of the Free Hindus.

K P JAYASWAL.

P S.—It is absolutely baseless that I have mentioned the *Takshasilā paṇḍita* when 'nagara' alone is in the text. Readers may read the whole quotation already published in the February number. To deny facts is a characteristic method adopted by the syndicate of 'critics'. It was only to warn the unsuspecting public against that method that this note was necessary.

K P J

This controversy is closed so far as this Review is concerned.—*Editor, the Modern Review*

NOTES

The Khilafat Deputation and the Premier

Mr Lloyd George's reply to the representation of the Khilafat Deputation was in some passages very stiff and suggests ill-concealed hauteur. His tone might have been advantageously somewhat different. He said with the air and tone of one who thought he was master of all he surveyed: "I do not understand Mr Mahomed Ali to claim indulgence for Turkey. He claims justice, and justice she will get. Austria has had justice. Germany has had justice—pretty terrible justice. Why should Turkey escape?" Seeing that the Allies have not been able to try the ex-Kaiser which they wanted very much to do, that Germany refused to hand over to them German war criminals and consequently the Allies had *volens volens* to accept Germany's proposal to try them herself, and that it is problematical whether they will ever be able to get from her any considerable portion of the indemnity claimed, Mr Lloyd George would have done well to avoid the imperious tone. Imperiousness to the weak and "sweet reasonableness" to the strong and obdurate do not go to constitute dignity of behaviour.

The Premier wished that "no Muham-

madan in India should imagine we entered this war against Turkey as a crusade against Islam. Nothing was farther from our mind. Therefore, it is no use talking about crusades." That is what Mr Lloyd George now says. But when congratulating General Allenby in August, 1919, did not the same Mr Lloyd George say

"The name of General Allenby will be ever remembered as that of the most brilliant commander who fought and won the last of the most triumphant crusades. It was his good fortune by his skill to bring to a glorious end an enterprise which absorbed the chivalry of Europe for centuries. We forget now that the military strength of Europe was concentrated for generations upon this purpose in vain and a British army under General Allenby achieved it and achieved it finally."

The meaning of the whole passage and the actual use of the word crusade leaves no doubt in the reader's mind that in 1919 Mr Lloyd George considered the war in Asia the concluding part of the crusades of previous centuries. Did he speak the truth then, or does he speak the truth now?

Turning to Thrace the Prime Minister said it was very difficult to get facts but he had before him both Turkish and Grecians of Thrace between which there was very little difference. According to both the Muhammadan popula-

tion is an inconsiderable minority. If that is true and the principle of self-determination is to be applied, the whole of Thrace would certainly be taken from Turkish rule. The same thing applied to Smyrna. After a very careful investigation by an impartial committee it has been found that a considerable majority of the population was non-Turk and a great majority undoubtedly preferred Greek rule to Turkish rule.

But only two years ago Mr George had said "Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital or the rich and renowned lands of *Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race*" [The Italics are ours.] How has the majority become an inconsiderable minority in the course of two years or so? We have indeed read in papers received from England that there have been massacres of Moslems in Thrace and Asia Minor by Greeks. Have the latter then been really so cruel as to succeed in reducing a vast majority into an insignificant minority?

That the Moslems are in the majority both in European and Asiatic Turkey does not rest merely on the two-year-old authority of the Premier. There are other authorities, which we will quote. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th edition), Vol. XXVII, p 426, says:

"The mainstay of the Ottoman dynasty is the Asiatic portion of the empire, where the Mahomedan religion is absolutely predominant, and where the naturally vigorous and robust Turk race forms in Asia Minor a compact mass of many millions, far outnumbering any other single ethnic element and probably equalling all taken together."

The *Statesman's Year Book* (1916), page 1405, says "In the small European territory now remaining under Turkish rule Moslems preponderate." "Mahomedans form the vast majority of the population in Asiatic Turkey" (p 1406).

The Premier spoke of applying the principle of self-determination to the city of Smyrna. Has it come to this then that towns also are to be independent or autonomous or annexed to States according to their predominant ethnic element? Will Mr George give a single other example of the principle of self-determination having been applied to a town as opposed to, or independently of the province or country in which it is situated? As the

province of Asia Minor is undoubtedly predominantly Moslem, Mr Lloyd George sophistically speaks of the town of Smyrna, situated therein, as being non-Moslem. This sophistry will not satisfy any one who is not prejudiced against the Turks. And even as regards Smyrna the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th edition) tells us that half the population (not a majority) is Greek.

As regards the independence of the Arabs, it is to be regretted that Messrs Mahomed Ali and Syed Husain did not say quite the same thing. The former said:

They do not rule out such political changes within the scheme of Turkish sovereignty as would guarantee and secure the autonomy of various Muslim territories consistently with the dignity and secure independence of the State.

ARABIA.

The Prime Minister asked if this signified opposition after all to the declaration of Emir Feisal as King of Arabia.

Mr Muhammad Ali expressed the hope of reconciling the Turco-Arab differences, and of persuading Emir Feisal that his own ambitions and those of the Arabs could be entirely satisfied within the scheme of Turkish sovereignty.

Pressed by the Prime Minister to say if he were opposed to the independence of Arabia, he replied in the affirmative. This would not, however, rule out special arrangement for autonomy.

Referring to India he explained that consistently with their own desire for autonomous development they could not think of denying it to the Arabs, Jews or Christians within the Turkish Empire.

Mr Syed Husain referred to Mr Muhammad Ali's statement that Indians were opposed to Arabian independence. He explained that they opposed Emir Feisal's declaration only because Arabia had hitherto throughout the history of Islam remained under the direct control of the Khalif. They were not opposed to Arabian independence. On the contrary they wished very much for complete autonomy in that country but they wanted it to be in harmony and not in conflict with the Khalifat and its claims.

Mr George's reply was

The Arabs have claimed independence and severance from Turkish dominion. Is it suggested that the Arabs should remain under Turkish dominion, merely because they are Muhammadans? Is not the same measure of independence and freedom to be given to Muhammadans as to Christians?

That is a just question. And we may add, Why not to Hindus also? But there

is an impression that Emir Feisul is a creature of the English and the French, and that is why on his being proclaimed King of Syria, it has been demanded that he should proceed to Europe to submit his explanation. Such a demand is not made of a really independent monarch of a truly independent people. We want independence for the Arabs, but it must be the genuine thing, not the brand that Persia enjoys.

As for massacres by the Turks it is remarkable that fresh massacres should have occurred just at the opportune moment. It is also remarkable that no European Christian nations feel indignant at Armenians, Bulgarians and Greeks massacring Moslems. It would be insulting to be asked to solemnly protest that we are not advocates of murderers, be they European or Asiatic, Christian or non-Christian. For well-nigh half a century we have been hearing of Turks massacring Armenians. If the numbers of all the Armenians reported to have been massacred at various times were added together, we presume the total would far exceed the number of Armenians that ever existed at any time, and yet they are not an extinct race! Mr Lloyd George admitted that impartial investigation had not taken place. Therefore Mr Mahomed Ali was right in what he said and demanded.

Turning to the question of massacres, he said, the Indian Khilafat delegation must put on record their utter detestation of such conduct and their full sympathy for the sufferers, whether Christians or Muslims, but if the Turks are to be punished the whole question requires impartial investigation by an International Commission on which the All-India Khilafat Conference should be adequately represented. The Commission should go into the question of the organization of revolutionary societies by the Christian subjects of the Sultan, and of the provocation offered to the Moslem majority in the region affected.

Pressed by the Prime Minister, Mr Muhammad Ali said that he neither denied the existence of these massacres, nor justified them in the least. He was not in a position to affirm or deny anything.

The Prime Minister cited the answer given by the Turkish Delegation in Paris, admitting the massacres.

Mr Muhammad Ali went on to ask for a thorough enquiry and added, "If it establishes

have been guilty of these atrocities and horrible crimes, then we will wash our hands of the Turks. To us it is much more important, that not a single stain should remain on the fair name of Islam. We want to convert the world to our way of thinking, but with what face can we go before the world and say we are the brethren of murderers and assassins."

RUSSIAN INTRIGUES

He urged that massacres began only in the last quarter of the last century after the success of Russian intrigues in the Balkans, etc. "In any case if the Turk is to be punished on the assumption that his rule is a blasting tyranny, the evidence should be absolutely above suspicion. No such evidence at present exists. Even in to-day's *Times* you read of horrors perpetrated by these so-called innocent Lambs, i.e., Armenian Christians. He urged the importance of removing the wrong impression from the minds of millions of Moslems. There should not be the least suspicion that the Turkish question is being dealt with in the spirit of the crusaders of Europe.

An Associated Press representative interviewed some of the leading Moslems of Calcutta for their opinion on the reception of the Indian Khilafat Deputation by the Prime Minister. The Hon'ble Maulvi Fazlul Huq and Messrs Erfan Ali, Mowdud Rahman and Mr Massie made the following joint statement —

The Premier's reply is not only disappointing but is even provoking. From the newspaper reports the impression left on one's mind is that the Indian Khilafat deputation has not been able to put the Moslem view-point before the Premier properly and with sufficient force. Moslems are alarmed at the Premier's attitude and any hope of expecting that Moslem sentiments and religious susceptibilities would be respected will henceforth vanish for ever. Far from allaying the consternation, it will increase it a hundredfold. The examples of Germany and Austria are beside the mark. As regards the inability of the Turk to control and rule over subject nations, the Moslems desire to know whether, in the history of the world, there is to be found a similar example of a Power, surrounded by covetous nationalities and intriguing subject nations with capitulations and so forth, perpetually fighting for self-preservation and yet ruling the Empire efficiently and well.

No Moslem can believe for one moment in the British protestations of friendship with Turkey. Since the Crimean war, can the British statesmen point out a single instance in which they have directly or indirectly helped the Turks? The Moslems remember well the

provocation pounced upon Turkey to snatch away her African colonies and notwithstanding the Sultan's piteous appeal not a little finger was raised to help them. The Balkan war and the anti-Turkish attitude of Mr Asquith and Sir Edward Grey are also in point.

The situation has become grave and critical and responsible Moslem leaders feel that in the circumstances they will have no control over their followers any longer.

However provocative the Premier's reply may be considered, it is to be hoped that Indian Musalmans will keep their heads cool. Excitement will do no good, on the contrary, it may do much harm. Musalmans and Hindus who possess some knowledge of national and international affairs do not even dream of having recourse to physical force. As for any other methods, righteous endeavours may bring success if Indian Musalmans have sufficient cohesion and solidarity and strength enough to endure suffering and undergo sacrifices.

Interracial Massacres.

Racial and sectarian prejudice and self-interest make men such liars, that it is difficult to ascertain how much of truth there is in the reports of massacres by Turks which have been spread in the world pretty frequently for more than a generation. Nor can it be said how often these have been cases of retaliation under provocation. But taking it for granted that the reports are true, justice requires that those who massacre ought to be punished. The punishment, however, should overtake large-scale murderers of all nations, races and sects. We do not mean to say that no murderer ought to be punished unless every other murderer can be punished. What we do say is that if it be found that it is the murderers of a particular race and religion alone who are and have been sought to be punished, then the presumption becomes irresistible that their offence lies not so much in the massacres as in their race and religion and in the fact that they stand in the way of the gratification of the unrighteous greed and ambition of some strong nation or nations. When European Christian peoples massacre their subjects, other European peoples do not interfere in these "domestic matters", the

oppressed peoples have themselves to fight it out or die or submit. It is only when non-Christian peoples are reported to be massacring that the question of interference arises. There is at present no international organisation, including all nations of the earth, for the punishment of international or interracial crime,—there is only an ideal. So long as the ideal does not materialise, the punishment of such crimes may be pretexts for serving the selfish purposes of strong nations and gratifying their racial and religious hatreds.

Independence for Subject Peoples.

We are for the independence of the Arabs, as of all other peoples. As Mr. Lloyd George and his countrymen cannot adopt this impartial attitude with respect to the aspirations of all peoples, he should not have raised the question of the independence of the Arabs. Of course, if any people can win independence by their own efforts, the matter does not call for further comment on the part of outsiders. Poland has gained her independence mainly in this way, by taking advantage of the opportunity presented by the perplexity and weakness of her oppressors. Alsace-Lorraine belonged to France and has been restored to her. The peoples who were subject races within the Austrian Empire have won their independence by taking advantage of Austria's weakness and downfall. Can it be said that Arab independence presents a parallel to any of these cases? Have any of the Allies taken under their wings any of the newly constituted sovereign States in Europe, as they have Emir Feisal? There is a proposal to arm the Armenians against their Turkish rulers, and probably arms have been already supplied to them. Will this be an internationally valid precedent for all subject races? It will be said that the Turks have failed as rulers, that their rule has been a blasting tyranny, that they massacre their subjects, &c. One would like to have a list of the imperialising nations whose rule has been entirely free from massacres of the subject peoples, has caused them no suffering or degradation or weakening has not been a blight in some departmen

or other of the lives of the subject peoples, &c It is a question of degree, my masters, not of kind

Is Turkish Rule a Blasting Tyranny in Every Respect ?

One hears repeatedly of the blighting effects of Turkish rule, and the Premier in his reply to the Khilafat Deputation spoke in a similar strain But if British books of reference are to be trusted, education is more widespread in the Turkish Empire than in British India According to the official report on "Indian Education in 1917-18" published by the Indian Bureau of Education, 32.6 per cent of the total population of British India are under instruction (p 4) According to the *New Hazell Annual and Almanack* for 1920, published by the Oxford University Press, the total population of European and Asiatic Turkey is 13,481,000 (p 596), and the total number of scholars is "about 1,350,000" (p 597), and thus *more than 10 per cent* of the population are under instruction The *New Hazell Annual* also says that education "is free" in Turkey, which is not the case in British India Thus in education Turkish rule is not a blasting tyranny But if it must be called a blight as regards education, some appropriate word ought to be found to describe the state of education in British India

Equal Justice for All Vanquished Nations.

Mr. Lloyd George has claimed that the victorious Allies have been meting out equal justice to Germany, Austria and Turkey This contention is wrong No parts of the pre-war German and Austrian empires inhabited by Christians, like the other parts, have been given to other peoples to be ruled as dependencies or protectorates. Alsace-Lorraine was formerly a part of France and has gone back to France All other separated portions inhabited by Christians have become independent States solely or mainly by their own efforts The parts which have been or are proposed to be sliced off from Turkey are mainly inhabited by Moslems like the other parts and have been or would

be given to other peoples who have no claims to them, to be governed by them as dependencies or protectorates If Armenia becomes independent, it would not be by her own efforts

The list of war criminals whom the Allies wanted themselves to try but could not, was by no means as heavy in the case of Turkey as of Germany Britishers have themselves admitted that the Turk was a clean and honorable fighter Germany has, besides, been guilty of many serious offences after the armistice, like the sinking of the *Skapa Flow* fleet, &c, nothing similar to which can be ascribed to Turkey Yet her capital is occupied and she is degraded Neither Berlin nor Vienna has been similarly treated Add to these, the fact that Constantinople and the adjoining parts of the seas have been the objects of desire of various European nations for centuries past, and the motives for the despoiling of the Turk become plain Moreover, Europe wants all traces of her former conquest by Asia to be obliterated On the other hand, Asia wants some material proofs of her former conquering might to remain

The Papal Power and the Khilafat.

A parallel has been sought to be drawn between the spiritual power of the Pope and the Khilafat, and it has been contended that as Roman Catholics do not now try to restore the Pope's temporal power and as the Pope does not find his spiritual power diminished owing to the loss of his temporal dominions, so Musalmans ought to be satisfied if the Sultan of Turkey retains only his spiritual power as their Khalifa Several differences, however, are forgotten Musalmans contend that it is a Koranic injunction that the Khalifa should be an independent Musalman monarch possessed of sufficient temporal power to protect the holy places of Islam Roman Catholics, so far as our knowledge goes, do not point out any similar Biblical injunction in favour of the Pope's being vested with temporal power In the second place, it is Christians who deprived the Pope of his

temporal power, but in the case of the Sultan of Turkey, it is not the Musalmans who intend to deprive him of any part of his dominions in Europe. In the third place, the Papal temporal power was never identified with the worldly greatness of Christianity in the way that the power of the sole remaining truly independent Moslem State, Turkey, is associated with the worldly greatness of Islam. And lastly, we may add, the Pope's temporal power was never associated with the conquering might of Europe as the Ottoman Empire in Europe is associated with Asia's conquering power in the past.

The Mosquito and the Downfall of Nations

Authorities who have scrupulously investigated the causes of the decadence of Greek civilization and the fall of the Roman Empire, have drawn the conclusion that they were caused, not by the Macedonian conquest or the irruption of barbaric hordes, but by the mosquito, according to an editorial writer on the staff of *Modern Medicine* (Chicago). He makes particular reference to a recent memoir by W. H. S. Jones, entitled "*Malaria, a Neglected Factor in the History of Greece and Rome*". The Macedonian conquest would have been inadequate, it is said, to destroy Greek civilization, and the irruption of the barbarians into the Roman Empire would not have occurred if the ground had not been prepared, in each case, by a sapping of the resistance of the people by generations of malarial infection. The writer in *Modern Medicine* says

it behoves us to arrest the progress of the identical enemy which caused the downfall of Rome, and to oust him from his strongholds. We must undo, in short, a part of the work of destruction and restore prosperity to great areas of fertile country depopulated by the alliance of anopheles and plasmodium.

These words should be particularly taken to heart by us Indians. The writer proceeds:

"The lesson has been most thoroughly taken to heart in tropical and subtropical regions, where Caucasians from non-malarial countries have come into contact with the destructive effect of malarial infection. Next in order are

such districts as the lower Mississippi Valley, where the exigencies of increased production and the growing recognition of the economic losses entailed by neglect of malaria have combined with the general awakening of the public conscience in health matters to set in motion, first experimentation with, and then wide application of measures for malaria control.

"The demonstrated efficiency of these measures and the economic gains resulting from their application render certain their generalization at an early date throughout the malarial districts of this country.

"The tropical and subtropical countries and the United States may, therefore, be safely considered as well on their way to freedom from malaria, with more or less speed, but the countries referred to in the commencement of this article, regions formerly the home of the brilliant Greek and the solid Roman civilizations, are equally capable of regeneration. In Italy this work has already been seriously commenced, while in Greece proper much has been done. It may, therefore, be assumed that the swamps of Macedonia, due largely to deforestation, will be taken in hand.

Who will take in hand the extensive malaria-stricken regions of India? As the people of India are the most vitally interested in getting rid of malaria, it is they who ought to make the most earnest and persistent endeavours. It is true that the construction of railways in disregard of the requirements of sanitary science, and, to some extent, of irrigation works also, has a great deal to do with the causation and spread of malaria, and, therefore, those who would eradicate malaria must have control of railways and irrigation works, but railways are not a provincial subject at all, and irrigation and canals, drainage and embankments are not transferred subjects. In spite of these drawbacks, however, the people can do much by acquiring knowledge of the methods followed in foreign lands and combining to adapt and adopt them here.

Ireland's Self-determination.

The following tables show what form of Government Ireland would have had if the principle of self-determination had been followed there:—

GENERAL ELECTION, DECEMBER, 1918
CONSTITUENCIES WON

For Irish Republic and Self-Determination . . 79
(Sinn Féin, 73, Nationalists, 6)

| | |
|---|-----------|
| For Status Quo (Unionist party) | 26 |
| Total | 105 |
| VOTES CAST | |
| For Irish Republic and Self-Determination (Sinn Féin, 971,945, Nationalists 235,206) | 1,207,151 |
| For Status Quo (Unionist party) | 303,713 |
| Total | 1,515,864 |

How Good Lighting Aids Production.

As India is going in more and more for factory industries, her industrialists should know that production in a badly lighted factory may

be speeded up as high as 35 per cent by the substitution of proper lights and reflectors for antiquated equipment. Tests to ascertain the exact dependence of production on lighting, as well as instances drawn from experience, are described in *The Iron Trade Review* (Cleveland, December 18) by Ward Harrison. It has been only in the past three or four years Mr Harrison says, that lighting, in the minds of factory executives, has been taken out of the janitor-service class and placed with automatic machinery and labor-saving devices, where it belongs. Now manufacturers are beginning to realize that it is a substantial aid to production. Six States have adopted codes of lighting requirements for industrial establishments, and in three other States prospective codes are being drawn up.

Good lighting is required also for the welfare of the workmen. Glare should, of course, be avoided. The means and methods to be adopted are mentioned in the journal named above.

Control of Communications

In the *Harvard Theological Review* for January, 1920, there is an article on "Recent Discoveries in Ethiopia" which contains the following passage —

The land of Ethiopia is the most barren part of the Nile valley, almost the only part which might be called poverty-stricken. Through the greater length of the country, the only cultivable fields are little patches of dark soil laid down in the mouths of the side ravines which have been cut by the rare rain-fed desert torrents. It is one of the seeming paradoxes of history that so unfertile a country should have been an object of desire to one great empire after another, and a still greater paradox that a royal family, grown great on such soil, should have mastered the whole of the Nile valley from Khartoum to the sea.

The explanation is given in the passage which follows.

But the material resources of Ethiopia lay, not in fields, grazing lands, and in forests, but in the control of roads and water. The river is the only ample source of water as well as a great traffic way, and all the roads from Egypt to the south return to its banks. The communications with the ancient gold mines in the eastern desert depended on short roads which debouched into the valley. The great caravan routes from the north were three in number—the first along the eastern bank, the second along the western bank, and the third through the chain of oases which runs parallel to the valley in the western desert. The river itself and all these roads were at the mercy of him who held the control of Ethiopia. There is a fourth way—by ship through the Red Sea, but the harbors of this route on the western shore of the sea were also under Ethiopian control. From the region of Berber, caravan roads strike out east and west and south, to the Red Sea, to Darfur, to Abyssinia, and the headwaters of the Atbara, the Dinder, the Blue and the White Nile. Along all these roads, commanded by rulers of Ethiopia, caravans went northwards bearing ivory, leopard skins, ostrich eggs and feathers, resins, myrrh, incense, various plant products, gold, and black slaves, and southwards caravans bearing the products of Egypt—cloth, amulets and ornaments, alabaster vases of perfume, bronze tools and weapons. In all times the material resources of the governing power in Ethiopia have consisted of the income derived from taxing in one way or other this great trade and in exploiting the gold mines. The agricultural produce has barely supported a meagre population, and no industries were initiated except under Egyptian influence.

These facts of ancient history do but confirm what all statesmen know, namely, that no people can be independent or autonomous whose water and land communications are under the control of another people. This fact underlies the scramble for sea power by those nations which are not masters of the ocean.

We are neither independent nor autonomous. Still it may not do us any harm to note that according to the Reform Act the Government of India, which would continue to be wholly irresponsible to the people, would control the following

6 Communications—to the extent described under the following heads —

(a) Railways and tramways, except tramways within municipal areas, and except in so far as provision may be made for construc-

tion and management of light and feeder railways and tramways, other than tramways within municipal areas, by provincial legislation enacted in accordance with procedure to be prescribed by standing orders of the Provincial Legislative Council

(b) Roads, bridges or ferries declared by the Governor-General in Council to be of military importance

(c) Aircraft

(d) Inland waterways, to an extent to be declared by or under Indian legislation

7 Shipping and Navigation (including shipping and navigation on inland waterways in so far as declared to be under Indian control in accordance with 6 (d))

8 Light-houses, beacons and buoys,

9 Port, quarantine and marine hospitals

10 Ports declared to be major ports by or under Indian legislation

11 Posts, telegraphs and telephones

The Biggest of Telescopes

At a meeting of the American Astronomical Society, Professor Hale reported some preliminary results of comparative tests of the new 100-inch reflector at Mt Wilson and the 60-inch reflector at the same observatory. Says *The Scientific American* (New York)

"The superiority of the new instrument is well shown by the experience of Dr Merrill in spectrographic studies of stars of Class Md, of which about two hundred brighter than the ninth magnitude at maximum are known in the latitudes accessible to the Mt Wilson instruments. For most of these stars exposures of five hours or more are required with the 60-inch to yield a measurable absorption spectrum. In fact, so few can be effectively observed for both dark and bright lines that it would hardly be advisable to enter upon an extensive study of these objects with the smaller telescope. The greater light-gathering power of the 100-inch, says Professor Hale, makes such a study perfectly feasible. Good photographs of the absorption spectra of some of them have been

obtained with exposures of two hours or less. Dr Shapley, in studying star clusters with the 100-inch, finds a gain of about one magnitude. Photographs of the moon have not yet been made under ideal conditions with the new telescope, but Professor Hale states that the extraordinary minute structure of lunar details that he has observed visually with this instrument indicate that it is exceptionally well adapted for lunar photography."

A Moslem Republic.

Azerbaijan, the rumour of whose alliance with Turkey was first cabled and then contradicted by Reuter, is a Moslem republic. The following words of its foreign minister, Mī Djafarov, spoken in the course of an interview which Mr Scotland Liddell representative of the British press in Mesopotamia, had with him, give some idea of its peaceful policy.

"Both Azerbaijan and Georgia are keeping outside this great civil war which is taking place in Russia proper. We will on no account tolerate Bolsheviks here, but we are not in a position to take any active part in the Russian war. Like the new Republics of the north and west of the former Russian Empire—Finland, Lithuania, Lettland, Esthonia, and Poland, we will only fight when our enemies threaten our independence."

"Savari's Expectancy."

When Rāma was in exile in the forest, there dwelt in the hermitage of the sage Matanga a saintly votaress known as Savari, because she was sprung from the aboriginal tribe called Savara. She had been told by the great ascetics who formerly lived in that hermitage, "Rāma shall come to thy holy asylum." So, in the mind's eyes of the Artist Mr Nandalal Bose, she is pictured as expecting from her youth onwards the advent of Rāma whom she worshipped in her heart. In youth, standing under the auspicious gateway made of banana trees and leaves for Rāma's reception, she would strain her eyes to have a look of the coming holy one. But he did then not come. In middle age, she would keep the full water-vessel, and the offering of flowers, ready for Rāma. But his advent was not yet. In old age, she used to pluck fruits for Rāma from the trees growing wild in the hermitage. And then one day Rāma came with Lakshmana and her heart's desire was

* "These standing orders of the provincial Legislative Council should require that, before any Bill providing for construction and management of a light or feeder railway is introduced in the council, sufficient notice of the proposals contained in such Bill shall be given to the Railway Board and to such other parties as may be prescribed, and that the Bill shall be dealt with by procedure similar to that applied to private Bills under British Parliamentary practice, and further that any such Bill shall, after being passed by the Provincial Council, be reserved for the consideration of the Governor-General." This shows that the Government of India would indirectly control the construction of even petty railways.

fulfilled Meeting them she related how he holy ascetics of the hermitage, before heir ascension to heaven, had foretold Rama's coming with his brother

"When he and Lakshman seeks this shade
Be to thy guests all honour paid
Him shalt thou see, and pass away
To those blest worlds which ne'er decay "
To me, O mighty chief, the best
Of lofty saints these words addressed
Laid up within my dwelling lie
Fruits of each sort which woods supply,—
Food culled for thee in endless store
From every tree on Pampa's shore

Then at their request she told and showed her guests all the wonders and glories of the hermitage, and said .—

Here thou hast seen each lawn and dell,
And heard the tale I had to tell,
Permit thy servant, lord, I pray,
To cast this mortal shell away,
For I would dwell, this life resigned
With those great saints of lofty mind,
Whom I within this holy shade
With reverential care obeyed

Whereupon Rama said

"Go, lady, where thou fain wouldst be,
O thou who well hast honoured me "

Then the ancient votaress resigned her body to the flames and ascended to heaven in a blaze of glory.

Verdict of American Jurists in the Case of William Hohenzollern.

WHAT PENALTY SHALL BE PAID by William Hohenzollern, ex-War Lord of Germany? What is the proper measure of this one man's responsibility for the innumerable ruined homes, the thirteen million slaughtered human beings, the forty million mutilated and tortured in the world's greatest and cruellest war?

The Literary Digest of New York has published a summary of the replies of 328 American jurists to questions like the above. Some time ago that journal prepared and forwarded to the Justices of the State Supreme Courts, to District, County, and Circuit Judges, and to the heads of the legal departments of American universities a brief questionnaire. Justices of the United States Supreme Court were omitted because of the likelihood that one of their number might be chosen to represent America on the trial tribunal. If William Hohenzollern is found guilty, *THE DIGEST* asked, both of conspicuous respon-

sibility for the war and of authorizing military violations of international law, what penalty should be imposed upon him? Three hundred and twenty-eight replies were received, covering every section of the country and representing a diversity of opinion in which the verdict of exile and of capital punishment predominate. Most of these jurists accept it as a moral, if not a legal, certainty that the guilt of the Kaiser is already circumstantially established in the opinion of civilized mankind. Especially noticeable, in view of the circumstance that these replies come from men highly trained in legal procedure and not from laymen, is the fact that only a negligible number—18 of the 328, to be exact—hold with Secretary Lansing that there is no adequate body of laws under which a man may be tried for acts such as those attributed to the German Emperor. The verdict of these representative American jurists would seem to be that justice will not have been satisfied until William II stands in judgment before a tribunal composed, if not of his peers—who might be hard to find—at least of men capable of interpreting and carrying out the enlightened opinion of mankind in the matter of William II. vs. Civilization.

The verdict is given below in a tabular form

THE VERDICT OF 328 AMERICAN * JURISTS IN THE CASE OF WILLIAM HOHENZOLLERN

| | | | | | |
|------------------------|---|---|---|---|-----|
| For Exile | . | . | . | . | 137 |
| For Capital Punishment | . | . | . | . | 106 |
| For Imprisonment | . | . | . | . | 51 |
| For Other Penalties | . | . | . | . | 7 |
| Against Any Trial | . | . | . | . | 27 |

Some jurists have suggested other and additional penalties.

It is the feeling of several of the jurists consulted that, in addition to the sum raised by the confiscation of all his property, William Hohenzollern's shame should be made, in some way, to contribute financially to the many innocent people who may have suffered through his acts. He should be caged and exhibited, declares Judge William E. Burns, of the Twenty-Seventh Judicial Court of Virginia. "He could be sent to Belgium and imprisoned there and when tourists viewed him the money should be given to the Belgian Government. County Judge Leroy M. Campbell, of Bent County,

Col is among the jurists in thorough agreement with this view. After every dollar's worth of property belonging to Wilhelm has been turned into a fund for the aid of the unfortunates, suggests this judge, he should be put into a comfortable prison on a railroad-car, "secure and comfortable as the average private soldier is accommodated with." The Judge specifies "similar food and bedding—destitute of servants and outside aid—Mrs Kaiser his only companion—this prison, under secure guard, transported all over the world and its stops advertised in a radius of fifty miles. Each person to pay one dollar to see him—and as much more as they desire—all proceeds to go, as his property did, to the unfortunates he caused." He should be placed in an iron cage, or chained to the street at the principal street corners in the city of Paris for the first year, the next year in Brussels, Belgium, and the next year in London, England, and exhibited to public scorn and ridicule, suggests Judge Royal R. Graham, of Clear Creek, Col., and District Judge A. T. Ayres, of Howard, Kan., writes: "I think he should be caged as a monstrosity, and exhibited at so much per, and the funds given to French and Belgian relief." Somewhat the same view is taken by Circuit Judge H. Pierre Brannin of Miami, Fla. "Let a duplicate of the throne-room be made portable," he suggests, "the Kaiser drest as for a reception therein, then place on exhibition in principal cities of the world, fixing some reasonable charge for admission. Have proceeds given to families having killed and wounded in the war."

A considerable number of those who vote for various punishments also suggest confiscation of the Hohenzollern property, real and personal, by way of damages in favor of those whom he has wronged. Manual labor is suggested as a concomitant of his punishment by Judge Albert P. Stark, of the Sixth District of Montana, &c. The Kaiser is a paranoiac, in Judge Smith's view, "and should be in an insane asylum for the rest of his life."

In the belief of a great many radicals, or at least liberals, throughout the country, the Kaiser either will never be tried, or will never be given a fair trial, because such a trial would entail a real investigation into the causes of the World War. It is the conviction of this by no means inconsiderable body of opinion that such an impartial investigation would reveal the real causes of the war among the army and navy clubs, the great munition manufacturers, the international commercial interests, and the great capitalists of all the nations. Such a revelation, we are told, the powers that rule the world will never permit. It may be that Wilhelm Hagues, Professor of Law in Notre Dame University, Indiana, speaks for this body of opinion when he declares: "Simply nonsense! The men at the bottom of this insidious propaganda which precipitated the war and has

upset the world, do not seriously contemplate a trial of the ex-Kaiser. They would be reluctant to have the world read the evidence he might present. The war followed forty-five years of general preparation for it. Propaganda is becoming a science."

By the bye, when the reports of the Hunter Committee Commission and of the Congress Sub-Committee's Commission on the Panjab disorders are published, cannot they be placed, in a summarised form if need be, before American, French, Japanese and other jurists of independent countries and their verdicts obtained as to the guilt or innocence of Dyer, O'Dwyer and Co., and how, if found guilty, they should be punished? It is possible that in that case Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu would be found to blame to some extent.

Lynching in U. S. A.

While American jurists were judging Wilhelm II, then newspapers were reporting and many of them condemning, cases of Lynching. With bitter sarcasm the Albany *Knickerbocker Press* says "Lynching continues to hold place as the great American sport," as it remains "a conspicuously American pastime, altho Russia and other centers of social uplift are beginning to challenge our supremacy." *The Press* cites the following table of 1919 lynchings, by States, prepared by Monroe N. Work, of the Department of Records and Research of the Tuskegee Institute.

| | | | |
|-------------|----|----------------|----|
| Alabama | 7 | North Carolina | 3 |
| Arkansas | 12 | South Carolina | 1 |
| Colorado | 2 | Tennessee | 1 |
| Florida | 5 | Texas | 4 |
| Georgia | 21 | Washington | 1 |
| Louisiana | 7 | West Virginia | 2 |
| Mississippi | 12 | Kansas | 1 |
| Missouri | 2 | | — |
| Nebraska | 1 | Total | 82 |

There were eighteen more lynchings than in 1918. Of the eighty-two persons lynched, seventy-five were negroes and seven were white. One victim was a woman. It is noteworthy, and however, that the number of lynchings for 1919 was exceptionally large in comparison with those of other recent years. In 1917 there were but thirty-eight lynchings, and with the exception of 1912, in which there were 145, we find no year ex-

feeding the bad record of 1919 nearer than 1903, in which there were 102. The worst year for which there is a record is 1892, which was signalized by 208 lynchings. *The Knickerbocker Press* says further,

The classic crime which provides the excuse for lynching was alleged against only nine of the whole number. The rest were put to death under circumstances of unmentionable cruelty, and in many cases with a hideous injustice, on such allegations as 'taking too much,' 'writing letters,' 'deceiving a mob, making boastful remarks or discussing a lynching.' Seven human beings were tortured to death in the South in 1919 against whom no charge was even reported. One luckless individual was burned to death because he had been acquitted in the courts of shooting a policeman, one because he ventured to appeal from his sentence of ten years in prison for attempting the life of another, and one because the courts had reduced his sentence to life imprisonment. Sometimes we wonder what the Bolsheviks think of us."

Wise Words on Communal Representation.

The Beni-Israel community declared long ago that it did not require communal representation. A conference of Marwaris in the Central Provinces made the same declaration. Now we have the editor of the Christian organ *The Young Men of India* declaring himself against such representation. Says he

It seems evident that at least the Indian Christians in the Madras Presidency will have conceded to them the rights of a separate electorate. Their demands have been met in the fullest degree possible. We wonder whether this is a matter for congratulation. We have added one more burden to the man who calls himself a Christian. Take, for example, the case of a convert. He makes his decision because of a personal religious experience. We can accept him because of that and admit him into our society, and, incidentally now, to a special electorate. May we ask what connection is there between a man accepting Jesus Christ and being compelled to invest himself with certain political rights or handicaps, cutting him off even more fully from those bound to him by ties of blood, kinship, and friendship? The whole matter needs very serious consideration. We trust that those who without their consent are compelled to vote in special electorates, whether Mohamedan, European, or Indian Christian, will be individually permitted to withdraw themselves and vote in the general electorate. We believe there are some such who, as a matter of conscience, and "as men of good-will," will willingly abjure any

rights which special communities may confer upon them.

The suggestion that a voter belonging to a community to which special representation has been given, should have the option of voting in the general electorate, has been made before, and is a wise one. The Reform Rules ought to give effect to this suggestion. It offers the means of gradually doing away with communal representation.

Government and the Problem of Poverty in India.

In his recently published book "The Making of Modern England," Dr. Gilbert Slater says —

"Among the prominent facts with regard to India which are confessed in the Statistical Abstract, are that the average death-rate for the ten years ending 1908 was between thirty-four and thirty-five per thousand, which represents an excess of unnecessary deaths, judging by the standard of a country like Japan, of some four millions per annum. Poverty and ignorance are the obvious causes of this appalling death-rate. The fundamental duty of the Government is to protect the people against devastating plagues and famines, and the obvious means of doing so is to train the most gifted of the native population to lead the people in the fight against the evils which beset them. How little the British Government in India realises this duty may be judged by the statistics of graduates turned out in the year 1919-20 in different professions, in medicine there were but thirty, in engineering only seventeen, in Agriculture not a single one, but in arts there were 2,116, and in law 576."

And yet the craze is for still more universities, not for more medical, engineering agricultural and technological colleges!

The Khilafat 'Hartal'

The peaceful passing off of the Khilafat *Hartal* day, observed by Hindus and Moslems in all Provinces, has been a distinct moral gain. The editor of the *Catholic Herald of India* writes as a neutral observer

The Friday *hartal* passed off quietly, and we don't care whether the Sultan feels any the better or any the worse for it. Whether the Turk stays or goes, the *hartal* has been a great political success in this sense that it marks a step forward in the political schooling of the crowds. This is the first successful effort in collective self-restraint, and if repeated, it is bound, whether for good or evil (Why for evil, if it be a prepara-

tion for Home Rule?—Ed, M R), to prepare for Home Rule a people thoroughly disciplined and trained to follow its leaders

This aspect should not escape the notice of students in politics. A *hartal* is only a bit of political drill and it matters little to what object the drill is applied. At the first trial Dr. Screech Gandhi coached his people on the Rowlatt Act, and the pupil broke down, this time he made them practise on the Sultan, and may be the Sultan will break down, but the pupil has been broken in. It promises well for the future.

So far the organisers of the *hartal* ought to be satisfied with the turn events are taking. The Turkish Government is allowed to remain in Constantinople, and the Allies will only occupy the Bosphorus, the fleet, the War, Post and Telegraph offices, the Town Hall, the barracks, the forts, the harbours and the quays, the Banks, the Ministry and other public buildings, leaving all the rest to the Turkish Government!

Yes, *all* the rest, even if this all attain the gigantic magnitude of a big zero!

“Terrible Justice” for Germany.

In his reply to the representations of the Khilafat Deputation, Mr Lloyd George observed that Germany has had or would have “terrible justice.” How terrible, appears in part from J. M. Keynes’s *Economic Consequences of the Peace*, to which work several papers have recently referred. Not having read the book ourselves, we take the following paragraphs from the *Catholic Herald of India* as giving some idea of the contents of the work so far as they relate to Germany—

A military revolution, backed up by capitalists, has broken out in Berlin, and the two rival Governments are hesitating between a compromise and an appeal to force or civil war. Having read J. M. Keynes’s *Economic Consequences of the Peace*, we are only surprised the crash came so late.

The bulk of the Treaty of Peace is fair, but it must be admitted that some of its clauses are iniquitous, pagan and vindictive, being framed for the distinct purpose not of punishing Germany but of ruining her for ever.

The financial clauses would beat a Kabuli. Germany’s capital sum of indebtedness is to roll up at compound interest, so that her debt must double itself in fifteen years, and she must hand over to the Allies the whole of her surplus production *in perpetuity*.

Then again, all private German property in Alsace-Lorraine is confiscated by the French Government without being credited as reparation. The whole railway system of the two provinces is ceded to France, Germany keeping

the liabilities and debts contracted in respect of it, without again receiving a credit on this account in respect of reparation.

Then all private pre-war contracts between Allied and German nationals may be cancelled if they are in Germany’s favour, and revived if they favour the Allied nationals. All Germany’s rights and interests in neighbouring territories are eliminated and her capital confiscated.

The Allies may confiscate any German business, enterprise or property in any part of the world, acquired or to be acquired up to May, 1921. All German over-sea investments and connections are destroyed. On what moral grounds this sort of freebooting can be defended is more than we can tell. But more indefensible still is the acquisition by France of the Saar Basin, for it is outside the scope of reparation. France receives 20 million tons of coal annually in compensation for destruction of mines, but as, besides, the Saar Basin was wanted for the purpose of working the iron fields of Lorraine, and as Germany cannot industrially live without it, the Basin has been confiscated. This with the loss of Upper Silesia will leave Germany with an output of 36 million tons of coal for industrial purposes as against a total pre-war output of 139 million tons.

The clauses relating to the transport and the tariff systems of Germany are described by J. Keynes, as “pinpricks, interferences and vexations, not so much objectionable for their solid consequence, as dishonourable to the Allies in the light of their professions” and assurances. All imports to Germany are privileged, but none of her exports, with the result that she cannot get rid of her products, and she must allow herself to be flooded with luxuries, such as champagne and silk. All clauses relating to Germany’s river system are largely unnecessary and vexatious—the whole system is taken out of German control, and all the local and domestic business of the great river towns will be subject to a foreign jurisdiction.

“The policy,” concludes the same writer, “of reducing Germany to servitude for a generation, of degrading the lives of millions of human beings, and of depriving a whole nation of happiness, should be abhorrent and detestable,—abhorrent and detestable, even if it were possible, even if it enriched ourselves, even if it did not sow the decay of the whole civilised life of Europe. Nations are not authorised, by religion or by natural morals, to visit on the children of their enemies the misdoings of parents or of rulers.”

And that is what we have done. Shall we then be surprised at the outbreak of revolution?

“What has Islam done for the World?”

The Empire, in its colossal ignorance and blindness of prejudice, writes—

Now, since the Moslem leaders are asking the Christian powers for mercy, we should like to

ask what has Islam ever done for the world? In arts and sciences Islam has been absolutely sterile. In bloodshed and rapine Islam has been strong, but the modern world has had enough of that coarse game. Will Mr. Shaukat Ali, the Aga Khan or any other brave Moslem tell us what Islam has done for the world, except an alternation between massacres and a humble petition to the Christian powers when things became too strong?

The writer is to be pitied. He may consult such an ordinary book of reference as the Encyclopaedia Britannica, articles "Arabia", "Arabian Philosophy", "Arabs", &c. In the middle ages the Musalmans were the teachers of Europe. One need not go outside India for evidence of Musalman statesmanship, administrative capacity, genius in arts and letters, &c. The British have inherited some of their public works, as roads, their land revenue system, &c. They were the greatest historians of India in the modern sense. As for their achievements in the arts of civilised life, the best summary is to be found in the late Mr. M. G. Ranade's address at the Indian National Social Conference held at Lucknow in 1900, as printed in his works.

As for rapine and bloodshed, it can be mathematically demonstrated from the works of Western Christian writers that the Christian nations of Europe hold the palm. In spite of alleged Moslem ruthlessness, even a small people like the Armenians have not been exterminated, but a study of the history of European colonisation in North and South America, Australasia, and Africa, shows how many populous tribes there have been thoroughly exterminated and how many are all but extinct.

Military Effort and Educational Endeavour.

Year after year, for decades, Indian non-official members of the Indian Legislative Council have laboriously criticised the Budget. They have brought forward various arguments and facts in support of their criticisms and contentions. But all this has not produced any material effect on the heads of expenditure in the direction of popular demands. On the contrary, military and railway expenditure has, year after year, gone on absorbing an increasing

proportion of the revenues. Anglo-Indian journalists and officials now invoke the *dead* Mr. G. K. Gokhale when it suits their purpose to do so, but the *living* Gokhale's endeavours were as unavailing as those of any other councillor. The reason why the councillors have all along failed in their efforts, is not that they are lacking in intelligence, industry or arguments, but that they have not got the voting majority.

It is not to be expected then that where so many able and devoted councillors have failed, any journalistic labours on our part will effect a breach in the walls of the bureaucratic citadel. So instead of any elaborate criticism of the Budget, we propose to jot down a few brief remarks.

In the financial statement for 1919-20, the total actual revenue was given as Rs 135½ crores, of which Rs 85½ crores have been spent for military purposes. That 63 per cent of the revenues should be spent for military purposes shows an abnormal state of things. This must mean the starving of production by means of agriculture and other industries, of education, of sanitation, &c., and must in the long run lead to financial bankruptcy. But it is not this that we intend mainly to say in this Note.

India is at present a phenomenally illiterate country and her educational expenditure is lower than that of any other civilised country, as the following figures of educational expenditure per head of the population of different countries, published by the New Zealand and India League, will show:

| | | | | |
|-------------------|----|-----------|----|---|
| The United States | 16 | Shillings | | |
| Switzerland | 13 | " | 8 | d |
| Austria | 11 | " | 3 | " |
| England and Wales | 10 | " | | |
| Canada | 9 | " | 9 | " |
| Scotland | 9 | " | 7½ | " |
| Germany | 6 | " | 10 | " |
| The Netherlands | 6 | " | 4½ | " |
| Sweden | 5 | " | 7 | " |
| Belgium | 5 | " | 4 | " |
| Norway | 5 | " | 1 | " |
| France | 4 | " | 10 | " |
| Austria | 3 | " | 1½ | " |
| Spain | 1 | " | 10 | " |
| Italy | 1 | " | 7½ | " |
| Japan | 1 | " | 2 | " |

| | |
|--------|------|
| Russia | 7½ d |
| India | 1 " |

Some other facts and figures published by the same League will be found instructive, as showing how low India's position is educationally

In England the first step towards making education compulsory was taken in 1870 by introducing what was called permissive compulsion. Ten years later the compulsion was made absolute. In 1871 43·3 per cent of the school-going population was under instruction, in 1876, 66 per cent and by 1892 every child that should have been at school was at school. The problem of mass education was solved in 12 years.

In Japan, before 1872 only 28 per cent of the school-going population was at school, and by 1900 nearly 90 per cent was under instruction. Turning to Russia, in 1880 only 1·2 per cent of the total population was at school (the percentage is, curiously, the same as in India in 1882). In 1906·7 the percentage had risen to 4·5 as against 1·9 in India. In the United States in 1910, 21 per cent of the whole population was receiving elementary education, in Canada, in Australia, in Switzerland, in Great Britain and Ireland, the percentage varied from 20 to 17. In Germany, in Austria-Hungary, in Norway and in the Netherlands the proportion was from 17 to 15 per cent. In France it was slightly above 14 per cent, in Sweden 14 per cent, in Denmark 13 per cent, in Belgium 12 per cent, in Japan 11 per cent, in Italy, Greece, and Spain from 8 to 9 per cent, in Portugal and Russia it was between 4 and 5 per cent, and in British India it was only 1·9 per cent.

The case of the Philippine Islands is interesting. The Philippines passed under the rule of America at the close of the last century. In 1903 nearly 2 per cent of the population was at school. In 1908 there was nearly 5 per cent at school. During the same period—period of phenomenal progress in Indian education as the officials there declare—the percentage rose from 1·6 to 1·9 per cent [3·26 in 1917–18 in India, and more than 10 per cent, in 1919 in Turkey—Ed, M R].

Why does India lag behind? Because Government does not spend sufficient money for the advancement of education on the pretext that there is no money in the public treasury. But even when, *quite unexpectedly*, money has to be found for military purposes, it can be found easily. The Budget Estimate for military expenditure in 1919-20 was Rs 64 crores in round numbers. But the actual military expenditure has been Rs 85½ crores. So Government had *unexpectedly* to find, not one or two rupees extra, but TWENTY-ONE

CRORES extra. And the money has been found. Why then cannot a similar additional amount be found, *not unexpectedly but by previous deliberation and effort*, for education? Let us see how far this sum may go in giving free primary education to our boys and girls.

It would be quite enough for the purposes of primary education if all boys and girls of the ages of from 5 to 10 had its benefits. Now, according to the census of 1911, there were in British India 3,42,14,162 boys and girls of the ages of 5 to 10. According to the official report on "Indian Education in 1917-18" published by the Bureau of Education in India, the average annual cost of educating each pupil in primary schools in British India is Rs 5-5-11. It would be easy now to work out the cost of giving primary education to all our children. Let us suppose their number now stands at 3,50,00,000 and the cost per head is Rs 5-8. The total expenditure would then be Rs 19¼ crores. This amount is less than the 21 crores which Government had *unexpectedly* to find for military purposes. We, therefore, *contend with absolute conviction that Government is and has always been in a position to give free primary education to all our children without any special fresh taxation for the purpose*.

We will support our position by some other facts and arguments. In the year 1884-85 the military expenditure was 16·96 crores of rupees. In 1919-20 it stood at 85·33 crores. It would require more credulity than any intelligent man possesses to believe that this huge fivefold increase has been absolutely necessary, or, if necessary, that these vast sums have been incurred solely or even mainly in the interests of India. It may be argued that military operations have now become vastly more scientific and expensive than before the war. Granted. But even in 1915-16 the expenditure was in round numbers 33 crores, in 1916-17 thirty-seven crores, and in 1917-18 forty-five crores. For the year 1920-21 some 60 crores have been budgeted for. So our military expenditure is now to stand much higher than even the average of the years of the great war.

And we are required to believe that however huge the military expenditure in any year, it was, is or will be indispensable, and could be and can be found, but that 19 crores of rupees for universal free primary education cannot be considered necessary and cannot be found by any means. This we absolutely refuse to believe.

Railway Expenditure & Educational Expenditure.

But, after all, it may be argued that order must be maintained in the country, and India and the Empire must be defended against foreign aggressors, and, therefore, military expenditure, however large, is urgent and indispensable. Well and good. But it can by no means be argued that railway expenditure is of similar urgency. Let us see how it has increased in the course of years.

In his Budget speech in 1907 Mr G. K. Gokhale said "Time was, not long ago, when the Government never thought of spending more than four or five crores a year on railways." For the year 1920-21, a sum of Rs. 31½ crores has been budgeted for. Thus in the current year Rs. 26 or 27 crores more would be spent than was spent per annum in the days referred to by Mr Gokhale. Even in the year 1907, he criticised the proposal to spend Rs. 13½ crores on railways thus "13½ crores is a very large amount to spend in any one year on railways." But now we shall be obliged to spend 18 crores more than even that large amount. And we have shown that only 19 crores would be quite sufficient to give free primary education to all our children. So, if instead of spending huge sums on railways, Government had desired to educate our children first, it would not have been impossible to fulfil that desire. It cannot be said that railways are a more urgent necessity for the physical, mental and moral welfare of the people than education. On the contrary, without education, no adequate progress in physical strength and health, material prosperity, culture, morals and spirituality is possible.

It is true, Railways are now a source

of income. But, if the bureaucrats had not in their shortsightedness and foolish selfishness been practically hostile to the spread of education of the right kind, if they had fostered its growth, the people would have by now become so prosperous that the state revenues would have gained more than from Railways. It should, moreover, be borne in mind that up to 1917-18 a capital of about 560 crores of rupees had been sunk in Railways, and that in 1896 the evidence before the Welby Commission showed that the deficit on the Railways of India amounted to 52 crores or about a crore a year. In 1909 Sir Dinshaw Wacha proved that the net earnings of the Railways were under one per cent (91 per cent), or, allowing for the annuities as repayment of capital, amounted to almost 1.20 per cent *after 60 years*. In the appendix to his remarkable paper on Indian Railway Finance he gives a table showing a net loss of 52 crores from 1848 to 1895, a gain of 11 crores from 1895 to 1910, or a total net loss of 41 crores to 1910. More gain has since then accrued, but most of it during the war by raising freights and passenger fares, reducing the number of trains and in other ways putting the public to serious loss and inconvenience.

The income from Railways is, moreover, very dearly bought, so far as the people are concerned. As Mr Gokhale said in the course of his budget speech in 1902

The English mercantile classes have been conciliated by undertaking the construction of Railways on an unprecedentedly large scale—programme following programme in breathless succession—sometimes in spite of the protests of the Finance Member—a policy which, whatever its advantages, has helped to destroy more and more the few struggling non-agricultural industries that the country possessed and throw a steadily increasing number on the single precarious resources of agriculture.

To which injurious effect of Railways should be added the spread of malaria, of which their alignment in disregard of natural drainage and the unfilled borrow-pits are a main cause.

Military Expenditures of Japan and India.

The Finance Member said in the course

of his financial statement that "Japan has made a provision for its military expenditure in 1920 which is more than three times that of 1918" The drift of his argument is plain But he should have informed the Council, by how much Japan's estimated revenues for 1920 exceeded the revenues of 1918, and what fraction the military expenditure of 1920 is of the total revenue India has no navy, and her military expenditure is practically entirely for the army and this expenditure would be in 1920-21 forty-three per cent of her total revenues What we should like to know is, whether Japan's expenditure *on her army alone* in 1920 is 43 per cent of her total revenues We presume not We showed in our last year's April issue that in 1918-19 Japan's expenditure *for her army alone* was 15.9 per cent of her total revenues, that her expenditure in that year for both army and navy was 36.7 per cent of her total revenues, but that India's expenditure for her army alone in that year was 51.5 of her total revenues

The Finance Member ought also to have mentioned the amounts of Japan's army and navy expenditure separately in 1920 In 1918-19 she spent about 40 crores of rupees for both army and navy, the expenditure for her army alone being about Rs 17,20,00,000, whereas in that year India spent for her army alone Rs 66 crores

Other differences should also be pointed out Japan's military expenditure enables her to maintain her independence and to hold her head up everywhere in the world India's military expenditure enables the British people to keep Indians in subjection (which is different from the comparatively more honourable and desirable kind of "British connection" spoken of in the Royal Proclamation by His Majesty King George V) and prevent foreign peoples from invading India, and this subjection makes every free country look down upon Indians, leading America and the British Dominions to pass Exclusion Laws against them Japan's navy is a means of maintaining her independence and protects and helps in spreading her

commerce India has nothing similar to show, her overseas trade being in foreign hands and most of the big industrial concerns in the land being owned and managed by foreigners Every yen (= Re 1-8) that Japan spends for her army and navy, in salaries, equipment, munitions, &c, goes to some Japanese pocket or other the larger part of the military expenditure of India goes to fill foreign pockets The experience gained by Japan's military and naval officers remains in the country for her service the experience gained by India's military officers, who are Europeans, goes to add to the power and greatness of Great Britain

If the army in India were Indianised, she could have for her money a larger and a more efficient army, or she could have as large and efficient an army as now for much less money than she has to spend at present And in that case her military expenditure would also make her people more rich in money, experience and the world's respect

The Finance Member has cited the precedent of Japan simply to support the *increase* of India's military expenditure Would he agree to learn economy, too, from that country? The highest salary paid in Japan, namely, that paid to the Prime Minister, is Rs 18,000 per annum, the highest salary and allowance combined paid to any of her officers abroad is paid to her ambassadors in Great Britain, U S A, and France, and that is Rs 54,000 per annum We learn from the Government of India Civil Budget Estimate for the year 1919-20, p 41, that the salary of the Governor-General was Rs 250800, sumptuary allowance Rs 21000 and tour expenses Rs 261000 The highest salary paid to any general in Japan is Rs 11250 per annum, in India the Commander-in-Chief gets Rs 100,000 per annum

Does our Government exist to emulate Japan only in increasing army expenditure? Did it ever or does it even now cherish the ambition of rivalling Japan's educational achievement? Did it ever or does it even now think of doing as much for the country's agriculture, manufacturing industries, commerce, and sanitation, as the

Japanese government has already achieved in the spheres of Japanese agriculture, manufactures, commerce and sanitation ?

Do not take the name of Japan in vain

The Afghan and N. W. Frontier Wars.

In explaining why military expenditure in 1919-20 exceeded the budget allotment of 64 crores by 21 crores, the Finance Member said "The Afghan war has involved us in a heavy deficit" He also said

"The peace, which for a generation has existed on our borders, has been broken, and the armies of India have returned from France, Mesopotamia and Palestine only to find laid upon them the further task of defending the soil of India from a threatened invasion from Afghanistan. That peril averted, they have had to face a prolonged campaign, and in the most arduous conditions, in reducing the Mahsud and Waziri tribes."

What were the causes of the "threatened invasion from Afghanistan?" The Afghan version was that the Amir had heard of revolutionary and rebellious movements in the Panjab, and, in order to prevent the spread of revolutionary propaganda across the border into his territory, was manœuvring his troops; this was mistaken by the British Government for an intended invasion. The British version was that the Afghan troops were really aggressors who were coming to invade India. If the Afghan version were accepted as true, the Afghan military movements were due to the reports of the rebellion in the Panjab, spread by among others the British officials and journalists themselves. If the British version were accepted as true, the Afghans had the serious intention of invading India. But the Afghans, though not scientifically civilised like the British, are not fools. Why should they, a small nation with not much material resources, seek to provoke a quarrel with the British people, now the most powerful in the world? Even Bolshevik intrigues, if there were such, could not possibly have deceived them into believing that a successful invasion of India would be an easy task. If they seriously intended to invade India, it must have been because they believed

the British reports of a rebellious Panjab and India and expected help from the Panjabis and other Indians. So, here again, it is the reported rebellion in the Panjab which was one of the indirect causes of the threatened invasion from Afghanistan. Supposing there was really a rebellion in the extra-loyal Panjab of the recent war-period, was not the Panjab administration to blame in the least? But if there was no rebellion, why were reports of a rebellion spread? So, either the Panjab rulers ought to have so acted as to be able to keep their extra-loyal Panjab loyal when the great war was over, and then there would not have been a rebellion to tempt the Afghans into an invasion, or, the British officials and journalists ought not to have spread false reports of rebellion, having the effect of misleading the Afghans into cherishing hopes of receiving help from the Indians in case they invaded India. If the British official and non-official sojourners in India really believed that there was a rebellion, it was because they knew that the people were discontented. If the people had been contented, there would not have been any rebellion or a wrong belief that there was a rebellion. Discontent produced either a rebellion, or a belief that there was a rebellion and report in accordance therewith, and the former or the latter tempted the Afghans to invade India. And it was misgovernment which produced discontent. So, it is clear that the remedy for threatened invasions is not merely the increase of military expenditure, but such good government as would make the people contented. The Persian sage Saadi was not wrong when he wrote —

"Ba rayat sulh kun wa'z jang i khasm

aiman nishin,

Z'anki shahinshah-i-adil-ra rayat laskar ast"

"Be on friendly terms with thy subjects, and rest easy about the warfare of thine enemies, for to an upright prince his people is an army"

It is quite easy to be on friendly terms with the Indians,—they are so easily satisfied and lawabiding. Educate them, teach and help them to produce more food and manufacture their own raw

materials, teach and help them to make their villages and towns healthy, and give them the rights of citizens, and they will be contented

The Afghans and frontier and trans-frontier men who come to India for trade and usury find vast numbers of Indians weak, sickly, timid and without arms. That gives indirect encouragement to turbulent men to indulge in raids. The imposing array of British officers and British privates in the Indian army and "the provision of ice plants, electric fans and lights" for them, which Mr Hailey spoke of, also tells foreigners either that the Indians are incapable of defending their country without the leadership and help of foreigners or that there is mutual distrust between them and the Britishers. So whichever supposition be true, foreign foes may be encouraged to invade India whenever they think the circumstances are favorable for the purpose. For the defence of India it is, therefore, necessary that the Indians should be contented, well-fed, armed, and free from subjection to such laws as are calculated to emasculate them and cow them down and make them cowards.

For more than a generation the N-W frontier tribes have been occasionally raiding India. It has seemed to us a mystery why the British power which has humbled mighty Germany to the dust has not been able to bring the small frontier tribes permanently to their senses, or to subdue them. They dwell in a difficult mountainous country, no doubt. But the British people have been successful in military expeditions even in more difficult regions. And Western nations have not hesitated even to practically exterminate very troublesome foes. It may be supposed that the border tracts have been kept as a sort of training ground for the army, but that would be considered a rather wild guess unsupported by facts. In any case, an explanation is needed which will convince lay men why the border tribes cannot be made to refrain permanently from troubling India.

Sir J C. Bose.

From the news published first by the *Englishman* and then by the *Bengalee*, it

seems, the Fellows of the Royal Society have at last proved that heterodoxy in science is not an unpardonable offence in their eyes, for they have, it appears, at length agreed to elect to be one of themselves Sir J C Bose, who has by his work in biology revolutionised the outlook of that science and shattered many of the long-standing pet theories of orthodox physiologists. We congratulate the Fellows on their conversion to the faith that is in Sir J C Bose, and congratulate our illustrious countryman on his success in being able to bring round the eminent scientists of Great Britain to his views. Had Prof Bose continued to be an original researcher only in physics, which he at first was, he would long ago have been elected an F R S. But in the course of his physical investigations, he came upon the track of sweeping biological generalisations which had an irresistible fascination for the synthetic and monistic Indian mind. So he had to bid goodbye to his already great work in physics which might have been greater still in course of years, and devote himself to biology. His work in this province upset some previously received theories and created antagonism. It took him years to convert his critics and antagonists. He has now triumphed, and as a former humble pupil of the great scientist the editor of this journal offers him obeisance.

India has stood for unity from time immemorial. Her scientist has worked to establish the underlying unity of the sciences and of natural phenomena in the vegetable and animal kingdoms and the world of the non-living. He has achieved success, in his success the unifying genius of India has triumphed, and we, her children, are happy.

Prof. J. C. Bose at Leeds.

Prof Bose has been very warmly received wherever he has lectured in England. It was to be expected, therefore, that his lecture before Leeds University would be a very great success, which it was, and the audience gave him an ovation. Sir Michael Sadler, the Vice-chancellor, spoke for a quarter of an

hour in most glowing terms of the Bose Institute—how it was most beautiful artistically, how it was arranged for carrying out the highest research, how a new departure had been made there for real pursuit of knowledge and not the soul-killing examination system of examining universities, and how the work carried out there brought the intellectual world nearer and nearer. He spoke very eloquently about Prof Bose's services towards intellectual advancement, and also about Lady Bose's work for the advancement of her sex.

Congress Commission's Report on Punjab Disorders.

The Commissioners appointed by the Punjab Sub-committee of the Indian National Congress to inquire into the Punjab disorders have submitted their report, and it has been published. *The Bombay Chronicle* has published in the form of a supplement a fuller summary than any other that we have seen. The Report is signed by Messrs M K Gandhi, C. R. Das, Abbas S Tyabji, and M R Jayakar. They are all trained lawyers. The secretary, Mr K. Santanam, is also a barrister-at-law. The two other members of the Commission, who also worked hard and at great sacrifice up to a certain stage when they were called away from this duty by other urgent public work, were Pandits Madan Mohan Malaviya and Moti Lal Nehru, both trained lawyers. The method adopted by the Commission was such as would be approved by the highest jurists. The tone of the Report is judicial, dispassionate and dignified. The recommendations, which are all entitled to full public support, far from being vindictive, in most cases rather err on the side of moderation and leniency. The whole of India and civilised humanity have been placed under a heavy debt of gratitude by the self-sacrificing labours of the Commission.

The publication of the Congress Commission's Report before that of the Hunter Committee's Report is a distinct gain, for which both the Commissioners and those entrusted with the onerous work of printing and publishing the Report, are entitled to additional thanks.

There is no doubt the Report has been already sent abroad to make its contents available to the civilised world outside India.

A National Week.

The second week of the current month, when last year the awful Panjab tragedies took place, is to be observed with befitting solemnity and collections are to be made for the Jallianwala Bagh memorial. It should be enough to note the fact and call attention to it.

The following telegram has been sent to the Secretaries of all Provincial Congress Committees.

"Kindly arrange your province, all districts, tahsils, village collection, funds, Jallianwala National Week 6th to 13th April memorial, Amritsar per Gandhiji's appeal. Ten lakhs required, time short, earnest urgent efforts needed. Organise reliable, influential, collection committees, fix fee meetings, 6th, 12th, and 13th April. Arrange collect funds daily door to door. Request Press all over country both English and vernacular to co-operate and assist in every way."

Report of Social Service Exhibition.

During the Easter holidays in 1918, a Social Service Exhibition was held in Calcutta. This was the first exhibition of its kind in Bengal and, if we are not mistaken, in India, too. It roused such interest and proved so instructive that it was kept open for a week longer than was originally arranged. It was organised by Dr D N. Maitra and Mr Sammon. The Report is now in our hands. We have not seen a better got-up and more strikingly artistic report. Those who had not the good fortune to see the exhibition will, on reading the report, regret that they had not seen it, and will look forward to a repetition of it, keeping the Report as the best available substitute. Those who saw the exhibition will have their memory of it refreshed by the report. A perusal of it is somewhat of an education in social service. It contains 32 well-executed illustrations printed on art paper. We are thankful to Dr D N. Maitra, the ever resourceful and indefatigable honorary secretary of the Bengal Social Service League for a copy. Copies may be obtained from Chucker-

burtt, Chatterji & Co., College Street, Dr D N Maitra, Mayo Hospital, Mr J Niyogi, 82, Harrison Road, and Mr N K Bose, 63, Amherst Street, Calcutta. The price is not stated.

Health and Child Welfare Exhibition.

The Health and Child Welfare Exhibition, which was opened in the Town Hall, Calcutta, on the 27th ultimo by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal and is to remain open till the 4th instant, is very interesting and instructive. Those who will see the exhibits intelligently and hear the lectures with understanding will certainly be greatly benefited and will be the better fitted to discharge the duties of parents, householders, good neighbors and citizens. Mothers and wives and daughters, and grandmothers, too, ought to make it a point to see the exhibits.

The preservation of health depends on two conditions, (1) the ability to procure sufficient and good clothing, sufficient and nourishing food and sufficient and healthy house accommodation. (2) knowledge of the laws of health. Those who have sufficient means to live healthily cannot do so if they do not know the rules of hygiene and sanitation, and those who have such knowledge cannot lead healthy lives if they are not in a pecuniary position to do so. (We take it for granted, of course, that the rural and urban areas are kept in a sanitary condition by the proper parties.) While this is generally true, it may be said that provided a man has sufficient means he instinctively and naturally observes some of the rules of health; the observance of others depends on education. While, therefore, we believe that without a distinct improvement in the material condition of the people and without the spread of general education, particularly among women, there cannot be any great improvement in the health of the people and any great decrease in infant mortality, we fully appreciate the educative value and awakening effect of health and child welfare exhibitions. Their projectors are entitled to the sincere thanks of the public.

Famine in Puri District.

Puri is a sacred city to all Hindus,

wherever they may dwell in India or abroad. This city and its surrounding district are in the grip of a terrible famine, to which adequate public attention has not yet been drawn. The Honble Mr Gopabandhu Das has made strenuous efforts in the Behar and Orissa Legislative Council to obtain sufficient relief for his people, but his efforts have not been successful to any desirable extent. The following extracts from letters, written by a correspondent and by Mr L N Sahu of the Servants of India Society and reproduced here from the *Searchlight* of Bankipur, will give some idea of the famine —

(1)

We left Puri to see the famine-affected parts on the 11th instant at night. We reached Dovar, some 16 miles off from Puri, with Mr L N Sahu the next day. On the following morning we went round the village and recorded the condition of the famine-stricken people by personally going to their respective houses. We had finished the enquiry at Dovar by noon and so went to some other four villages and saw with our own eyes the sad condition of the villages. There it was our sad experience that family life is not to be seen anywhere in the affected parts. Husbands have left their wives and children. Some families have left their village and home altogether. Children were seen with sunken eyes reduced to a skeleton and about to die in a few days. Even a dog's appetite will not be appeased by their corpses. Women have no proper clothes on their persons. They feel shame in coming up before a stranger but still they do so in the hope that their sufferings may be alleviated by the sympathy of the strangers. Not a particle of any grain or salt is to be found in any home. No family has any metal plate or a mat to sit or sleep on. Out of the five villages that we visited we found only one or two families who have one or two bullocks. A pice given to them is as much valuable as a crore of rupees or even more than their own life. It is indeed astonishing to find that the Government are apathetic towards any prompt measure being taken to relieve the distress which is daily becoming worse. In one village we found that there are eleven women while there is only one male and others have fled away. We were really taken aback when we heard that the Commissioner has said to some of the respectable men of Puri and Cuttack that there is no such distress and that he has seen women with gold ornaments. We really doubt very much if poor women can afford to have gold ornaments when no proper clothing is on their body. We are told further that the Commissioner went to see the affected areas.

simply by the 'Royal Road', as we may put it, and did not go into the interior, nor did he care to send even any responsible officer. It is no use adopting any hostile attitude where the conditions are so bad and appalling.

We hope the Government will be sensible enough to change its attitude and at the same time the people of Behar will realise the gravity of the situation by contributing to the famine relief of Puri their mites. It is needless to add that the conditions described are really no exaggeration. Subscriptions may be sent to—

L. N. Sahu, member,
Servants of India Society, Puri

(2)

Mr L. N. Sahu of the Servants of India Society writes —

Crops have failed, cattle have been sold, food has been lacking, money is not to be had of anywhere. Such is the situation in many villages of Puri. Rice—coarse, inferior quality of rice, is selling at 3 and 3½ seers a rupee (100—105 tolas here). Generally the people on this side of India are the poorest, humblest and most illiterate, hence most ignorant and most innocent. It is on account of these things that they have not been able to place their grievance before the country. They have been thus suffering for over a year. Now the situation has come to such a pass that unless proper measures are adopted in right earnest, I am afraid, many will perish.

Summer has already set in. Cholera will visit and work severe havoc. In view of such pitiable circumstances of the poor villagers I appeal to the public to help these poor people of Puri by contributing their mite at no distant date.

Rice and cloth are the two things required. Help should be sent to Babu Jagabandhu Singh, President, Famine Enquiry Committee, Puri.

When we were in Puri in October last we saw much distress there. We have not the least doubt that the poor people of the district, and they form the majority, are now in a desperate condition. Good use will be made of the contributions sent to any of the two gentlemen named in the two letters. The saving of human life comes before every other duty. We, therefore, strongly appeal to rich and poor alike to contribute as largely as they can. *This should be done immediately.* Orissa not being a predominant partner in any of the four provinces where its people dwell, their existence is easily forgotten by Government and the public alike. It ought not to be so.

Darbhanga's Big Donation for a Medical College

Plague- and malaria-stricken Bihar stands greatly in need of a medical college. The Maharaja of Darbhanga's donation of five lakhs of rupees will go a great way to remove the want. All Biharis and other Indians should feel grateful to him for this act of enlightened munificence.

Srimati Radhika Sinha's Benefactions.

Srimati Radhika Sinha, wife of Mr Sachidananda Sinha, left by her will a large sum for educational endowments. In pursuance of her will Mr Sinha has given Rs 50,000 to the Kayastha Pathasala of Allahabad and Rs 50,000 to the Panjab University Patna to receive a large sum for a public library. May the good lady's generous example be largely followed by other wealthy persons of her sex.

Munificence of the Maharani and Maharaja of Sonapur

We are glad to learn from the *Behar Herald* that

The Maharani Sahiba of the Sonapur State in Orissa has offered a handsome donation of Rs 50,000 for the opening of M. A. Classes in the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, with effect from the ensuing session. This institution keenly felt the want of M. A. classes and the pupils of Orissa had to experience difficulty for their Post-Graduate education in Arts.

Besides this, the Maharaja Sahib has made an annual grant of Rs 1800, being the interest of Government Promissory Notes of the value of Rs 52,000 for a lectureship in University College, Calcutta, to teach Oriya pupils of the M. A. Class subsidiary Oriya literature. We understand that the Maharaja Sahib has not only made an annual grant to Calcutta University but also compiled and published a suitable selection from Oriya literature for the M. A. Class which has recently been sanctioned by the University authority.

The Craving for Sensations, and Vital National Functions.

In recent times, particularly from the last year, we have had a series of sensational events over which we had no control. Movements and agitation had to be started which were not quite unnecessary and some of which were indeed very necessary, and all these created a sensation. It is to be hoped that all these sensational occurrences and movements accompanied by sensation will not make us forget that, like the indispensably necessary vital functions of the individual

the vital functions of society are of a humdrum non-sensational character. We have to produce food and other necessities of life, we have to keep our homes, villages and towns healthy, we have to educate our children and ourselves, we have to contribute our quota to the world's literature, art, philosophy and science—in one word, to the world's culture, we have to meditate calmly on our destiny and prepare ourselves for it and spiritualise all our thoughts and activities in life. None of these duties are of a sensational character. On the contrary, the craving for sensation, like the craving for intoxicants, is sure to stand in the way of a proper discharge of these duties. Let us by all means take part in all necessary movements even if they be accompanied by some temporary excitement, but let us under all circumstances take the utmost care to bear in mind that the holding of big meetings and big processions and organising other sensational things, though necessary under certain circumstances, are not a substitute for the various kinds of thought and activity without which a people cannot live its full life and grow.

Excise Revenue.

It is found from the budgets of many provinces that the revenue obtained mostly from the consumption of liquor forms a very big item in their income. This is a very regrettable fact in a country where drinking is prohibited by the two most prevalent forms of religion and where it has no social sanction and is looked down upon by the majority. This blot on our good name must be wiped out. Excise is to be a transferred subject. The ministers who are to have charge of excise must make up their minds for the policy of prohibition. The question is, from what other sources an equal amount of revenue can be obtained? The solutions may be different for different provinces or may be the same for certain provinces. They should be suggested and discussed from now.

Educational Policy of Government.

That Government has an educational policy is certain, but what it is, it would be difficult to define briefly in a self-consistent manner. The authorities have not yet been able to found or encourage institutions in British India for higher technological training—there is no money for them. But it would be a mistake

to imagine that there is no money at all to be found for new educational ventures of any sort. For instance, there is going to be a new University at Dacca, involving a capital expenditure alone of 62 lakhs, and then there are to be other Universities at Rangoon, Nagpur, Lucknow, Agra, &c, all of which must be given help from the public purse. We are not arguing against the foundation of new Universities, particularly in provinces which have not got any, but we are curious to know why there is no money to establish or help a higher technological institution in any British-ruled province, whereas there is no official opposition to—but on the contrary, there is official encouragement of—endeavours to establish Universities teaching literary subjects and theoretical science, even in provinces which have one or two of them. Is what is called a "liberal education" a greater and more urgent necessity everywhere in British India than vocational education? Is technology required nowhere?

Then, as regards the establishment of new Universities, too, there is a peculiarity to be noted. In Bengal there is a University, and another is going to be established in addition to it. In the U P there are two Universities, and there are three more to be established at Aligarh, Lucknow, and Agra. But in the Andhra-desa, the Telugu-speaking tract, of which the language, culture and traditions are different from those of the Tamil-speaking regions, no new University is to be established, though there is a demand for it. Again, Orissa has a culture, history, traditions and language different from those of any of the other provinces contiguous to it. Yet no attempt has been or is intended to be made to make it educationally self-contained. Nagpur and Rangoon require separate Universities and should have them. Lucknow and Agra would be well-advised to spend their energies and pecuniary resources, not on new Universities, but for higher technological institutions.

Lord Meston's "Non-Brahman" Award

We have always been against communal representation. But as the "Non-Brahmans" of Madras must have it, the number of seats reserved for them by Lord Meston appears to us quite sufficient to give them a fair start for enabling them to "protect" what they consider their separate interests. If the number

of seats reserved for them had been exactly proportionate to their numerical strength among the general population, there would have been no incentive left for them to exert themselves to increase their intelligence and their influence in the Presidency

Franchise for Graduates.

Graduates of at least seven years' standing are to have the vote. An illiterate man of 21 paying the required amount of tax can have the vote but not a graduate of 21 years of age. Why is the former considered a more intelligent and responsible person than the latter? If the rule had been that "there is to be no representation without taxation," we could understand the principle. Its meaning would be that the man who does not pay for the upkeep of the administrative machinery has no right to exercise any direct or indirect control over it, that for the possession and exercise of civic rights not brains but property, as evidenced by the payment of taxes, is required. But as a graduate of seven years' standing, say 27 years old, who does not pay any tax, may have the vote, it appears that the possession of property is not a *sine qua non*. We, therefore, ask, why is an illiterate man of some property, aged 21, to have a right which a graduate of 21 paying no taxes must not have? It may be the authorities want not to appear absolutely inimical to education, but at the same time they want to keep down the number of educated and intelligent voters as much as they can with some decency.

Indian Olympic Association.

We welcome the formation of an Indian Olympic Association. Its general secretary is Mr. S. R. Bhagwat. Its official address is, Deccan Gymkhana, Poona City. The Secretary of State for India has informed the Association that there would be no difficulty in securing India's participation in the International Olympic Games to be held at Antwerp, Belgium, in August this year, and that, therefore, preparations may be proceeded with. A representative body of Indian athletes should be selected, trained and sent to Antwerp in time. For this, money, among other things, is required. It is the duty of Indians to assist the Association by becoming its members and in other ways. The minimum contribution is one rupee. Sportsmen and athletes and others interested should

communicate with Mr. Bhagwat for information regarding the preliminary sports to be held in Poona for selection purposes.

The All-India Wrestling Tournament.

A shield worth Rs. 500 is offered to the best Indian Wrestler. Those who wish to compete for the same are requested to apply to the Hon. Secretary, The All-India Wrestling Tournament, No. 5, Lafount Street, Mount Road, Madras. A very keen interprovincial contest is expected. Names should be registered before the 15th April. For the purpose of preventing any unnecessary rush a small fee of Rs. 5 is fixed. The Tournament will be held in Madras, S. I. A. A. Grounds, the exact date etc., of which will be announced later. Further particulars may be had from the Hon. Secretary.

Bengal Agricultural Board

Speaking at the inaugural meeting of the newly established Board of the Bengal Agricultural Department, His Excellency the Governor of Bengal observed that it seemed to him desirable to review briefly the policy being pursued in the matter of agriculture and the results so far achieved, "because I doubt if any department of Government has been the subject of more uninstructed criticism than has been the department of agriculture." The complaint is not unfounded. We ourselves feel that we were, on account of our ignorance, somewhat unfair to the Agricultural Department in some of our criticisms in our last issue, for which we feel sorry. The policy of the agricultural departments was there described by the Governor.

Briefly, then, our policy has been directed firstly towards the discovery and production of improved varieties of seed and secondly, towards the creation of machinery for its wide distribution, or to put it more concisely still, to "research followed by demonstration."

As regards research, it was said —

Research work has now been in progress at the Government farm at Dacca for a number of years past and this branch of our policy is firmly established. It has already been productive of remarkable results. Our scientists naturally devoted their attention first of all to the two staple crops of Bengal, rice and jute.

Some results of research work are quoted below —

"One of the greatest rice producing tracts in the world extending over an area of more than twenty million acres lies round the head of the Bay of Bengal. Seventy per cent. of the total cultivated area in Bengal is in fact, under rice. Here then was a splendid field for investigation, and the scientists took full advantage of it. By a process of selection Mr. Hector, who was until recently the economic botanist at Dacca, has

produced two varieties of rice both of which have a yield largely in excess of the average yield of the varieties ordinarily grown in Bengal. The first of these known as Indrasail is a transplanted "Aman" and in Eastern and Northern Bengal yields about three maunds an acre more than the average of the local varieties. The second known as Katakara is an "Aus" paddy. The success of these two seeds is proved by the demand for them which exists among the cultivators. I have seen it stated from time to time that the demand is great because the seed is given away—an indication that there are still uninstructed persons among our critics. Had they taken the trouble to ascertain the facts, instead of jumping recklessly to groundless conclusions, they would have known that the rules lay down that no attempt is to be made to under-sell the market and that the seed is, therefore, sold at commercial rates. The following facts will perhaps be of interest to them. These two varieties were grown last year on a quarter of a million acres with the result that the food supply was increased by something like $7\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of maunds of grain worth 30 lacs of rupees. There is every reason to expect that the area of distribution and the consequent increase in yield will be added to steadily year by year, and there is an eventual prospect, as a result of the policy which we have adopted, of the food supply for rice in Bengal being increased by 6 crores of maunds of paddy worth, at present prices, 24 crores of rupees. A similar story can be told of jute. The variety known as Kakya Bombai which has been produced at the farm at Dacca by a process of selection, yields on the average about 2 maunds of fibre more per acre than the average local races, and the demand for the seed of this variety already outstrips the supply. In 1918-19 this selected jute was grown on an area of 1,00,000 acres and the increased yield of fibre on this area is estimated to have been 250,000 maunds, worth Rs 2,000,000. The type of jute most suitable to Western Bengal is now under investigation, and there seems to be no reason why the eventual increase should not amount to 5,000,000 maunds of fibre, worth probably 4 crores of rupees."

Administration of Travancore.

The address of the Dewan of Travancore to the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly is an instructive and interesting document. The machinery organised in Travancore to deal with the economic situation created by the war appears to have worked satisfactorily. "Mr T. E. Moir, Director of Civil Supplies, Madras, who inspected one of our rice-distributing centres in August 1918, wrote: 'This was a model of what such a centre ought to be.' The increase of revenue is to be appreciated, but not under the head "Excise". Every Indian State should deliberately move towards the goal of prohibition. The development of forests is encouraging. Regarding the Legislative Council we read:

The constitution of the Legislative Council which was created by His Highness the Maha Raja in 1063,

has been recently revised by Regulation I of 1095. The maximum strength of the Council has been raised from 15 to 25, and for the time being it has been fixed at 24, 13 of the members being officials and 11 non-officials. 8 out of these 11 seats are thrown open for election, 4 by the general electorate, one by the Jemmies, who form an important section of the land-owning class, one by the planting community, which has acquired considerable vested interests in the country, one by the merchants, traders and factory owners, and one by the non-official members of Town Improvement Committees. All adult persons, including women, have a place in the general electorate, the only qualification being the payment of an annual land revenue of not less than Rs 25 or the possession of an annual income of not less than Rs 2,000. All graduates of a recognised University, of not less than ten years' standing and having not less than five years' residence in the State, are also qualified to be voters. The three remaining non-official seats have been reserved by the Government for safeguarding the interests of unrepresented minorities. The rights of interpellation and budget discussion have been conferred upon the Council.

That all adult persons, *irrespective of sex*, can have a place in the general electorate on fulfilling certain conditions, is a commendable provision. But the property qualification is too high and cannot but unduly limit the number of voters. In making graduates of not less than ten years' standing eligible, Travancore has been more illiberal than even British India. The non-official element in the Council should be in a decided majority, not in the minority, as at present.

In the section devoted to Industries, we note with pleasure all that has been said about the industrial survey of Travancore, the sending of 4 scholars to Europe for training, experiments in the extraction of shellac, the opening of an apiculture class with the promise of a grant for the purchase of a complete set of apparatus to every successful pupil, an industrial exhibition, arrangements for the opening of depots for the development of the bamboo, screw-pine and weaving industries, schemes for the establishment of a pencil factory and a match factory, the investigation of the possibilities of the paper pulp industry, the establishment of an industrial museum and bureau, &c.

With a view to overcome the difficulty of securing tonnage for the sea-borne trade of Travancore, it was deemed desirable to revive the *indigenous industry of ship-building*, and concessions were granted in the matter of timber and site to intending ship-builders. These concessions were availed of by Messrs. Darragh Smail and Co., Ltd., Alleppy, and the Commercial Union, Ltd., Quilon, for the construction of two *pattamars* and two schooners respectively. One of the *pattamars*, 'Lakshmi Pasha' has already been

launched at Alleppy, while the other vessels are nearing completion.

We hope bigger vessels also will be built

Six municipal towns are now under non-official administration, their presidents being non-official. We hope all municipal towns will have the right at no distant date

Certain medical and sanitary improvements, such as the sanctioning of the establishment of a bacteriological laboratory, are noted. Qualified physicians and surgeons are so small in number in India that progressive States like Travancore should have medical colleges of their own. And speaking of colleges, we may say that there should be institutions for teaching forestry, different kinds of engineering, technology, &c. It is said, "the department of Ayurveda is becoming increasingly popular." That is all the greater reason why its theories, methods, means, and medicines should be scientifically tested.

The progress of high education among women in Travancore is very encouraging

and must put the people of British India to shame. Travancore contains a female population of some 17 lakhs, out of whom 130 were attending colleges during the year under report. This is a small number, but proportionally greater than the corresponding figure for British India. The female population of British India exceeds 11 crores and 90 lakhs. Hence if British India were as advanced in the higher education of women as Travancore is, 9100 women in British India should be attending colleges, instead of which the number of female scholars on the 31st March, 1918, in British India, attending Arts, Medicine and Teaching Colleges, was 1109, according to the official report on "Indian Education in 1917-18" published by the Indian Bureau of Education, p. 36.

We are glad to learn that "there was no complaint on the score of the non-admission of pupils belonging to the depressed classes in public schools."

ERRATA.

In *Indian Nationality and Hindustani* by Mr. Syama Charan Ganguli, which appeared in the February number, out of many misprints the following are the most serious —

Errata

सुख

सुरज

chirag-h
nashihat
rawwab

Corrections.

सुख

सुरज

chiragh
nashihat.
khwab.

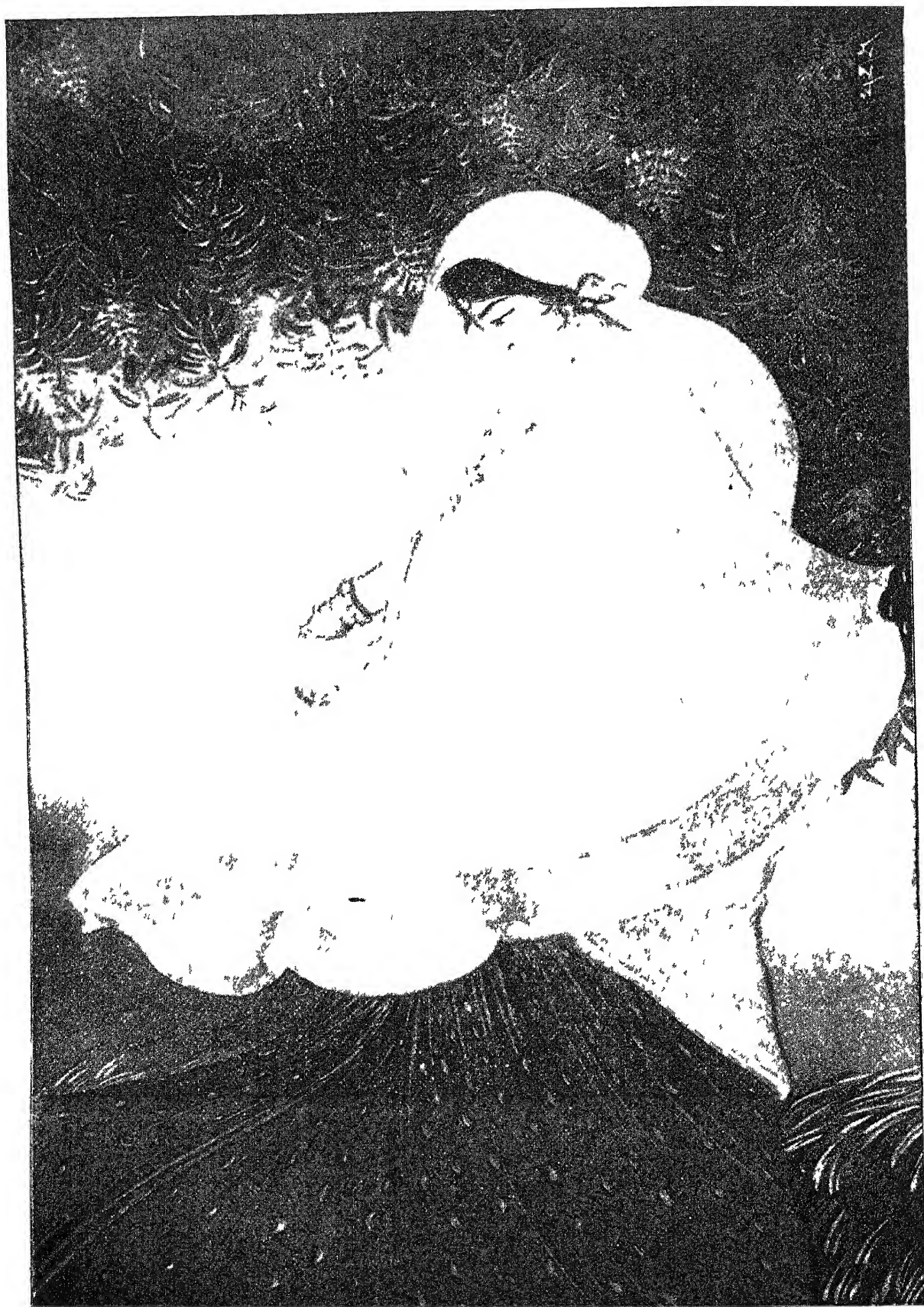
In *The Question of an Andhra University* by Mr. M. Virabhadra Rao, appearing in the March number, on page 308, l. 19 —

For 19th century read 12th century.

In *The Ram of Ganore*, (February number, p. 142)

A line dropped out just above the last line, which was —

She plunged into the rushing stream below.



THE CALL OF THE CUCKOO

By the courtesy of the artist Mr Samarendranath Gupta

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WHOLE
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THE LEAGUE TO ABOLISH WAR

By ST NIHAL SINGH

A STRONG propaganda has been initiated in London for the development of the League of Nations, which has been in being for some time with provisional offices in the capital of the British Empire, and with a British diplomatist (Sir Eric Drummond) at the head of the permanent secretariat. Since the United States of America has not yet ratified the Peace Treaty, of which, at the special insistence of President Wilson, the Covenant of the League forms an integral part, the seat allotted to the New World in the Council of the League remains vacant. As none of the neutrals, much less any of the former enemies, have so far been admitted, that body is at present composed of official representatives of the four principal Allied nations—Britain, France, Italy, and Japan. The Assembly of the League provided by the Covenant has not yet met, though the Labour Conference projected therein held its first session in Washington, D C, before the League itself was formally inaugurated in Paris, and in spite of the fact that the United States, owing to the attitude taken by Congress, could not participate in it nor contribute towards its expenditure.

A dual effort is being made to develop the League of Nations, first to provide it with an adequate and immediately mobilisable international police force to be used against any aggressor nation, and second, to compel all nations, great or small, simultaneously to reduce their armaments so that while sufficient for purposes of maintaining, and even restoring, internal order, they would cease

to be a menace to any other nation. The two proposals are really interlinked, for not unless a nation feels secure against aggression is it likely to permit its national forces to be reduced to purely police strength, and, therefore, it is necessary that the League of Nations should be able to back up its authority without loss of time in case any nation, no matter how powerful, should prove recalcitrant.

The campaign to develop the League of Nations in these directions is being carried on by the League to Abolish War, which must not be confused with either the League of Nations, or the League of Nations Union—another unofficial British organisation, or the League to Enforce Peace—an American body. The League to Abolish War was established in 1916, though its original programme had been launched a year earlier at the Bournemouth Settlement founded and maintained in South London by Mr F Herbert Stead, M A, one of the surviving brothers of Mr W T Stead and his former colleague on the Review of Reviews and associate in all peace and social matters.

The original programme of the League to Abolish War comprised seven demands, namely

- 1 That as soon as the war was ended a Third Hague Conference should be convened,
- 2 That the most responsible statesmen in every nation should be sent as delegates,
- 3 That the Conference should secure the abolition of war by
- 4 (a) Binding all Powers in a solemn

agreement to submit all disputes, without exception, not otherwise settled, to the arbitrament of the Hague Tribunal,

5 (b) Affixing the penalty of economic boycott to any refractory Power, with coercion by armed force as the last resort. These measures to be applied

(1) By concerted action of the Powers, or

6 (2) By enrolling an International Police, Naval and Military, and

7 By the obligatory disarmament of all the nations, leaving only force enough in each for purely police purposes

I do not know whether or not the Peace Conference that met in Versailles shortly after the Armistice was signed in November, 1918, considered these demands. If it did, it rejected many of them without giving any satisfactory reason for doing so.

The decision to set up an entirely new world organisation, styled the League of Nations, was arrived at by the Peace Conference although it knew that that decision would break the historic continuity of the movement to abolish war and to unite the various members of the human race. The establishment of a new body opened up an endless discussion as to where it should have its home, and as to what nations should be admitted to it and under what conditions.

On the contrary, if the demands of the League to Abolish War had been met, not only would the historic continuity have been preserved, but no questions about the capital or about membership would have arisen. At the Hague stood the Peace Palace, to the building of which almost every nation of the world had contributed, and at which every nation had its place. Mr. Herbert Stead, the author of the programme of the League to Abolish War, puts this significant passage in the mouth of the hero of his powerful novel, "No More War"—a passage that I quote because it makes the international character of the Hague Conference clear to the most superficial observer.

"This Palace (of peace at the Hague) is not simply built out of Mr. Carnegie's pocket. It is very largely the product of the free gifts of

the Governments of the world: the gates and railings that guard the grounds are the gift of Germany. The granite on which the walls repose is presented by Norway and Sweden. Little Denmark supplies the fountain. Italy provides the marble for the corridors. The City of the Hague has given the grand marble staircase. Holland gives the seven staircase windows. The stained glass is the present of Great Britain. That great picture and another in the smaller court are the gift of France. The Tsar sends a vase of jasper, Hungary six precious vases, Austria six candelabra. That group of statuary in marble and bronze on the first landing of the great staircase is a present from the United States. The rosewood and satinwood that panel the rooms of the Administrative Council are presented by Brazil. Turkey and Roumania supply carpets. Switzerland gives the clock in the great tower. Belgium the beautiful iron-work. And Holland supplies the site."

No definite reason has been assigned why the Peace Conference did not seek to develop the existing institution at the Hague. It was, however, hinted that the Hague Conference had failed to prevent war. Even assuming that it had so failed, the obvious course to follow would have been to aim it with authority, so as to prevent a similar failure in future. That course was not followed. Even the Hague was not selected as the capital of the League of Nations.

Why? No one in authority has ever taken the trouble to explain. It is, however, hinted that the Dutch had remained neutral instead of taking arms against the Central Empires which had proved themselves to be the enemies not only of the nations allied against them but the enemies of civilization—enemies that had ruthlessly trampled upon international law and conventions.

The peace conference may have determined upon the creation of a new international body because it did not wish to permit every nation to come into that organisation simultaneously and to enjoy an equal status in its councils and have an equal voice in the determination and initiation of its actions. The Conference met at the end of the most horrible war that man-

* No More War. By F. Herbert Stead. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Ltd. 6s net.

kind had ever known, and passions naturally ran high

Then there was the question of nations that did not possess full sovereignty, and that, therefore, had no place at the Hague. The self-governing Dominions of Britain, and India had taken a leading part in the War, and had been able to improve their status in the councils of the British Empire in a manner undreamt of in pre-war days, and their ambitions to share in the formulation of international decisions that were to affect their destiny quite as much as the sovereign nations, many of them no larger than themselves, must naturally have weighed with the Peace Conference that consisted entirely of the victors of the war.

So much for what might have been. Now for what ought to be.

The League of Nations, under its covenant, makes future war difficult, though it leaves each nation free to go to war after it has complied with certain conditions. The aforesaid conditions are that members of the League are compelled to submit to arbitration or to enquiry by the Council of the League any dispute that is likely to lead to rupture, and to bind itself not to go to war until three months have elapsed after the award of arbitration or the report of the Council. Disregard of these conditions by any nation will result in its being considered to have committed an act of war against all the other members of the League. Such a nation may be punished by economic boycott. Since a provision is made for the use of "armed forces" to protect the covenants of the League, it is to be supposed that if the economic boycott is not successful, the League can employ force. The Covenant stipulates that "the members of the League shall severally contribute to such armed forces."

The moral to be drawn from these conditions is that the door to war has not been closed, though it is not open wide, as it was before. It is clear, moreover, that at a moment when the League may find itself defied by any nation, it will not have at its disposal a force to be used for purposes of demonstration or precaution

or finally to make the lawless member submit.

Similarly, the provision in regard to the reduction of armaments leaves the door open to war. The treaty recognises "that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety, and the enforcement by common action of international obligations," and asks the Council to formulate plans for such reduction, and further asks for the reconsideration and revision of such plans every ten years, and stipulates that no nation is to be permitted to exceed the programme of armaments laid down by the League. It, however, leaves such action to be taken by agreement among the Powers, instead of rendering the reduction of armaments compulsory.

The failure to create an international police force to secure national frontiers and to call for the reduction of national armaments to purely police purpose renders the League of Nations more of a debating society than an organisation competent to stop war. That conviction influenced the League to Abolish War to send, towards the end of February, an influential deputation to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to press for the immediate establishment of an adequate international police force and for the compulsory and simultaneous disarmament of all the nations.

The deputation was headed by the Rt Hon G N Baines, M P, who had recently resigned his membership of the War Cabinet. In the course of his introductory speech he made it clear that he did not wish to say anything that would prevent any nation, least of all the United States, from coming into the League of Nations. He thought that not only America should come in, but that Germany should be permitted to join as speedily as possible. But he believed that the Covenant of the League of Nations should be revised in order to strengthen the League. "If it is to prevent war," he said, "it has got to reduce armaments and to have at its command some international force which should be mobilisable at any moment of an aggress-

sive Power making war on any other nation" In his opinion, it was wrong to permit the continuance of the manufacture of arms by private agency He declared that "so long as you have people making guns, with the incentive of profit in their mind all the time, and the unscrupulousness that that brings about, there never will be safety in the world" He suggested therefore, that "as speedily as possible there should be an elimination of the private profit from gunmaking altogether, and in so far as guns are made they ought to be made in national factories and under international supervision"

The arguments put forward by Mr Baines were re-enforced by the Rev Bernard J Snell, M A, B Sc, who declared that "you may have a League of Nations which ingeminates splendid ideas and publishes to a wondering world reports of its discussions and its conclusions and yet its deliberations and its verdicts are as futile as is an unarmed watchman who shakes his rattle in the night" He ventured to "suggest that unless our various Governments are prepared to put force behind the findings of the League, a suspicion may easily be awakened that statesmen do not mean business in this matter and are intent rather on supplying an anodyne than a remedy, and are content that international law should continue to be existent in the minds of the jurists and nowhere else" The need of an international force "is generally confessed, and hence we have the Anglo-French Treaty, which has been entered into recently, to supplement the nation's forces, because France felt the insecurity of the position, and unless she could link herself up for her own purposes and for our purposes and the general purposes, that insecurity would be fatal" France, he added, "is by no means the only nation to experience that sense of insecurity apart from some such Police Force as that which I have thus suggested"

Mr Herbert H Elvin, speaking for the workers, made it clear that "so far as the workers could understand the Covenant, it does not go so far as we had hoped it would in making war absolutely im-

possible" Though admitting that "it may be able to prevent war for three or four or even six months," he contended that it does not make war impossible If war is really to be known no more, he declared, "there is only one way, in the opinions of the working classes of this country, by which it can be done, and that is by total disarmament, the formation of an international police force which shall be absolutely under the control of the League of Nations Executive, and that in regard to any armaments which may be necessary, these shall not be the hands of private profit, but shall be again absolutely under the control of the League of Nations"

Mr F Herbert Stead added to the statement made by Mr Elvin in regard to the dissatisfaction felt by the working classes with the existing League He said that "though there is nothing, of course, further from the mind of the workers of this country than any anarchic expedients," he thought it was "only fair to say that if the Governments are so bound up with their nationalistic interests and nationalistic prejudices as to be not sufficiently mindful, in their collective action in the League of Nations, of the overwhelming demands of the human race at this moment that war shall cease and cease forever, then the workers will begin to achieve their ends by other more drastic means"

Miss Lind-af-Hageby, the only woman on the deputation, asked the League to secure the co-operation of women, and also to "organise some kind of travel for working men to some kind of international meeting places where the principles of the League could be developed and where men of different nations could learn to know each other and to understand each other"

I, the only Eastern on the deputation, took the occasion not only to press for the "immediate establishment of an adequate international police force and the immediate, universal and obligatory disarmament of all the nations of the world," but also suggested that the people of the East should be given their rightful place in the Assembly and the Executive of the League

of Nations "The East," I said, "will insist that the authority in which is vested the control of the international police force and the power to compel nations to cut down armaments must neither be Eastern nor Western in character, but that it must be a combination of both, according to each its due share of expression of opinion and of management and control of the common interests and affairs of mankind." I added that "that authority must not create any association, political or religious, that is likely to be distasteful to any large section of the Eastern peoples." When I said that I had in mind the agitation that was going on at the time for making Constantinople the capital of the League of Nations. To clinch my point, I declared

that everything about the League "must suggest that it is really a world-organisation capable of looking after world-interests without any racial, creedal, or national bias."

The reply made by Sir Eric Drummond, the Secretary-General of the League of Nations, was formal. He promised to lay the proposals made by the deputation before his Council, which was to meet in Paris. The Council can amend the constitution of the League, or the question can be brought up in the Assembly of the League. Whatever method may be chosen, it is imperative that the constitution of this world-organization should be changed so that it will truly become a world organization, representative of all the nations, Eastern and Western.

EDUCATION OF DEFECTIVES

GENERALLY the shortest chapter (covering hardly half a page), in Government Educational Reviews, is that devoted to the education of defectives. Nor does the general public seem much interested in the question.

2 In 1911, the number of defectives, i.e., blind or deaf and dumb children between the ages of 5 and 15 was 80,620. According to the last Quinquennial Review of Indian Education, out of this, the total at school was 802. This means that out of every hundred defectives of school-going age, hardly one is undergoing any instruction. The only consolation that the Government of India find is that this figure compares favourably with that for other years. These figures are taken from the Quinquennial Review, but the Government of India give different figures in their circular letter dated the 26th July 1916, which reveal a state of things worse still. For according to that letter, out of 41,558 children between the ages of 5 and 15 who were blind, and 58,804 who were deaf and

dumb at the time of the last census, only something like 500 children received instruction at some eighteen schools in British India. By the way is it not a pity that our officials should not know the exact number both of schools and of pupils? Moreover the number at school is not evenly distributed, for, according to the Quinquennial Review, Bengal accounted for more than half the then existing number at school, and the schools were distributed as follows: Madras had five, Bombay six, Bengal seven, Burma two, Central Provinces two, Punjab one, and Bihar and Oissa one. This means that there is no provision for the education of both of these unfortunate classes, the blind and the deaf-mute, in such an important province as the United Provinces and also in Assam. (We have read of a Home for the Blind at Allahabad, but do not find it mentioned in the Quinquennial Review.) The deaf-mutes of Bihar and Punjab as well are not provided for. Mr J. J. Lucas, writing at the end of 1912, pointed out

that in the United Provinces there were more than 27000 deaf-mutes wholly untouched

"When we think of the abundant provision made for the education and instruction of the deaf and dumb in Christian lands, when we remember Hellen Keller blind and deaf and dumb, and what her life would have been in India, when we remember that there is not a school or home for the thousands of deaf and dumb children in these provinces, how can we but groan in spirit"

It may be mentioned that a very small number of defectives receive their education at general institutions. A few blind children at Pandita Ramabai's institution at Kedgaon, near Poona, are taught Marathi, English, and some handwork. This shows how easy it is to provide some sort of instruction for the defectives, even in ordinary schools.

3 Government is not the most active worker in the field. In fact, as we shall see afterwards, they disclaim any responsibility for conducting state schools, but promise help to private or board schools. The Christian Missionaries are certainly very active. How far the indirect if not direct influence of these schools is instrumental in bringing recruits to their fold is a question that we will not discuss here, but they are not certainly to blame for any such results, whoever they may be. Perhaps the most famous of these missionary institutions are those conducted by the ladies of the C E Y M S in the Madras Presidency. There is a Brahmin (convert ?) girl in one of these schools, Helen Pyari by name, who is blind, deaf and dumb and promises to be the Hellen Keller of India. Yet in spite of these efforts the Christian Missionaries are not satisfied, for one of them, Mr W C B. Purser, remarks in 'East and West'—"The appeal which the afflicted people of India make to the Church of Christ has been hitherto unheeded." What of the appeal made to the Indian public and the Indian Government?

4 The question is, however, engaging the attention of Government and some sort of policy is slowly finding its way out of the labyrinth of official routine. In May 1916, the Government of India was

approached through the Educational Member. The result was that a circular was issued in July of that year, which commended some suggestions regarding the education of defectives for the consideration of local Governments. Out of these local Governments the Bombay Government appointed a committee in October 1917, to consider these suggestions, in accordance with the recommendation of the Director of Public Instruction. Unfortunately in Mr J N Frasei, its Chairman and Secretary, the Committee lost a very valuable member. It issued its report about a few months ago. Some observations on that report by this writer will be found in the "Indian Education" for February 1919.

5 There is, however, one important point in this circular letter of the Government of India that requires to be carefully examined. The measure of responsibility of the Indian Government as regards the education of defectives is thus stated:

"While not precluding the institution of Government schools where this is thought advisable they consider that schools for defectives are a form of effort peculiarly suitable for charitable agencies of private character and that the support of Government should ordinarily take the form of assistance to private or board schools."

The Provincial Governments naturally do not go beyond their terms of reference. While asking their committee to make recommendations for the establishment of new institutions for the education of defectives the Bombay Government took care to add the proviso, 'by private agency as far as possible'. The Madras Government also express their agreement with the Government of India, that 'support from provincial funds in developing schools for defectives should ordinarily take the form of assistance to private or board schools'. One naturally wonders why the public is more responsible for the education of this class than the Government. It is remarked in the Quinquennial Review (1912-17),

"One would suppose that in a country where charity is a tradition and a duty, every convenience would be provided for the comfort of the defective. But the very prevalence of this

charitable spirit militates against the institution of schools. Where the necessaries of life are assured to them, the reason for affording an occupation to the helpless is not obvious and the idea has not yet matured that such occupation is a source not merely of livelihood but of happiness. The Madras Report says that parents are extremely reluctant to send defective children to school, and the same remark occurs in the Burma report with reference to schools at large centres."

It is a fact that our charity is not properly organized and is not unoften misdirected. But matters are steadily improving. Sardar Kantiraj Urs, the present Dewan of Mysore, remarked at the time of the fifteenth anniversary of the Mysore institute for defectives "If the dispensation of our charities were properly organized the problem of funds for such institutions will readily solve itself." The remarks of an English gentleman that he often felt the blind beggars were not so much to blame as the sighted people who had given them no other chance of livelihood, holds true more in the case of India than that of England itself. To give the blind a good chance of livelihood as beggars is certainly better than to allow them to starve, but it is a choice only between two evils. In these circumstances, one would have thought that it was more incumbent on Government—which realises more than the public the importance of providing honourable careers for the defectives to found state schools for their education and thus show the people the way in which their charity ought now to be directed. Another fact to be borne in mind is that the education of defectives is more expensive than ordinary education. Mr. A. K. Shah, Head Master of the Calcutta Blind School, has very appropriately quoted in this connection the following remarks of the Royal Commission on defectives (1885), as regards the stimulus given by State aid to Private Benevolence:

"Fear has been expressed that if the education of these afflicted classes be undertaken by the State, the effect might be to diminish that generous Benevolence which has already done so

much for them in this country. When it is remembered how much remains to be done for them it is obvious that even were such aid given, there will still be room for the action of private benevolence, which experience shows to be often stimulated rather than discouraged by State aid, when judiciously given."

It is, therefore, satisfactory to note, that, in spite of the proviso laid down by the local Government in accordance with the wishes of the Supreme Government, most members of the Bombay Committee were of opinion 'that it was the duty of Government to see that education is provided for the defectives and that there should be at least one Government institution of each kind in each division supported wholly by Government if no other satisfactory agency were forthcoming.'

6 Education of defectives is compulsory in Great Britain, Germany, and the United States. In the absence of an adequate number of trained Teachers and properly equipped institutions we cannot go in for wholesale compulsion today. The Bombay Committee after carefully considering the case for compulsion came to the conclusion that it was out of the question for the present for the reasons just given. We would insist however on the Government of India laying down a programme of work which would surely and steadily bring nearer the day when compulsion can be introduced. Attention should first be devoted to getting an adequate number of teachers trained at the normal classes at present attached to two or three schools for defectives. New normal classes will also have to be started and these may in the beginning have foreign trainers on their staff. A graduated scale of cities and towns in consideration of their advance in education and population should be arranged, and the aim should be to provide well-equipped institutions and to introduce compulsion gradually from presidential towns to talukas. The Government of Bengal have instituted one permanent scholarship at the Calcutta Deaf School, for training a teacher and have also sanctioned another scholarship of Rs 30 per month for the training of women teachers in the normal class

* According to the report Burma had only two schools. These are presumably at 'large centres'. Why then this particular reference to schools at *large centres*, when there are not any other?

attached to the Calcutta School for the Blind. The example ought to be followed by other provincial Governments if we are to get early an adequate number of trained teachers. I have suggested elsewhere that Municipalities should be empowered, even today to make any defective child attend an institution for the education of defectives provided they can satisfy Government that they can make sufficient arrangement for its training, especially if the child is found to have taken to any undesirable profession. These are only suggestions offered for the opinion of experts.

7. As the Government of India remark in their circular letter above referred to it is impossible to deal with the problem in any complete manner, in the present state of general education. But more strenuous efforts ought certainly to be made both by the Government and by the public to evolve into efficient citizens those who

are today at the best only parasites on society. The improved methods of education now practised work changes that would once have been considered miraculous. "*Almost all dumb children can now be taught to speak.*" The trained teacher of the deaf-mute can practically say with our Lord—'Ephphatha' and the string of the dumb is unloosed and he speaks plain." Though less fortunate the blind too can be made independent and self-supporting. A few years ago St Nihal Singh in his Messages of Uplift for India, blamed the Indian state and people for the *criminal neglect* of Indian children. Matters have improved but not much. Each individual in the state has an inalienable right to full development, is a truth we ought always to bear in mind, for it is rightly said to be at the basis of the modern democratic state.

K S ABHYANKAR

A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

BY LADY HOLMWOOD

TODAY we are still in the strange hush which ushers in the dawn of a new day. The fighting is over, and we stand facing the World's new Future. The sun of yesterday has gone forever. It is to be a new beginning, new lines of life arise. What place in the making shall our Empire take? The Future will be for the next generation, but it is we who must shadow forth today in our work for them the path they will tread. The only way in which we can influence them in the future is by their training and education. The education of a large part of the world's inhabitants is in our hands, it is for us to make or mar the future progress of mankind.

Education—what is education but the application of the inherited wisdom of the forefathers, the stores of experience and knowledge which they have piled up for succeeding generations—their service in the cause of Humanity? First, then, let

us acknowledge our debt to the great Past. Instil in Youth, so eager for its own adventure, that it owes its very being, its physical and mental qualities as well as its social advantages of liberty for hearth and home, for free lives, for the possibilities of progress and knowledge—all to the loyal service of men dead and gone. Let Youth learn to honour the Past and take up the duty of the Present so that he too may hand over to the next age a world which is in some small way the better for his life and honest service for mankind. Let him realize the value of the lessons of ancient wisdom, the message of the past, the support of old ideals to point the way to new progress. Give to our Youth first the history of our race, its glorious annals, with their teaching of freedom. Show them the slow evolution of reasoned effort which has grown into our ideal of ordered personal liberty and personal responsibility. An ideal where the civil and social rights and

liberties of free individuals are subordinated to their own responsibilities to the laws, which must regulate their conduct in response to the community's needs and moral standards. Teach Youth the distribution of mankind over the earth, the effect on race and character of geographical conditions, the lessons of comparative history, and the religions of the world, and the world's comparative place in the cosmic scheme of the universe.

Give to the enthusiasm and generosity of Youth great ideals, ideals of the service of home and country, its debt to the past, its duty in the present, give above all the strong basis of ethical training, the support of spiritual hopes. Trust to its vitality, activity and restlessness to strike new life and power from old traditions. Change is not decadence if it evolves new harmonies of life. Let Youth take the best of the Past and make a glorious new To-morrow for the world.

To harmonize material efficiency and spiritual progress in the education of Youth is the hard task before us in these days of reconstruction. The war has taught us the vital need of both to produce the higher type of man. In times of storm and stress we recognize the strength and value of moral and spiritual qualities, but in times of peace we have looked to the expediency of having material efficiency as the aim of our education, and we have discounted the cost of the spiritual loss in the hope of rivalling other nations in the machine-like precision of the output. Efficiency is required now more than ever in every rank of life, greater efficiency and not less. But more than this must be our aim,—our ideal must be perfection. If a machine is required, let it be a perfect one of its kind and it will help the workers by the very beauty of its power. Efficiency is not enough, perfection in any form means harmony with the rhythm of Nature. The engineer who truly and thoroughly understands the intricacies of his great engine, feels and knows the throb of its wonderful mechanism as living in a harmony of effort, each part fulfilling its function and the rhythmic beat tells him that all goes well. Material knowledge as well as intellectual knowledge requires much drudgery—all thorough knowledge does. But its teaching is unnecessarily dull, it is unsound and superficial unless we are thorough and pierce to its innermost depths and realize its sure connection with and sure place in, the works of Nature. Youth must

think out things and draw inferences for itself—But, set their feet on the path to Truth. Here let us turn to the successful effort in education made in the United States, Hampton's work for Negroes. Here the ethical and spiritual basis for character is never lost sight of, but the simplest trades are taught to appeal to the intelligence of the pupil and show him their connection with the workings of natural laws, to know and reason on causes and effects. The laundry women are taught simple chemistry so as to realize the chemical effects of soap on woollens, linens, etc., and the thorough cleansing of materials, the cartman, the wheelwright, learn the power of balance the stress of metals, dynamics as far as is necessary to explain their work and use their materials intelligently. This seems to touch the root of the matter, that knowledge, more knowledge is wanted—clear and thorough instruction, down to the roots of things,—the reality of cause and effect, the power and teaching of Nature. Our education is painfully in a hurry to be utilitarian, the cramming of information for examinations, we dare not call it by the great and true word, knowledge. It is superficial. It must not remain so. Let us be thorough and place the worker in harmony with his work. The ignorant worker misuses his materials, yea, and loses his opportunities, for at the simplest task the intelligent worker may discover some unknown principle, or by inference some great idea may rise in his brain. Teach the worker to master and to love his tools. The workers of the ancient world revered their tools. Still in the East there is a fete-day when the writer lays aside his pen, the workman his tools, the student his books, and each is revered with simple rites.

Let Youth know there is nothing too simple, too lowly to learn well. Teach him to honour all those who are striving to be perfect parts of the infinite Whole,—though their task be lowly there is nothing that cannot be made beautiful in honest service, nothing is ugly but evil, which is the misuse of good. To prevent the misuse of good, give to Youth the habit of Virtue, that is the foremost task in the character building of education. The strengthening of the moral fibre of the being, discipline to control the passions, physical and mental training are all required to create the awakening of the soul to all that is known of good and beautiful in our world, all are needed to help in the

making of the higher type of manhood. Teach Youth to think, for thought is the measure of being, and truth is the basis of all morality, harmony and beauty.

But let him not learn and think and work for himself. In terms of Humanity alone can man understand the workings of the universe. Teach him that man's deepest interest should be his fellowman. Show Youth his great heritage in social life, in race, in empire, that he may know how all success, all happiness for himself and others depend on his good fellowship with other men. Build up his social consciousness, teach him self-expression in sympathy and love to his fellows. If wealth be his, show him how best to share it. It is the nation's wealth placed in his hands for greater opportunities of usefulness, greater burdens of responsibility. To the poor man give above all knowledge and truth. Show him that revolution destroys organisation, ignorance is blind and cannot build. Let him help to evolve material, moral and spiritual

progress, soberly and righteously. No man can stand alone. The power of a great nation's past calls on him to keep faith with his fellowmen. He, the citizen of a great empire, should lead the vanguard of progress. Today the choice involves new issues, Nationalism and Anti-Nationalism. These stand for the parting of the ways. The prophets of Anti-Nationalism claim the international ideal for a universal communism, not only a levelling down of intelligence, but an aggressive collectivism, fatal to individual freedom of body and soul. Nationalism proclaims the way to a universal community, that of Humanity itself, in which each nation emulates the other in knowledge and progress even as men emulate each other within their nations. To this great aim we must reconstruct our educational system and see that the soul and character of our Youth are strengthened by thorough teaching to see down into the ultimate purposes of life and living. We must be free to progress.

THE TEACHER TAUGHT

BY MISS SANTA CHATTOPADHYAY

THE summer vacation was over and the schools and colleges were reopening one by one. Young boys who had just passed the Matriculation Examination, were all starting for the city, to get themselves admitted in one or other of the many colleges. They tried to look extremely serious with the stamp of newly found wisdom upon their young faces. They even beat the more advanced students in this respect, so self-important was their bearing and general air. It was their *Der Tag*, the day when they, after all, did cross the line that had hitherto kept them within the limits of boyhood. But now they looked back upon their previous life, with eyes full as it were, of contempt, and presented themselves before the world, inwardly towering over the rest like the Colossus of Rhodes.

The third and intermediate class carriages in the railway train were choked with people of diverse characters. Passengers in the women's compartment were also conspicuous by their number and their marvellous capacity to accommodate themselves in a cage, 10ft x 5ft. They were quite happy and at home in the little space, while the Railway Company's

notice "To seat 10" stared down at them aghast and scandalised. (Not the Ry. Co. by any chance.)

It was mid-night. The train was rumbling along the Loop Line of the E I Railway with its load of sleepless passengers, while the silent night trembled at this intrusion. Outside, the faint glimmer of a star or two, the flicker of the vigilant firefly and, close to the line, piles of burning coal, were all the diversion the eye could secure in that flood of inky nothingness. Dense black clouds were covering up the sky very rapidly, only now and then a shining flash of lightning stabbed deep into their heart to show that they possessed a burning living soul. It was as if all creation had disappeared in the mysterious darkness, leaving only a handful of fiery dust behind.

Outside, sight went no farther than the window-panes. Inside the carriage, the Railway Company considered it a sin to supply more than standing accommodation. So the women tried to find relief in exchange of confidences as if they were intimate friends and not fellow-passengers who might never meet again, in this world, or, may be, even

in thought Among the women was one, a native of Bengal, but an adopted daughter of the up countries who took the leading part in the conversation. A broad streak of the significant vermilion paint marked the place where she used to divide her hair in her long lost youth, but it looked as if it had suddenly become conscious of its loneliness and blushed at its own prominence. She had a men's shawl to cloak her corpulence, but she took good care to display her profusion of ornaments, which, in the eyes of the envious, were ill suited to her toothless appearance. In spite of the overcrowding of the benches, she lay with the upper part of her body inclined against a bundle containing a few towels, a gigantic aluminium jug and some vegetables. It was quite evident from her deliberate posture that she intended to stick to her principle of self-help, come what might.

A young school girl, hailing from some progressive family, sat deformed and huddled up in a space absurdly too small to hold a human being. Her pleasure in the train journey became intensified as the bony knees of the old lady continuously probed and felt for her ribs, keeping time to the motion of the train. The owner of the offensive knees, after a time felt it her duty to utter something by way of apology, and said "Excuse me, my child. You don't know how impossible it is for an old person to sit up like a pillar. At your age, I could sit up for ten nights and never feel it. I was not like this always." The girl, who found herself quite strange in the company of her fellow-passengers, felt so very shy that a little occasional smile was all the response she made to the familiarities of the old lady.

There were two healthy-looking girls in blue silk jackets, which did not quite match their dark complexion, and they were engaged in an endless discussion of the sorrows of their young lives. They were perhaps finding some solace in thus pouring out their secrets before an assembly of unknown faces. The old lady, who felt much interested in their discussion of how one had lost her mother and another her sister, and how one was not loved by her husband and persecuted by the mother-in-law, suddenly lost all interest in the girl who wore stockings, I mean the school-girl, and asked one of them, "I say, little girl, do you hear? Why haven't you put on your

ornaments? You are married and your husband is living, and you are none too old, then why such neglect? What is wrong?"

The older one of the two answered "There is no end of troubles, mother, but what is the use of recounting them? I had been to my father's house on the occasion of the marriage of my niece, but, as ill luck would have it, had half my ornaments stolen. My mother-in-law, when she heard about it, rebuked me so that one would think, I myself was the thief. But why should I speak against her? Who would not resent the loss of the gold obtained by selling her son? I should not expect a treat of candies from her. That is why I have taken an oath not to put on the remaining ornaments again, as I feel the abuse showered on my father cut into my heart when they rest against my skin."

The old lady dug her knees carefully into the soft flesh of the school-girl, who wore her hair in a novel and outlandish style, and replied "But you could have done one thing. Why did you not replace the stolen pieces with gilt ornaments? You could have escaped the punishment for the moment and might have changed them for gold ones when you had money."

An acquaintance of the lady said "You will insist upon giving other people curious advice, sister, can't you do without it even during a journey?" Whereupon the old lady replied "Ah! it pains my heart to see others in trouble. She was shedding tears in her trouble and I knew the way out, isn't it my duty to tell it to her? God has given me experience and age that I might help others. I know the panacea for all evils."

There was a young mother who had remained silent up till now in an obscure corner of a bench. Her sick child was also there upon her lap, lying inert and looking more like a dried fish than a human baby. She had a gold circlet hanging from and encircling her nose like the moat of some ancient city. She was dressed to the extent of a cotton sari and an unfitting jacket made of some flimsy stuff. But that poor sick baby was practically smothered in an abundance of flannels and shawls. He was every now and then on the verge of collapse owing to this excess of wrappings. Every now and then this unfortunate and tortured child opened its eyes and cried as if to protest against this outrage. The

fond mother at once took care of her child by putting a few folds more of a dirty shawl over its nose, which in her opinion was the best method of putting a child to sleep.

The young mother was very much impressed when she heard of this remarkable gift of the old lady, and naturally she came forward a bit. This brought her within the vision of the old lady. Yawning, and snapping her finger to avert evil, she asked "How old is the child? How thin the poor thing is! How many months old is he?"

"Months indeed, mother! He is just one year and six months, by the grace of the goddess Shashthi.* I never for a single moment take him out of the room, never risk a cold. So I keep all the windows closed even in this awful hot weather. Still, mother, he puts all doctors to shame."

The sibyl answered "The *Purn*, the evil *Purn* possesses him. That's what it is. Nothing can cure him except a dip in a pond which is at Chandernagar." Heaven knows what infernal spirit goes under the name of *Purn*, but the anxious mother was very much impressed when that malignant spirit was mentioned. She eagerly asked "Tell me where exactly the pond is, mother, we shall pass through Chandernagar and will bathe him in the pond."

Binu, who was the old lady's friend, was always given to criticising. She said "Tārā *didī*,† you should not thus play with the lives of other peoples' children. Who knows what may come out of your quack remedies? Why court the curse of others?" Tārā *didī* was going to expatiate on the healing powers of that pond when her attention was diverted by something else.

The train had halted at a small station. But that was not the cause of this sudden diversion of interest. The cause was the precipitate entrance into the carriage of a widow accompanied by a couple of tin trunks, a large bundle containing sundry specimens of wicker baskets, a boy and a girl. As she opened the door of the compartment, a torrent of rain took it into its head to bring up the rear of that procession. This resulted in the expression of some human sentiments on the part of those who were nearest the door, and all eyes were focussed on the poor widow. She looked absolutely harmless. The hair upon her forehead was partly grey but she was still quite

straight and strong. The boy was about six or seven years old and the girl was about twelve or thirteen. She was dark, thin and tall, with big round expressionless eyes which were for ever at a loss to make anything out of anything and her broad forehead looked all the more large for her hair having been drawn backwards as far as it could go without coming off and made into a knot behind her head. It was a huge knot. Not by any profusion of hair but because it was of the shape of a large hollow circle which encircled a stock of hair-pins. Or, shall I say, it was like a wheel in which the rim was of hair and the spokes of iron pins? Her eyes were remarkably pacific but like a *tabula rasa*, devoid of any stamp of intelligence, as if waiting for some one to scribble upon them. She was not well dressed and the few signs of her or her mother's attempt at fashion added much to her homeliness. The girl entered the carriage, wet through and through, and remained standing in a corner. Her mother made just enough room to seat herself and her son and so the girl stuck to her post with a shapeless but by no means weightless bundle dangling from her arm. The mother said "Kālo, why are you standing? Sit down." But she did not think it necessary to enquire *where* she was to sit down. The obedient girl found a solution of the problem by squatting down plump upon the flooded floor of the compartment. It never entered her head that she had as much right to find a seat for herself on a bench as other people, and her plain appearance, made more unattractive through careless dressing, stimulated nobody's sympathy enough to invite her to any seat that remained undiscovered. The inquisitive soul which lurked behind the corpulence of Tārā *didī*, had become very restive at the possibility of gaining some new knowledge from this last addition to the number of passengers, and was dying to feed upon the widow's autobiography and her family history. So, before the girl could properly squat on the wet floor, she found the mouth of Tārā *didī*, which was, by the way, three quarters full of a semi-liquid mixture of saliva and juice of betel leaves, in front of her nose making a gurgling noise, which conveyed to her dull sense the information that the owner of the mouth was very much interested in their affairs and wanted to know who they were. The half-mute girl fixed her big eyes upon

* The goddess of children

† Elder sister,

her mother as if to ask whether it would be right for her to answer. She feared lest she should disobey the command of one or other of the numerous Sastras, by answering a straight question. Kālo's mother answered for her daughter and said "We are Brahmins, she is my daughter."

"Your daughter! I thought she was your grand daughter! She is probably a daughter of your old age! This is your son, eh?" Kālo's mother said, "Yes. He is the only one I have got. After giving birth to five daughters, I prayed and prayed and the gods favoured me. But wretch that I am, I could not stand for long so much joy. Before he was one, his father went away to answer the call of his gods."

The sympathetic Tārā *didī* struck her own forehead with her open palm and replied, "You must have been born under an evil star, or why should you meet with so much misfortune and bring forth daughters by the dozen? But why have you not married this daughter as yet?"

Binu was feeling very uneasy at this fresh outburst of her friend's inquisitiveness, and, to put a stop to the flow of her none too sweet words, she said, "Why take so much interest in what does not concern you?" This had absolutely no effect, and the undaunted old lady said "Why, is it sin to sympathise with others and to give them a chance to unburden their sorrowful hearts?" This expression of these sublime sentiments at once melted the heart of Kālo's mother, who said "I am going to Calcutta to settle about her marriage, or why else should I, a country-woman, take the risks of a railway journey? The unfortunate girl has lost her father, and so her mother must go about entreating others. I have come to know of a probable groom, but his people would not see the bride unless in Calcutta. It is only to the greatest of sinners that daughters are born!" At this Kālo lifted her soft eyes and fixed them upon the old lady and her mother. Then once more she shrank within herself, and went on listening to the conversation. There was no pained look in her eyes, nor tears, nor did her heart respond to the cruel words of her mother in painful throbs, for such heartlessness was her daily food and her mind had long become dead to such insult. So nobody could find out from her appearance that she herself was the object of these cruel words.

Tārāsundarī turned towards her and asked, "What is your name, my child?" The girl looked at her mother as if for instruction, and her mother said, "Tell her your name, what is the harm?"

The girl's face pleaded her own guilt in being born a daughter as she answered, "Kālidāsī."

Tārā *didī* said, "Then, God help you! Then you will be married all right!"

Binu made a dry face at this and said, "Ah, stop your nonsense, *didī*."

Tārāsundarī resented this interference with her philanthropy and said, "Why? Have I said anything wrong? Look here (this to the widow) as soon as you reach Calcutta, find a suitable name for your daughter, for, be sure, the modern young man will never marry a Kālidāsī or a Jagadambā, or a Kātyāyanī, or any one with a name smelling of the days of your great-grandma." To change the topic, Binu asked the young girl who wore leather shoes like men, the school-girl, to wit, "What is your name, please, it must be something very charming and sweet?"

The girl smiled faintly as she answered, "Sōbhā."

But man is a creature of his tendencies, and so Tārā *didī*, at once used this new piece of information in aid of her own philanthropic endeavours. "Did you hear that?" She said to the widow, "Give her some such name. Either Sōbhā, Bibhā, or Abhā. I have borne no less than eight daughters. They were my own, but for the sake of truth, I must admit that not all of them were like so many golden statues. But that did not prevent my naming them, Swarnalatā*, Kanaklatā, etc."

Kālo was hitherto ignorant of the wonderful virtues of a name (who said, "What is in a name?") So she took this opportunity to turn her head towards Sōbhā to have a look at one who had so much of that wealth. Her eyes were overflowing with admiration, which was but ill-expressed, for from her childhood she had been drilled into the habit of gazing vacantly without any definite meaning. Her soul felt shy and afraid to look out of the windows of its cage.

This movement on the part of Kālo, at once brought into prominence her wide forehead, from whose surface every single hair had been carefully drawn away upwards, and Tārāsundarī lost no time to notice this particular point and to express her opinion

* The Golden Creeper.

thereupon 'My goodness, what a shameful treatment of one's hair ! As she is, she is none too charming, and if you do her hair like that and display that race-couse of a forehead, I should not be astonished if nobody even looked at her ' The owner of the race-couse did not lower her head a bit but kept her vacant eyes fixed upon the critic Tārāsundari suddenly caught hold of Sōbhā's chin in order to bring her hair within the range of everyone's sight, and said, "See how she has done it Do her hair loosely like this, and cover up a bit of that broad forehead Holy Durga ! Is this the way to treat human hair ?

Kālo's mother was looking hard at Sōbhā's head, as if to find out the secret of the fashion The girl felt very shy at this inspection and turned away her head

Tārāsundari waited a moment as if to recover her lost breath, and then suddenly said with the tone of one inspired "Look here, present your daughter to the groom's people with her hair loose And do you know what a *jhāptā* is ? The ornament some use on the forehead Get one, and there you are ! No one need know whether she has a forehead at all Moreover, she will look nice, too "

Kālo's mother made a sorry face and said "But that is not her only defect, she is too dark " Tārāsundari was a picture of pride as she said, "Do you know, I have married eight daughters, eight ! What if she is dark ? Give me the darkest girl with any sort of a nose to show, if I don't marry her, I will rub my nose on the pavement by way of penance "

"If she is a girl," she continued, "that's enough Hear what I say. Have you seen powder ? Get four pice worth of pink powder from the market and apply it to her face She will look fairer It you can't get powder, pass some meal through a piece of muslin and keep it handy Then pass your hands very lightly over a white-washed wall—not a mud wall—mind you, v-e-r-y lightly, and apply them to the girl's face Then get some of the meal and with the corner of your sari, gently apply it to her face ! And one thing more, present the girl to them just after sunset and in candle light Tell her not to lower her face, for that makes a person look dark—understand ? And if they ask to see her hand, show them the palm " Kālo's mother said "But if they want to see the bride in daylight, what then ?

Tārāsundari laughed contemptuously at this fresh sign of stupidity in the woman, and said "Rather ! Mere asking will not procure a thing Haven't you got a drop of sense in your head ? Tell them that in your family you don't show brides in the day time You don't, for it is forbidden *Bus* ! What more, who can do that which is forbidden ?" The tremendous logic and force of this argument were not lost upon the widow, who swayed her head up and down as if intoxicated with the wine of her wisdom Binu laughed derisively and said, "*Didi*, you have gone clean off your head "

But *Didi* could not stand this affront and burst out, "Why, what's wrong that I have said ? It seems that one would next be hauled up for doing good to others !" She was apparently very pleased with herself and looked at Sōbhā for a supporting glance as she said "What do you say, my dear ?" A faint smile was the only encouragement Sōbhā could spare, but that was enough The woman with a sick child, who a little while ago was receiving the full benefit of Tārāsundari's "Be-helpful" nature, now embraced this opportunity to attract attention She left the seat, which she had in an obscure corner, and ploughed her way to the front by the slow but sure process of treading upon other peoples' toes, and asked, "Do you know whether those who will come to see the bride, belong to the groom's family or not ?" Kālo's mother said, "Oh not of the family, but only relations " "Then do one thing Dress your daughter in up-to-date fashion and take her to a photographer's They will make her all right in appearance My younger sister, she had nearly no nose and only dots for eyes, but thanks to Boron Shepad Saheb, she looked in the picture like a fairy with her wings off He will make the high forehead and sunken cheeks of your daughter absolutely charming " On hearing this latest, Kālo turned round and greeted this novel and wonderful suggestion with one of her quiet and expressionless glances Her mother said, "Ah Kālo, at your age too, why are you turning and twisting like a tomboy ?"

Her aged daughter at once assumed her former position and remained still like a stranded boat

Tārāsundari pointed to Sōbhā and observed, "But, sister, do not forget to do her hair into a loose knot If the hair refuses to

stay upon the forehead, put a wet towel upon it and press it hard. Then, you are sure to have it done nicely." Binu now took a part in the conversation and said "*Didi*, when you have told her all you know, why not tell her about Pānchi *Ghathik* as well?"

Tārā-sundari, who was the very picture of unflinching courage, seemed to lose a bit in radiance at this. Still she said, "No harm to tell her. Yes, that time even I was taken in. Kanak, my youngest daughter, was too dark in complexion and so Pānchi *Ghathik* undertook to paint her up. She said that the paint would stick till all the ceremonies were over. I, like a fool, believed her, but within three days the trick was found out. And didn't they make life miserable for my poor girl! I had to sell my own ornaments and give them Rs 2,000 in cash before the uproar could be stopped."

Kālo's mother observed in a very normal tone, "What if the girl is made to suffer? Aren't women born to suffer? And you know, time heals all wounds. If I only can shake her off my shoulders, for the present, I shall be quite content." The fear of some unknown danger roused the instincts of Kālo, who closed up to her mother and clutched her sari with her thin and long hands. The mother took her son upon her lap and pushed Kālo off, saying, "Ah you hurt me! Get up and bring the sweets for Nitu. How long can he, poor child, remain without eating? You also may take one or two if you like." Kālo shuffled away in quest of the sweets, but she had to stand up to do this. Tārā-sundari made a face as if she was in front of some prehistoric saurian monster as she gasped forth, "Holy gods! Is she a girl or a moving palm tree! These village people are absolutely devoid of any sense. Can't they starve their daughters a bit? They will treat the unmarried daughters to cream and sugar to show their maternal affection. But when these girls begin to grow quickly through overfeeding, the weight of their affection does not check their skyward progress. Why do you walk so erect like a sepoy, my girl? Just stoop a bit from now." Kālo knew full well that she committed new crimes at every step, but she was not aware that she had sinned against the commandment which forbade girls to grow up. The poor girl was up till now engrossed in the analysis of her personal charms and schemes

* A female match maker

of improvement thereupon, but now she was hoping to eat something which she had got. But hearing this new revelation from Tārā-sundari, she felt very much afraid lest she should suddenly grow up before her critical eyes by eating the sweets, and the poor girl only closed her fingers over the longed-for delicacies and sat down with her body bent and head lowered, as became an unmarried girl. She perhaps thought that if she ate unseen by others, God would not add to her already long list of numerous sins.

The train stopped at Burdwan. Tārā-sundari got down with Binu, and her parting words were, "Remember that if you only follow my advice, you will safely get her off your hands. But don't forget to bless me with uplifted arms."

Kālo's mother replied, "*Didi*, if my daughter finds her luck through you, I shall remain your bonds slave for life."

(2)

A cousin of Kālidāsi's father is a clerk in some merchant-office in Calcutta. After much deliberation he had settled her marriage with the son of a Munsif. Kālo's aunt (the wife of the gentleman who had arranged the match) is credited with having made the statement, "Oh, the young man is as brilliant as a piece of diamond and is a ship of learning to boot! He got plucked in the Entrance Examination last year, but behold! he has passed it this time!"

The maternal uncle of the groom is by profession a negotiator of marriages or, in brief, a match-maker. He has made his fortune in this business. He gets his fees as negotiator before the actual ceremony takes place, and when the parents begin their fight during the ceremony over the so-called dowry, he plays the peace-maker and gets something out of the bride's father (who is the defeated by right). This able man has kindly consented to pilot Kālo across the waters of matrimony, for a sum of rupees two thousand, Kālo's patrimony, and the few ornaments Kālo's mother has. Kālo's mother was gradually dispossessed of all ornaments in the process of marrying her four elder sisters. Her father, in his old age, again gave her mother these ornaments as means whereby to buy Kālo a husband. What proportion of these ornaments is to adorn the inside of the able negotiator's safe and how much is actually to be used in settling the bargain, is a problem which baffles speculation.

They were able to secure the services of Pānchi *Ghatki*. Kālidāsi presented herself before her inspectors, with her manufactured complexion, her borrowed and made up charms (thanks to Tārā sundari) and her load of ornaments. She stood facing the setting sun that she might have a touch of his departing glory. The mellow light diffused by a candle was all that might expose the deceit. She was no longer Kālidāsi but was called Subarnalatā (the Golden Creeper), when she stepped into the room as one moved by machinery and stood stooping and shame facedly to disguise her stature. The deputation which came to examine the bride was impressed by her splendour and said "The bride is not bad-looking, but the powdering and dressing-up is excessive." The ready-witted negotiator replied, "But what is to be done? That is the fashion of the day. You can but subtract somewhat from her charms to know her true value." They were at a loss to decide how much to subtract, and to evade the problem for the moment they changed the subject and asked the girl, "What is it you read?"

Though she never went further than the second primer, Kālo readily gave them a catalogue of the books she read, which included everything from the classics downwards.

After that, when they had finished examining her in walking, talking and other essential bridely accomplishments, she was declared to have passed, if not with honours, at least tolerably well. Kālidāsi was so effectively concealed in Subarnalatā that even the trained eyes of the examiners failed to detect the presence of the former. The bridegroom was away, out of Calcutta, with his parents. The photograph, taken by "Boron Shepad Saheb", which was sent to him for approval, was even better than the painted and dressed-up Kālidāsi.

By the favourable influence of the stars Subarnalatā was married in her paternal home without any hitch.

When some days after her marriage she arrived with her husband at his house, the place was crowded with relatives and guests. The burning mid-day sun, combined with frequent weeping, made her veiled and lightly ornamented figure appear not as graceful as was expected. The bridegroom alighted from the carriage with a gloomy face. But when the mother-in-law went to

bring in the new bride, she at once marked the dark colour of the aim she held. She cried out, '*Dādī** she looks awfully black! Didn't you say, she was nice looking and all that?' The experienced *Dādī* made a face like one dropped from the moon, and exclaimed, "Is that so! Then, no doubt we are cheated! At that time, she looked quite pink. If you do not believe me, ask Dhires, he was with us." But the mother-in-law did not refer to Dhires. She lifted the bride's veil instead. This brought the emaciated face of Kālidāsi to view. She had gained in this respect through the irregularities due to the marriage festivity.

The mother-in-law cried out "Holy mother! It is that bloomstick of a girl, that black owl, we met in the train! Ah, my fate! I go to do other people good and see the result! It is like being stabbed with one's own knife! What a shame, what a shame! In this age there is nothing called *dharma*! Oh what fraud, what shame!" The mock Subarnalatā fixed the dull eyes of Kālo upon her mother-in-law. The able negotiator, Kālo's husband's uncle, cursed her people to the best of his ability and said, "By my good name, if I don't avenge this trifling with me, I am a dog." Tārā-sundari addressing her daughter-in-law, said "Do you hear, O daughter of a saint! Tell your sweet mamma when you go back home, that a black skin does not sell so easily. When she can send with you gold enough to balance your glory, tell her to send you back to this house then, and not before. Or, I can get a better bride for my son."

Kālo heard all these with her head at an obedient angle.

That a woman is born to suffer was taught her from her birth. So she did not find anything to object to in this. The match making uncle said, "Tārā, what are you waiting for? Stop talking now and take in your son and daughter. This has happened for your benefit. You have only to turn the tap to get a supply of ready cash wherever you want."

Thus began Kālo's new life of happiness. Who knows whether Tārā-sundari ever boasted her part in this new drama of blissful existence, but of this we are quite sure that Kālo's mother blessed her with uplifted arms.

Translated from the original by
ASHOKE CHATTOPADHYAY.

* Elder brother.

AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND IN INDIA

By K V TAVHANKAR B AG

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

THE Agricultural College stands at the head of all institutions giving agricultural education. It is either a separate institution or a part of the University in the State, or it may form part of a college of mechanics and science. In some states, the agricultural colleges provide general education in agriculture, while in others, higher education is imparted with a view to specialization in different subjects.

There is always an experimental farm attached to the college, where demonstrations are also held. It also helps to bring the students in touch with research work, which is carried by the professors. Again the college does not stand aloof as an institution intended only for students, studying for a degree, it is as well an institution for students as for farmers. Farmers in surrounding villages are invited to attend the demonstrations and lectures, and no pains are spared to keep up interest in agricultural improvement, on part of cultivators. The college is in fact the centre of Agricultural education, and serves as a fountainhead to smaller institutions in the states. In some states, secondary schools of agriculture are attached to colleges.

SECONDARY AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

There are two kinds of institutions, giving secondary agricultural education. (1) Special agricultural high schools. (2) High schools, providing courses in agriculture.

Institutions of the first kind, are chiefly to be found in Wisconsin, Minnesota, New York, and Michigan. The course of study extends over two years and admission is only for those, who have completed the primary school course of eight years.

The district agricultural schools and consolidated rural schools are other types, providing rural education. The latter type of schools is becoming more popular in America. Smaller schools, say five or six in

number, are amalgamated, and a central school is formed, where better arrangements for teaching are made. Some consolidated schools even provide vehicles for students coming from a distance. Courses of study are not of a fixed type, but prominence is given in all such schools to agriculture and allied subjects. The school work ranges from 37 to 42 hours every week and Chemistry, Botany, Agriculture, English, Mechanics, Drawing, Physics, Arithmetic, Military Drill, Physical Training, Carpentry, Cooking, Swimming, Rope-work and Belt-lacing, Soldering, Babbiting, Pipe-fitting and Black-smithing, Poultry-keeping, Stockbreeding, and Music are the subjects taught. The list will give an idea of the number of subjects with which an educated farmer in America is expected to be familiar.

(2) Agricultural education as a special course in ordinary high schools. There are more than 1500 high schools in America, which have provided special agricultural course for those who want to go in for agriculture. The diversity of courses of study in different high schools indicate that the Americans are not bound down to precedents and are ever ready to take up any new form, most suited to the requirements of the particular case. This is certainly in keeping with the progressive ideas of the people, who are always alert to pick up anything new that is likely to contribute to their advancement.

PRIMARY AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

It will be interesting to note in this connection that the people are coming to realise that education of their children must develop out of their daily experience and environments, and consequently there ought to be a difference between the education for city children, and that for children in villages. The surroundings in the latter case are very different and it would be a mistake to burden the children living in a village, with a kind of instruction which has nothing to do with rural life. Reading lessons are now chosen with

the object of giving information to children about objects, which they daily come across, and with which they have much to do in after life. This simple but important principle must be clearly grasped and put into practice if the real object of education is to be gained.

Primary education in agriculture has been made compulsory in some states but in others the difficulty of finding qualified teachers is still experienced and so the number of schools can neither be increased, nor can education be made compulsory.

In 1903 the National Council of Education appointed a committee to report on industrial education for rural communities. The committee advised that the teaching of elementary agriculture in primary schools not be made compulsory. The committee however drew a course of study of rural science for primary schools. The subjects included are (1) Plant production (2) Animal production (3) Dairying (4) Rural Engineering (5) Rural Economics.

Vigorous attempts are being made to increase the number of qualified teachers for teaching rural science in primary schools, and agriculture will soon become a subject of still more importance in rural America.

JAPAN

Agriculture is a major industry in Japan, and the progressive Government has not failed to make adequate provision for the teaching of agriculture. For giving higher agricultural education, there are two colleges, one at Tokyo and the other at Sapporo. The courses at the Imperial Agricultural College are (1) the regular course and (2) the subsidiary course.

In the former, more attention is paid to laboratory work, and in the latter, field work is insisted upon. Attached to the Agricultural College, is a special course for teachers, in agricultural schools. The first two courses extend over three years, while the last one over two years.

(2) High Agricultural Technical Schools. The subject taught in these high schools are, of course, lower in grade than those taught in the Imperial College at Tokyo. Sericulture, Agriculture, Horticulture and Forestry are some of the important subjects taught in these schools.

(3) Agricultural Schools. These schools serve as middle agricultural schools. They are divided into classes, A and B. In the first

class of schools, candidates, who have received two years' further training in addition to six years' primary education, are admitted, while in the second class, the qualification required for admission is six years' primary education. The courses extend over four years. There were more than 130 schools with 15036 students.

(4) Agricultural Supplementary Schools. These are the lowest grade agricultural schools. After the completion of primary education, which is compulsory, elements of agriculture are taught, and general training of boys is also attended to. The number of such schools (before the world-war) was 4407 with 163300 students in all.

(5) Agricultural institutes for the training of farmers. The object of these institutions is to impart elementary agricultural education to farmers. The course extends over two years. These schools are attended by a large number of farmers, and instruction is given by managers of Government experimental stations.

GERMANY

Among European countries, Germany is perhaps giving more systematic agricultural education. The agencies employed (1) Agricultural Faculties of Universities (2) Agricultural High Schools (3) Secondary Agricultural Schools (4) Lower Agricultural Schools (5) Country Continuation Schools.

In Agricultural Colleges and High Schools higher technical education is given, and laboratory work is more insisted upon. Secondary schools are more suited to the requirements of ordinary farmers, and practical work on the farm is compulsory. Agricultural winter schools are held during the season, when most of farmers and farm labourers are free from farm work. These schools are becoming more popular, in some of the German States. Expenses are met by (1) the central government, (2) the provincial government, (3) agricultural societies, district boards, etc. about one-fourth of the total cost is recovered in the form of fees, etc.

The teachers of winter schools are engaged in teaching for six months only, and during the remaining part of the year they work as travelling advisers to farmers. They go about in districts, deliver lectures, hold demonstrations, arrange small experiments, and thus try to keep up interest of farmers in agricultural improvement. They serve as a medium

between the experimental stations and farmers. The itinerant teacher is expected not only to give advice in agricultural matters, but he is also expected to give expert advice regarding business matters in agriculture. He also advises on cooperative matters and keeping of farm accounts, and the general management of farms. In fact, he is a teacher as well as an organizer and adviser.

ENGLAND

Agricultural education in England cannot be said to have made satisfactory progress, in comparison with what has been achieved in America. A committee was appointed (before the war) to investigate into the matter of agricultural education. At present agricultural education is under the control of various counties, and consequently, there is little uniformity. The general type of instruction consists of lectures, demonstrations at various centres, and short courses in particular subjects.

The committee in their report recommend that at least seven experts should be appointed for one county or a group of counties. They are (1) An agricultural organizer and adviser, (2) A horticultural instructor, (3) A dairy-instructor, (4) A competent scientific investigator and analyst, (5) Instructors in special branches of industry, (6) An instructor in forestry, (7) Organizers and instructors in the economics of agriculture, e.g., corporation, credit, banking, etc.

The observations of the committee with regard to the nature of instruction are worth noting. "In our opinion, the curriculum in rural schools should be less literary than it is at present, with this object in view, it should be based upon the employment of manual processes, as a method of education, though it should not be forgotten that the aim of practical instruction in elementary schools should always be the general development of faculties, rather than specialised technical training. The teacher should be able to make all the school subjects real to the child by correlating them with such objects as it is familiar with, outside the school, thus keeping it in touch with its environment, and with what life means to it." It will be seen that this same principle is emphasized in America by men like Dr. Bailey, and in India, too, the same must be adhered to.

As to higher agricultural education, the Royal Agricultural College at Cirencester

did very good work. Facilities have also been provided for obtaining special training in dairying, agriculture, etc., and diplomas are awarded to successful students.

The war has clearly shown the great importance of agriculture to England, and agricultural education will receive more serious attention before long.

INDIA

We have now briefly surveyed the condition of agricultural education in different countries and should be able to see what should be done in the case of India. It is creditable to the Government of India, that early attention was paid to the agricultural education in the country. The famine commission of 1880 strongly recommended that no advance in Agriculture could be made without spread of education among agriculturists, and this view was farther supported by the Agricultural Conference of 1883.

With the inauguration of provincial departments of agriculture, agricultural classes were opened in some of the provinces, notably in Bombay and Madras. For years the classes were lingering on without attracting any serious attention of the public, and one time it was feared that they would be closed for want of students. This early failure was not on account of any defect in the method of teaching nor due to the want of attention on the part of Government. There were two causes, the first being that there was very little that could be taught regarding Indian Agriculture, there being difference of opinion among the officers of the Agricultural Department on the subject of agricultural improvement in India, and the second was there was no awakening effected among the agriculturists by the spread of general education. This failure however served to point out what was required of such institutions, namely the agricultural problems of the country must be carefully studied first, and a taste for agricultural education needs to be created among the cultivators. During the regime of Lord Curzon, agricultural education was put on a firmer footing, and best men were recruited and put at the heads of agricultural institutions. The revival of the agricultural classes at Poona was soon brought about, and they were transformed into an agricultural college, under the direction of Dr. H. H. Mann, a man of extraordinary energy and great scientific acumen. In

Madras, the new agricultural college under Mr Wood is going on in flourishing condition. A standard curriculum of studies was drawn in 1908, but it was found that it could not be applied to all provinces alike on account of the difference in the standard of education of the students.

Pusa being the headquarters of the Imperial Department of Agriculture, it has been rightly selected as the place for the post-graduate courses, and the centre of agricultural research in India. At present higher posts in the Agricultural Department are available only to those who have received Agricultural training in some foreign country, preferably in England. This may be necessary at the beginning, but unless the necessity of foreign qualification is done away with, Pusa cannot be the place for Indian scholars.

It is often complained that agricultural colleges in India still fail to attract right kind of students, e.g., sons of big farmers and landed gentry. It is not that the farmers have any apathy towards the kind of training given in these colleges. The nature of education however has much to do with the want of students of cultivating classes. Highly technical education is provided in those colleges, which is more fit for those who want to go in for service in the Agricultural Department or to undertake research work. A farmer does not want to have this sort of training for his son at all. He wants practical education, as will enable him to make farming a profitable business. Besides, the question of expenses also comes in. Therefore separate institutions with modest aspirations should be started, fitted to the requirements of farmers, as is the case in some foreign countries.

Agricultural colleges should continue to give the same kind of education as they are doing. The object should always be to produce men who can undertake research work. Higher posts in the Department should be given to those who have sufficiently proved their merit.

The number of agricultural graduates that is turned out every year, is far from satisfactory if we take into consideration the requirements of the country. With the spread of agricultural education, the demand will be more keen, and a large number of agricultural graduates will be absorbed by institutions giving agricultural education. If we start agricultural schools on the Japanese

or American model, it will be very hard to meet the demand for agricultural graduates.

SECONDARY AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

We fail to see why the Agricultural and Educational Departments are almost reticent regarding this phase of agricultural education. Those, who cannot go in for higher agricultural education, either through want of money or qualification, are in most cases left without any provision for agricultural education. It is therefore necessary to have educational institutions, corresponding with ordinary High Schools. Those who have passed Anglo-Vernacular standard IV, should be admitted to the Agricultural High School. The course should extend over three years, education should be given in the Vernacular, but English must be one of the compulsory subjects. All the subjects relating to agriculture should be included in the curriculum. Practical Agriculture should be given predominance, for which a farm, near the school building, is indispensable.

At the beginning, one High School in each province may be started, and the number may be increased according to the demand. The aim should be to provide that kind of instruction to the student as will make him an efficient farmer.

In some of the states in America, special agricultural courses are provided in ordinary high schools. We do not however think, that this system can be of any use in India, as it would bring about confusion in the existing system, which includes already two courses: (1) University entrance examination, (2) School leaving examination.

Agricultural High Schools, as suggested above, would be proper kind of institutions for the sons of well-to-do farmers, headmen of villages, and big landholders. The knowledge of English being quite essential for this class, it has been included in the list of subjects given above. The time for starting such institutions, has come, and something must be done in this direction by every province.

ELEMENTARY AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION.

The idea of teaching agriculture in primary schools seems to have been given up, mainly owing to the complexity of the subject. But at the same time, it has been recognised that the nature of primary education must be such as to develop powers of observation and understanding. Again the education must be

related to the surroundings, which the pupils will readily imbibe. In most of the primary schools education is given in the class and nature study does not receive due consideration at the hands of teachers, who are not properly qualified. The teacher, who has little acquaintance with Botany, Zoology, Geology and kindred subjects, is unable to satisfy the curiosity of his pupils. Many primary schools have no museums and no gardens, the staff is in some cases ill-qualified and poorly paid, and the curriculum does not insist upon nature study. It is no wonder then that farmers' sons, who have undergone this kind of education, do not have liking for the profession of their fathers, or any other calling requiring manual work. They would prefer to be clerks, instead of returning to the land. In order, therefore, to make primary education efficient, the present curriculum must be recast for rural schools, and competent teachers provided for them.

Primary education is being made compulsory and this is the time for considering the desirability of introducing changes in the curriculum. Vigorous steps should be taken to produce competent teachers for these schools, and every primary school should have at least one teacher qualified for teaching subjects related to agriculture. And gardening and agriculture should be made compulsory for higher standards of primary schools, in rural areas at least. After six or seven years of primary education, the boy should join

THE VERNACULAR AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL

The course of study in such a school should extend over three years. For teaching practical agriculture and demonstration work, a farm should be attached to every such school. Agriculture and allied subjects should be taught through the medium of the vernacular. The aim should be to provide all the training, which a farmer is expected to have at the present time. Market and its fluctuations,

sources of capital, co-operation, and the relation of agriculture to economics, and subjects of a similar nature, should have a place in the practical studies. Such schools should be founded in places in rural areas, and education should be made available to farmers or their children.

THE IMPERIAL AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT ought to be congratulated on the initiative taken in this direction about eight years ago. The number of Vernacular Agricultural Schools is at present extremely small. A beginning has however been made, and, it is hoped, that the number will go on increasing. In Bombay it has been amply proved that schools of this kind are wanted by the public, and that it is necessary to the Department to provide other and more suitable facilities for the education of farmers' sons besides the Provincial Agricultural College. The demand will go on increasing as education is diffused more and more among the masses, and it behoves the Imperial Agricultural Department to give more serious attention to the subject, for the whole of India.

The spread of education is the first necessity of the country, from agricultural or industrial point of view. The importance of agricultural education is not likely to be realised by ignorant farmers, nor there can be a keen demand for agricultural schools. And so long as the farmers are ignorant, agricultural improvements would not easily make way. It will be thus seen that education and improvement are related to one another, nay, education is the vital force that propels the wheel of improvement.

If Indian Agriculture is really to be improved, if this great industry of India is to be based on a sound basis, and if prosperity and happiness, in an increasing degree, are to be attained, education is an important means to the end, and all talk of agricultural improvement, and an amount of research work, will be of little avail, if there is no general education.

THE WORLD'S DEBT TO INDIA

By DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE,

LECTURER IN THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

THE world spirit seems to speak today through America. And as an American by choice, I am proud of my adopted country. American achievements

are a gain not to Americans only but to civilization, and humanity itself. American science, American methods of organization, American industrial energy,

American inventive genius are all dominating the twentieth century. In the pragmatism of Dewey and James, and in the social philosophy of Royce, we have the best intellectual tools for the highest and richest kind of success in the political, social, and ethical world.

The United States has produced, as some one has pointed out, "a new type of national character and civilization by the cross-fertilization of many of the cultural types, which the Republic has absorbed and is absorbing." Now India, the land where I first saw the light of day, is one of those countries which has made its contributions, however indirect they may be, to the vast stream of the cultural types which have gone to the making of the mighty American Republic. Though it was not so well recognized until recently, yet it is a fact that India evolved a type of civilization which has not been without its influence in the cultural movements of Europe and America. And it is to these cultural contributions of Hindustan to the world civilization that I would invite your attention.

India, which is in area about half of the United States, is inhabited by 315,000,000 peoples. In other words, India has twice the population of Russia, India has within her borders one-fifth of the entire human race. Taking it all round, the people of India, though tinged in complexion, are not black men* as the Ethiopian is black. Hindus are sunburnt white men. The people of India, the vast majority of them, are Aryans. The Hindus are cousins of the Greeks, the Romans, the Teutons, the English, and other members of the Caucasian race.

India has been the seat of a very ancient civilization—a civilization hoary with antiquity. The three great literatures which have come down to us from the ancient world are the Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit. Discriminating scholars are not infrequently disposed to think that the Sanskrit language is "more copious than Latin, more exquisitely refined than Greek,

and more perfect than either." The development of the Sanskrit language to such elegance and perfection would have been impossible without an elaborate scientific grammar. Professor Max Muller, perhaps the greatest philologist of the last century, is of the opinion that "the Hindus and the Greeks are the only nations who developed the science of grammar, but the achievements of the Greeks in grammar are poor indeed compared with the marvellous work of Panini—the greatest grammarian that the world has ever seen." Indeed, the Sanskrit grammar of Panini may be said to have furnished the key to the science of modern comparative philology. Sanskrit was "discovered" in Europe only by the beginning of the nineteenth century, and it then dawned on the European scholars through the study of Sanskrit that the tens of thousands of words in a language could be reduced to a comparatively small number of roots. This fact, which marked the beginning of modern European philology, was known to Indian scholars at least three thousand years ago even before the era of Panini. And the great grammarian Panini himself, who lived several centuries before Christ, resolved the Sanskrit language of his time into its simplest roots.

It is not possible here even to enumerate all the great monuments of Indian literature, but if one were to ask for half a dozen of the world's great epic poems, two of them must be chosen from Hindustan—*Ramayan* and *Mahabharat*. These two epics have played the same part in the social and religious life of India as the Greek and Roman epics have in Europe. *Ramayan* and *Mahabharat* are gigantic in proportions as they are lofty in their teachings. *Ramayan* consists of seven books, they contain 48,000 lines. *Mahabharat* is even larger than that. It includes eighteen books consisting of 220,000 lines. The immensity of these two Hindu epic poems will probably come home to us with vividness when compared with the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid*. The twenty-four books of Homer's *Iliad* contain only about 16,000 lines, and the twelve books of Virgil's *Aeneid* 10,000 lines.

* And it would not matter, if they were. They would still be MEN.—Editor, *MR*

The contributions of the Hindus to exact science are significant. The world owes to India the decimal number system, Arithmetic and Algebra. "The Hindus invented the decimal number system, purely negative numbers and zero; they knew the fundamental operations, addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division."

The Hindus developed Algebra to a very remarkable degree. "Arabian writers translated Hindu works on algebra in the eighth century and Leonardo of Pisa learnt the science from the Arabians, and introduced it in modern Europe." "In Algebra," says Professor Jacob Kuntz of the University of Illinois, "Hindus were able to solve equations with one unknown quantity of the second and third degree; they invented or knew the operations of combinations. Their mathematical genius was especially creative in the solution of indeterminate equations of the first and second degree."

Geometry was perhaps first discovered in India. It was the necessity of constructing Vedic altars according to fixed rule that gave birth to this science. Mr. R. C. Dutt in his monumental work, *History of Civilisation in Ancient India*, says that "The Hindus had discovered the first laws of geometry in the eighth century before Christ, and imparted it to the Greeks."

There is reason to believe that the early teachers of trigonometry were also Hindus.

What have been the contributions of India to art? Consider music, if you will. The art of music is very ancient in India. It is much older in India than in Europe. It has a history of three thousand years of continuous development. To the Western ear, the Indian music may sound strange, but the interest in it is likely to be increased as one becomes accustomed to it. The Indian music is complicated and subtle. The Hindus classified all human emotions into thirty-two. "And for each emotion the Hindus composed a set of ragas and raginis, which are the prototype of the Leit-motive of modern music." The principal characteristic of modern Indian music is worth noting. "The octave is

divided into twelve semitones as nearly as possible identical with the notes of European instruments, tuned to equal temperament. From these twelve semitones, seventy-two scales or modes are formed, of these only thirty-six are in general use."

What have the Hindus done in applied science? Take the engineering work of tunnelling, unknown in the western world a little over half a century ago, but known in India from the ancient times. "The subterranean temples of Ellora, carved out of rocks for a mile and a half under a mountain," bear eloquent testimony to this day to that gigantic engineering feat of the Hindus.

Again, "wrought-iron pillars that no workshop in Europe or America sixty years ago could construct were made in ancient India. The Raja Dasa Pillai, as thick as the shaft of a modern battleship, still stands as a proof thereof." It has been exposed to the sun and rain and wind for sixteen centuries, and still there is no rust on it. This will prove that the Hindus knew the science of preserving iron from rust,—a science which the modern world has yet to learn.

In the science of medicine the Hindus achieved a notable proficiency at an early period of their history. The modern researches have shown that Hippocrates, who is generally credited with being the "father of medicine", borrowed his materia medica from the Hindus. "When the Greeks visited India in the fourth century, they found the Hindus proficient in the art of healing, and Alexander the Great kept Hindu physicians in his camp for the treatment of diseases which Greek physicians could not heal." In his excellent monograph on *Hindu Medicine*, Dr. Royle of King's College, London, says "We owe our first system of medicine to the Hindus." We owe our medicine to the Hindus—remember it.

Progress and civilization are relative terms. Nevertheless, that the Hindus had developed a high degree of civilization will be abundantly evidenced from the fact "that the exact anatomy of the human body was known to the Hindus

so far back as the sixth century B. C., that surgery was an applied science in India during the early centuries of the Christian era, that the first hospitals of the world were built by Hindu scientists and philanthropists, that the application of minerals to therapeutics is very old among the Hindu medical practitioners, that zinc was discovered in India before the time of Paracelsus, and that the circulation of blood was known before Harvey."

India knew something also of the theory of evolution "centuries before Spencer established it scientifically, or Darwin applied it to man's story, or Huxley bore down with it so aggressively on faith. It was the cardinal doctrine of the sages in India." Dr. R. Heber Newton in his article on "The Influence of the East on Religion" published in an issue of *Mind* not long ago remarked as follows:

"Confirmed idealist as was the Hindu philosopher he could speak of the material world only in terms of mind. Evolution became the doctrine of the progressive unfolding life through the action of the Infinite and Eternal Spirit. It was, it is, the history of the Divine being. It was, it is, a religion. And this Eastern wisdom our Western world cannot reject as an alien conception when not alone idealist philosophers like Berkeley hold it, but savants like Huxley confess that, as between the two conceptions of idealism and materialism, they would have to take the first theory."

Hindus are not mere dreamers, impractical visionaries, given over solely to other-worldly affairs. They have been a practical people devoted to material progress. Consider, for instance, the political ideals and institutions which flourished in India down to the very advent of the English. A careful scientific study of Indian history and Indian political thoughts will leave no doubt in any one's mind that representative government and democratic ideals are not foreign to Hindustan.

It is frequently supposed in the Western countries that the only form of government known in India was that of despotism, downright absolutism. Such a notion is erroneous. The power of the king in India was not unlimited, there being numerous restrictions upon his authority.

The king was not a despot. The acts of the king were not only subject to the control of the chief ministers of the state, but also to the prevailing customs, conventions, and public opinion. The king who rejected the advice of his ministers committed tyranny. And the consequence of tyranny involved severe punishment, including the loss of the throne. This is taught by no less an authority than Manu himself, the great Hindu law-giver.

Sukra, the philosopher-statesman of India, is willing to admit that the office of the king is important, but he pointedly denies that there is any essential difference between man and man. The king, as an individual, is not invested with extrasacredness, he is fundamentally no better or worse than any other man. Sukra asks: "Does not even the dog look like a king when it has ascended a royal chariot? Is not the king justly regarded as a dog by the poets?"

So modern a political institution as recall was clearly anticipated by the Hindus. Sukra urges that the king "should dismiss the officer who is accused by one hundred men." Here was a potent operative instrument by which the rights and interests of the people were safeguarded against arbitrary state officers, and they were kept under the people's control.

Even the doctrine of revolution was boldly inculcated by writers on Hindu statecraft. They have laid it down as a constitutional principle that when a king misbehaved he should be deposed and succeeded by another. Manu and other Hindu law-givers have stated in no uncertain terms that a king is not above law. Indeed, when he breaks the law and tyrannizes over his subjects they are enjoined to deprive him of his "kingdom and life together with his kith and kin."

These political teachings were not mere copybook maxims, they were actually enforced. Indian history abounds in instances where unworthy kings and other public servants have been banished from the realm in favor of the worthy ones. Indian annals show that the voice of the people is the voice of God. Moreover, they also go to prove that if man is a

"political animal" in Europe, he is no less in India

Still there may be some one who is likely to ask. Was the political philosophy of the Hindus always carried out in actual practice? Was there always a perfect consistency between Hindu political theory and Hindu political life? The answer to this question can easily be had by a study of a parallel situation in Europe. Let us see what we find in European history. To be sure there were champions of democracy in Europe, but actual democracy, real liberty, all will agree, was not born in Europe until after the French revolution in the nineteenth century. Even after the French upheaval, Metternich, "the most astute statesman of his age," avowed that "what the European peoples want is not liberty but peace." And, following the Holy Alliance, this reactionary genius of the West prevailed upon the plenipotentiaries of Europe assembled at four international congresses "to authorize what amounted to the policing of the whole Continent for the suppression of liberalism." Rule by the divine right of kings was a cardinal doctrine in the European political philosophy for many centuries. Indeed, Professor Hays in his *Political and Social History of Modern Europe* admits that the divine right of monarchy was "a political idea as popular in the seventeenth century as that of democracy is today." Thomas Hobbes in England and Bishop Bossuet in France were great teachers of absolutism, and in Germany, blood-and-iron absolutism has been in most vigorous and effectual practice until almost today. Again, for nearly two thousand years slavery in the Western world was an established institution sanctioned alike by custom, religion and law, and slavery, in spite of its infamous atrocities, was "piously" defended out of the supposed "compassion for mankind." "The Greeks and Romans were possessed strongly of the spirit of liberty," wrote the American political philosopher Thomas Paine, "but not the principles, for at the time they were determined not to slave themselves, they employed their power to enslave the rest

of mankind." The Roman empire, vast and magnificent as it was, was a confederation of aristocracies bent upon forging its chain of slavery upon the conquered races. The English historian Gibbon estimated that the slave class at one time numbered in the Roman empire 60,000,000. Were conditions much better in Greece? Was Greece more democratic than Rome? Nothing of the sort. The word democracy, which is of Greek origin, literally means the rule of the people. In practice, however, the Greeks did not mean the rule of all the people, but only the free citizens. How many then did have the rights of citizenship? When the empire of Athens was founded, the privileges of Athenian citizenship were restricted to only a few thousand people. The Athens of Pericles had 20,000 free citizens, while it had no less than 200,000 slaves—slaves "not accounted among the people"—slaves absolutely deprived of all political rights. Slavery as a legitimate and lawful institution was not abolished from Europe till the very middle of the nineteenth century. So in summarizing this subject, one is forced to the inevitable conclusion that if there was at times a marked discrepancy between political theory and political practice in Europe, there was perhaps the same discrepancy in India.

Now I propose to go a step farther and state that the republican form of government was well-known in India. Republics sprang into existence at a very early period. Mr B K Sarkar, the worthy representative of the new school of Indian history, has shown that some of these republics "survived with complete or modified independence down to the fourth century B C. These are mentioned not only in Buddhist and Jaina records, but also in the Greek and Latin literature on India as well as in the Sanskrit epics and treatises on politics." When Alexander reached India (326 B C), he had to measure his strength with the powerful military republics of the Punjab and Sindh. You may ask what became of these republics. The answer is not hard to give. Just as the Greek republics were swallowed up by the Macedonian empire, so the

Hindu republics were gradually absorbed into the larger Indian empire. And after the sovereign republics had disappeared, village communities took their place. The village communities were similar to those of the city-states of Greece. These self-sufficient units of local self-government maintained their internal independence almost unimpaired down to the early days of English rule, when they were destroyed for reasons which need not be mentioned here. Well may Mr. Havell say in his recently published *History of Aryan Rule in India*:

"It will be a surprise to many readers to discover that the Mother of the Western Parliaments had an Aryan relative in India, showing a strong family likeness, before the sixth century B. C., and that her descendants were a great power in the state at the time of the Norman Conquest."

From this it will be clear that representative government, which is rightly considered as the surest foundation of modern progress, has long been in operation in Hindustan. The people of India by immemorial tradition as well as by actual training are qualified for responsible government.

To be sure India is an ancient country, but India is not decrepit or dead like Egypt, Assyria or Babylon. India is still living, breathing, growing. India has not yet ceased to be a factor of influence in the modern world. Take so recent a movement as the romanticism of the nineteenth century. The romantic movement in Europe was influenced by the poetry of India. The *Sakuntala* of Kalidas has left its distinct mark upon the romanticism of the early period. This Hindu drama was introduced to Goethe in German translation. And it made such a profound impression upon this great literary exponent of European romanticism, that he burst forth into these lines:

"Wilt thou the blossoms of the spring, the
fruits of late autumn,
Wilt thou what charms and enraptures,
Wilt thou what satisfies and nourishes,
Wilt thou in one name conceive heaven and
earth,
I name, Sakuntala, thee, and in that is every-
thing said."

Another impetus that has been furnished

to the thought-world of the modern West came from the *Bhagavat Gita* of India. The *Gita* teaches the philosophy of conduct, religion of work—work for its own sake, *niskama karma*. The *Gita* also endeavours to "solve the mystery of death which is but an aspect of the larger and more comprehensive problem of evil. The solution is reached in the conceptions of the immortality of the soul, the infinite goodness of God, the nothingness of death and the virtual denial of the existence of evil." The *Bhagavat Gita*, or "Song Celestial", has influenced Thomas A. Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*, Browning's *La Saisiaz*, and Tennyson's *In Memoriam*.

In the United States both Emerson and Thoreau were imbued with the noble teachings of the Hindu *Gita*, Vedas, and Upanishads. In his well-known poem on "Brahma" Emerson sings:

'If the red slayer thinks he slays,
Or if the slain thinks he is slain,
They know not well the subtle ways
I keep, and pass, and turn again."

Thoreau seems to be no less familiar with the thoughts of the *Gita* and the Vedas than Emerson. In speaking of the Vedas and the Hebrew Bible, Thoreau says that some of the portions of the Vedas "I have read, fall on me like the light of a higher and purer luminary, which describes a loftier course through a purer stream,—free from particulars, simple, universal. It rises on me like the full moon after the stars have come out, wading through some far summer stratum of sky."

Limitation of time forbids me to go into an exhaustive discussion of the world's debt to India, but enough has been said to suggest that India has made some very notable contributions to the sum total of world culture. At the same time, I wish to emphasize with all the force at my command that there is no marked fundamental difference between the Orient and the Occident, between India and Euro-America. The life of the human race is essentially one, because all the nations of the world are members of the same great human family. And so long as we fail to appreciate this vital truth, we shall

mistake one another as deadly rivals, and find ourselves engaged in ceaseless strife and devastating world-war. The trend of upward evolution is not necessarily a brutal struggle of fied tooth and claw, but peaceful harmony. Shall we in America do our part to bring about that grand symphony of mutual self-respect, sympathy and fraternity between man and man, race and race, nation and nation, or shall we work to bring about hatred, confusion and chaos? The very question is enough. I have no doubt of your answer, knowing as I do your great history. The East and the West, America and Asia, are like the right hand and the left. The world-task of humanity will be accomplished only when the two are clasped in the spirit of appreciation and helpfulness. The longed-for structure of the federation of nations must

be erected, but it can be erected securely only upon the ruins of religious bigotry, racial pride, and national hatred. Oh, let us have hate only for hatred! Let us "make hatred hated." The East must be unified with the West, and that should be achieved through the harmonizing of the inner world with the outer world, through the constant effort of actualizing the infinite with the finite. The gospel which the India of today speaks is the gospel of socialized action, of human brotherhood, and of transcendent love—love which the greatest living voice of India, Rabindranath Tagore, calls "the law of life, the road to freedom, the pathway to God."

The text of this address was delivered before a session of the All-American Exposition held in the Coliseum Hall at Chicago, August 30 to September 14, 1919, under the auspices of the American Federal Government.

FRANCIS NEWMAN

THE name of Francis W. Newman occupies an honoured place in the long scroll of worthies who contributed to the glory of England during the long and prosperous reign of Queen Victoria. The Professor's life well nigh covered the entire length of the nineteenth century. He was born on June 27, 1805 and he passed away on October 4, 1897. Although less known to fame than his elder brother, Cardinal Newman, he held a much higher place intellectually and he was possessed of a bigger heart. Cardinal Newman was staunch in faith—a religionist who held that it was man's first duty to the authority of scripture. But Professor Francis Newman was cast in an altogether different mould. He was a champion of Reason and over him, as his biographer* tells us, dogma and the authority of the Church had no sway.

In 1826 Francis Newman took first-class honours in classics and mathematics and gained a Fellowship in Balliol College, Oxford. The authorities of the College described him as being one of the best "Double Firsts" ever known. But Francis was obliged to resign his Fellowship and to forego his M. A. degree as he could not conscientiously subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles of Faith professed by the Church of England.

In religion, domestic economy and in politics Newman's views were greatly in advance of his age. In his *Miscellanies*, Vol. III, he draws attention to what he describes as the four barbarisms of civilization—cruelty to animals, the degradation of man as brought about by the drink traffic, war as the great throw-back to civilization, and the penal laws as understood in England and the treatment of misdemeanants. He abhorred war and regarded it as essentially an immoral state. "Why," he asked, "does one murder make a villain, but the murder of thousands a

* These notes are based chiefly on the "Memoir and Letters of Francis W. Newman" by Giberne Sieveking (London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner).

hero?"* And again—"Why do princes and statesmen, who would scorn to steal a shilling make no difficulty in stealing a kingdom?" Writing to his friend Dr Martineau, Newman avows his belief that "every nation in the world is grasping and unjust in its foreign policy in exact proportion to its power, England not being at all an exception. England has no great European army and cannot *covet* and subdue any portion of the European continent. That is no great credit, but in Asia, where she is strong and her neighbours weak, she is as grasping and unjust as Russia, Austria, France or the U S." This was written more than half a century ago. Englishmen should ask themselves whether they are less grasping and unjust now than they were before. The remedy which Newman prescribed was to give to the people the power to veto war. He wrote—

"Until the masses of the people have a practical constitutional plebiscite to veto war *beforehand* it seems as though horrors which seem dead and obsolete must rise anew. Perhaps this is the lesson which the populations all have to learn. The earliest great triumph which the old plebeians of Rome won was the constitutional principle that wars could not be made without previous sanction of the popular assembly. England, alas! has not yet even demanded this obvious and just veto. The men whose trade is war, whose honours and wealth can only be won by war, will make it by hook or by crook, while their fatal and immoral trade is honoured."

Richard Cobden, the great apostle of Free Trade, was a doughty champion of peace. Cobden, as Newman tells us, was entirely convinced that European wars could be stopped by a general agreement to abide by arbitration. As already stated, Newman strongly insisted upon the nation's veto. He wrote—

"It is the singular disgrace of modern England to have allowed the solemn responsibility of war to be tampered with by the arbitrary judgment of executive officers. This

* The same thought is echoed by Porteus in *Death*—"One murder made a villain, millions a hero." Young writes in his *Love of Fame*

"One to destroy is murder by the law,
And gibbets keep the lifted hand in awe,
To murder thousands takes a specious name,
War's glorious art, and gives immortal fame."

same nation permits war to be made, lives by the twenty thousand or fifty thousand to be sacrificed. at the secret advice of a Cabinet, *all of one party, acting collectively for party objects* no one outside knowing how each has voted."

He thus elaborates the idea in his *Europe in the Near Future*—

"Apparently the only way in which European wars can be suppressed is by the successive agglomeration of free men, living under and retaining their separate institutions, into powers which have no interest in war, but much interest in peace, until unions reach such a magnitude as to be able to forbid wars of cupidity, and offer a high tribunal for the redress of international grievances. If all parts of a mighty union have the proportionate weight in questions of war and peace, no partial and vicious expediency can actuate them in common. Justice alone is the universal good which can unite their desires and efforts, or make them collectively willing to undergo sacrifice. The wider the federation, the more being its aspect on the whole world without, especially if the populations absorbed into it are heterogeneous in character, in pursuit, and in cultivation. A federation resting on strict justice, conceding local freedom, but suppressing local wars and uniting its military force for national defence, is economic of military expenditure in time of peace in proportion to the magnitude of the populations federated."

Francis Newman's voice was often heard in defence of the weak and oppressed all over the world. He greatly interested himself in the liberation of Italy and Hungary and in the emancipation of the Negro slaves in America. As an old man he wrote—"More than ever I see that our best work for God is to work for God's creatures, not excluding gentle brutes." India always had a warm place in his great heart. Writing to Dr Martineau in 1888 he refers to a big dinner at which he met several eminent Anglo-Indians such as Lords Northbrook, Ripon, Lansdowne, Mr Ilbert and others and he makes the significant remark—"The glorification of our Indian policy only made me melancholy." Newman was one of those who welcomed the transfer of the government of India from the East India Company to the Crown. He wrote in 1861 to a friend—

"Are you not delighted with the progress of India for the better? It appears in the public news in many ways, but besides I have papers

from Oudh and Calcutta which interest me extremely, and give me the most cheerful hopes of the future. The change introduced by the extinction of the Company's rule is prodigiously beyond what I ever dared to expect in so short a time."

He was strongly opposed to the annexationist policy pursued by Lord Dalhousie and others. Writing to a friend in July 1880 he said —

"I am made melancholy these two days by the news from Afghanistan, not that anything comes to me as new, I have dreaded it all along, ever since I discerned that the Gladstone ministry would *not* act in the moral principles which Mr Grant Duff definitely professed, which, indeed, Mr Gladstone so emphatically avowed in his book on *Church and State*, and in every grave utterance. Ever since Sir Stafford Northcote so boldly taunted the (then) Opposition, in the words 'You call our policy *crime*, but will you dare to pledge yourself to reverse it if you come into power?' No, you will not dare.' And none of the Opposition said frankly, 'We *will* reverse it', it was clear to me that they had not the moral courage. Accordingly I warned friends who asked my judgment, that it is *in the Russo-Turkish affairs* the Liberals (so called) would reverse the policy, but *in Afghanistan and South Africa* they would act precisely as Lord Beaconsfield would act, would accept the positions which they had condemned, would appear to the natives as continuing the same course of wicked aggression, would do justice only *so far as compelled*, and *no sooner*, which is exactly what Lord Beaconsfield was sure to do."

In a letter, written in 1886, he touches on the Burmese war, "which seems likely to be even worse than the Egyptian and Soudanese iniquity in its results to us." And he adds

"We have now without any just cause of war, or even the pretence of any, invaded this province, which is subject and tributary to China, and lawlessly act the marauder upon it, claiming it as ours, and treating the patriots who oppose us as rebels and robbers."

Newman urged that the House of Lords should become "a real supreme, judicial court for maintaining the rights of the princes of India and an authoritative expounder of the treaties which have passed between us and them." He said "Until India can have its own Parliament, it needs to find in England such protection as only our own Upper House can give it."

He stated in the clearest of terms that it is a "task which we have voluntarily assumed—to rule India which means [*the italics are his*] *to defend it from itself in infancy, to train it into manhood*." It presupposes that the people gradually get more and more power until like a son who comes of age, the paternal control is discontinued." Sixty years ago Francis Newman urged that it was to England's own interest as well as the only honourable course open to the English people to open up public offices in India to educated Indians. It need not, he showed, be done otherwise than with caution and gradually many variations were "imaginable, many different ways might succeed, if only the right end in view" was "steadily held up, namely, to introduce, fully and frankly, into true equality with ourselves as quickly as possible, of the native Indians whose loyalty could be counted on. Lord Grey and his coadjutors, in renewing the charter of 1833 understood most clearly that nothing but an abundance of black faces in the highest judicature, and intelligent Indians of good station in the high police, could administer India uprightly. Every year that we delay evils become more inveterate and hatred accumulates. To train India into governing herself until English advice is superfluous, would be to both countries a lasting benefit, to us a lasting glory."

Professor Newman obtained first-hand information of a remarkable nature from a "very intelligent and widely informed indigo-planter" about the golden days of indigo in Bengal. The planter told him that when he first began indigo-planting, his partner had given this emphatic rule of conduct "Never enter the Company's Courts!" And to the Professor's amazed question as to what course of action was to be pursued when a difficulty arose the planter clearly and definitely answered — "If a native failed to pay us our dues, we never sued him, but simply publicly seized some of his goods, sold them by auction, deducted our claim from the proceeds, and handed over to him the balance." Those living in the "planter-ridden districts" might tell us if this good old rule and

simple plan is still in vogue in those happy regions

Newman offered his hearty cooperation to Keshab Chandra Sen and the Brahmo Samaj in promoting the cause of education in this country. In a letter dated the 22nd May 1862 Keshab wrote to Mr Rakhal-Das Haldar who was then in residence at University Hall, London, Newman being at the time a member of the Professorial staff of University College —

"I am happy you are co-operating with our worthy friend Mr Newman in the matter of our appeal to the British public for the promotion of education in India, and I hope you will devote yourself to it with adequate earnestness as on its success India's real prosperity mainly depends. The diffusion of education amongst the females and the masses of the people of our country will tend, it is needless to tell you, to bring about not only an intellectual but a social and moral reformation."

Mr Haldar writes in his *Diary*¹ under date the 12th January 1862 —

"Saw Professor F W Newman at home. He is decided that Christ's name should not be mentioned in religious meeting any more than that of Socrates. Christ was so long regarded as God that there needs must be a reaction. When men begin to break they cannot do so softly, and this is natural. The Brahmos had not done well in having mentioned his name in connection with the educational movement, as people were in the habit of throwing stones at him here and could not be expected to support a cause with which his name was connected. However, he would try and should be glad of my co-operation."

At another page of his *Diary* Mr Haldar gives particulars of a meeting convened for the purpose of aiding the Brahmos of Calcutta in their educational movement, Professor Newman took a leading part in the transactions. There were present Professor Masson of University College and Messrs Gyanendra Mohan Tagore and Purushottam Mudaliar, amongst others. Here are two hitherto unpublished letters written by Professor F W Newman to Mr R D Haldar in 1862

I

10, Circus Road, N W.
Wednesday Night

My dear Sir,

Dhuleep Singh's secretary Sir John—

* *The English Diary of an Indian Student* (Dacca Ashutosh Library 1903)

declines to introduce Mr Tagore to him on the subject of Indian education, but intimates that at the India Board they have some difference of judgment as to what is desirable. I am afraid I cannot repeat accurately to you what Mr Tagore told me, but the practical result was that Mr Tagore hoped to talk the matter over with some gentlemen of the India Board, who were thus devoted to him. Mr Tagore seems to me thoroughly in earnest, and is likely, as a Tagore and a Christian, to have peculiar influence with them.

The chief point now manifestly is, a Normal School for Governesses and School teachers. This is a primary point asked for. This is what the Government Education does not give and cannot give. This therefore is what we can produce most confidently against pretensions such as Sir Charles Trevelyan urged. But no English ladies of good education *will be allowed by their friends* (whom not one in a thousand can in such a matter resist) to go to India in order to superintend a Normal School, unless they go under some high patronage, which guarantees respectability. This consideration makes me think, that we should patiently make effort to get *some* recognition and consideration from the Government. In fact, if we appeal directly to the public it must be *in order* to move the Government.

Very sincerely yours

Francis W Newman.

II

10 Circus Road W

Monday Morning

Dear Sir,

Mr Tagore believes that no good is to be got in the quarter he was trying. I have now on my single account done what you suggest,—I have written to Lord Stanley. He belongs to *one* side of English politics, and in this sense I might have preferred to get Sir Charles Trevelyan's leading, but in some respects he would be a greater prize than Sir Charles, *if* he can be secured. I fear that he will not dare to accept without consulting his father, and then it becomes a question of party

politics I am inwardly proposing to ask Mr Dadabhai to be the receptacle of possible replies. Considering the facility which clerks give him he might perhaps become for a short time our virtual secretary

I am
Sincerely yours
Francis W Newman

Newman did not accept the idea that animals were created for man's sport and pleasure. The Bible says that Jehovah after creating the first man told him that he should "have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the fowl of the air and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth." We accordingly find that even

in the nineteenth century Pope Pius IX refused to sanction a society for the prevention of cruelty to animals on the ground that it was an error to suppose that Christians owed any duties to dumb creatures.* Newman was a strong opponent of vivisection. "It has been a due horror to me," he says. He agreed heartily with those who said that we had no more right to torture a dog than to torture a man. He was a vegetarian and we are told that he had a great dislike for the custom of rearing cattle for food.

S H.

* *Christianity and Civilization* by C. F. Gorham (London: Watts & Co 1914)

THE WOMAN IN INDIA A HISTORICAL REVIEW

By LAJPAT RAI

VEDIC PERIOD *

THERE can be no doubt that the position of woman in India has very much deteriorated since the Vedic times. There is a consensus of authority that the position held by the Aryan woman in Vedic Punjab was a most honorable, nay, exalted one, which later influences and developments changed by no means for the better, but rather, and very much, for the worse. (Vedic India, by Ragozin, p 367.) The Vedic literature contains no discussion as to the relative positions of man and woman in an abstract sense. In the Rig Veda woman is mentioned as maiden, wife, and mother, and her rights and obligations as such, are very briefly alluded to. As a maiden, she had the same rights of protection, maintenance and education as a boy had. In the choice of a mate she appears as free as the other sex. The Vedas presuppose some love making on the part of boys and girls before marriage. There are many references "to the love of the youth for the maiden and his seeking her," as also "to their mutual affection." In support of this, see RV X, 85 where Soma is supposed to have wooed Surya, the maiden daughter of the Sun-God Savitar. Surya is called a "willing bride" and immediately after marriage, she is taken to his home by the bridegroom, in great ceremony,

*Note —The Vedic period, from 1500 B C backwards, the Epic period, 1500 B C to 500 B C, the Sutra period, about 500 B C

where the marriage is consummated. Verse 36 prescribes the marriage formula which is, to this day, repeated by every Hindu bride and groom, at the marriage ceremony.

"By thy right hand, for happiness I take thee, that, thou mayest reach old age with me, thy husband. Aryaman, Bhaga, Savitar, Paramod gave thee to me, to rule our house together."

On arrival at her husband's home, the bride is welcomed thus:

"Here may delight be thine, through wealth and progeny. Give this house thy watchful care. Live with thy husband, and in old age mayest thou still rule thy household. Here now remain nor ever part, enjoy the full measure of thy years, with sons and grandsons sporting, be glad in heart within thy house."

Then comes the final benediction, first by the husband and then by the rest of the assembly. Says the husband:

"Children and children's children may Prajapati give us, may Aryaman bless us with wealth unto old age. Enter thy husband's homestead. Within the house may man and beast increase and thrive. Free from the evil eye, not lacking wedded love, bring good luck even to the beasts, gentle of mind, bright of countenance, bearing heroes, honoring the gods, dispensing joy."

Others say:

"This bride, O gracious Indra, make rich in sons and in happiness. Grant her ten children and spare her husband as the eleventh. Rule

them and govern thy husband's father and mother, over his sisters and brothers "

Referring to this Mr Ragozin, the author of Vedic India, remarks "Might not the passage in italics be labelled for all times 'The whole duty of woman'?" He also adds "How absolute the wife's and mother's supremacy as here proclaimed and consecrated by the husband

Even the popular life of modern nations—especially the Slavs and Germans, where the son's bride enters her husband's family in an avowedly subordinate capacity, and becomes almost the bond slave of his parents, his sister's servant and scapegoat—fall far short of the ideal of domestic life set up by our so-called 'barbarian' ancestors," meaning thereby the Aiyans who composed the vedic hymn referred to above

The hymn presupposes a society in which

(a) The parties to marriage were grown up persons, competent to woo and be wooed, qualified to give consent and make choice

(b) The bridegroom was supposed to have a home where his wife could be mistress, even in case his parents and brothers and sisters, for some reason, happened to live with him, thus giving her the position of supremacy in the household

(c) The object of marriage was the mutual happiness of the parties, the raising of children, the service of the gods and the accumulation of all kinds of wealth

It should be noted that unlike the Christian ceremony of marriage, the Hindu marriage rites do not require the wife to pledge obedience to the husband

In this society, monogamy was the rule, though polygamy existed among the highest classes, as an exception,* on the other hand polyandry was not known to the Vedas

Marital infidelity was, of course, disapproved, though cases of illegitimate love were not unknown, as they have never been in any age in any part of the world The marriage ceremony was, in essence, exactly the same as prevails in the length and breadth of India to-day It was performed at the bride's house, began and ended with Homa The operative part was the bridegroom's taking the hand of the bride and leading her round the Homa fire, three times or five times or seven times according to local custom

There is little information as to what rights the wife enjoyed in the property of her husband As to the wife's right to her own property—the dowry and presents which she got from her parents and friends, etc, there is nothing to indicate that she had not absolute control over it then, as now In this respect the position of the Hindu woman has always been much superior to that of her European sisters The poetical ideal of the family was decidedly high, and "we

*Vedic India, by Ragozin, p. 373, Index of the Vedas by Macdonald and Keith, p. 478.

have no reason to doubt," remark Macdonald and Keith, "that it was often actually fulfilled "

The complete supremacy of the wife, as the mistress of the household, has already been evidenced by the hymn quoted above Moreover we notice that the wife was a regular participator in the religious duties of her husband No religious ceremony could be considered complete and efficacious, unless both joined in it The words *Pati* (Master), *Patni* (Mistress) signify equality of position in the household On the death of a husband, the widow had as much right to take another husband as the widower had to take another wife The Rig Veda does not contemplate the custom of Suttie anywhere (Macdonald and Keith, Index to the Vedas p 488) though it is said that there is a reference to the custom in the Atharva Veda

As for the seclusion of women there is no trace of it in the Vedic literature, and the whole weight of evidence is in favor of the women enjoying full freedom of movement

As regards the education of women, not only was there no restriction, but there is evidence showing that women attained positions of highest distinction, as scholars and teachers

• EPIC PERIOD

Coming to the Epic period we notice that the position of the woman has not in any way deteriorated There is the same freedom in the matter of marriage Nay, even more, the Epic expressly recognizes marriages of love contracted otherwise than with the consent of parents, as that of Arjuna and Subhadra, two of the principal characters of the story of Mahabharata The tendency of the Epic period seems to have been to confer the status of marriage on all permanent unions, however effected—permanent in the intention of the parties at the time of union In fact forms of marriage are recognized which validate even irregular unions, so that the issue of such unions may not suffer from the stigma of illegitimacy There are no caste restriction at all There is a clear development of the wife's right to and power over her own property, called *Stridhana*, though it will be wrong to say that either the Vedic or the Epic period contemplated the economic independence of the women as it is understood to-day in the West It is said that the custom of secluding the women developed in the Epic period, but this opinion is based on very slender data and ignores the weight of evidence on the other side There are numerous references to women going to witness tournaments, accompanying their husbands in wars, on journeys and otherwise moving about freely. Whatever authority there is for such an opinion confines it to the warrior class The Epics, it is admitted, have been freely added to even up to recent times and the probability is that whatever references there are must be of later date when seclusion of women had come to be looked upon as a mark of respectability,

In no other respect was the position of women lowered in the epic period. In fact I am inclined to think that the position of the women in the epic period was at its high watermark in India. Since then it has declined steadily. Singing and dancing and riding were considered accomplishments and the sex relations were perhaps of the freest kind.

SUTRA PERIOD

From the Epic period we come to the Sutra period. The Sutra period of Sanskrit literature stands by itself. "*Sutra*" means a "string" and the Sutra period stands for literature embodied in aphorisms. Religion, philosophy, law and science all were reduced to "*Sutras*." This is the period to which most of the "*Scared Laws of the Aryas*" and the *Smritis* belong. Their groundwork was decidedly old, but the form was later. These were evidently the first attempts of the Hindu Aryans at scientific codification and in these codes we notice a curious mixture of narrowness and liberalism, freedom and restriction in the rules concerning sex relations. It is impossible to fix the period of these laws. The European scholars think that they are post-Buddhistic, i.e., subsequent to 500 B.C. The Hindus claim a greater antiquity for them. The truth lies between the two. The originals of these codes were pre-Buddhistic, but the Codes, as they stand to-day, are post-Buddhistic compilations, to which the compilers added many a rule of their liking or such as they found had already been adopted in practice. The outstanding features of these codes in the matter of the position of woman may be briefly stated.

(a) They lay emphasis on the necessity of a girl being married on the first signs of puberty becoming manifest or within three years of the event and look with approval on marriages even earlier.

(b) As such any consent on the part of the parties becomes out of the question, nor is there any scope for love-making or wooing.

(c) But where guardians neglect the marriage of their female wards and let the three-year limit elapse, the girls are allowed to choose their own husbands regardless of the consent or approval of their parents. The duty however of arranging the marriages of girls at an early age is laid down in such stringent and awe-inspiring terms as to preclude the idea of parents daring to incur the penalties of neglect in this respect. So that in the course of time, the institution became universal.

We are not quite sure whether the institution was so universal as it afterwards became at the time when the Mohammedan dominance in India began, because instances of girls marrying at an advanced age and choosing their own husbands are not unknown to the first centuries of the Mohammedan rule. The daughters of Raja Dahir made captives by

Abdul Bin Kasim in the eighth century A.D. were grown up maidens who by a very ingenious stratagem revenged themselves on their captor. Sanjogta, the princess of Kanauj, who chose Prithi Raj of Delhi as her husband in defiance to the wishes of her father, was also a grown up maiden. These are by no means solitary instances, as the dramatic literature of the period immediately preceding Moslem invasion is full of such instances—grown up girls falling in love with persons of their liking and marrying them by choice. Kalidasa, the greatest of Indian playwrights, flourished in the fifth century A.D. Sakuntala, the greatest of his creations, was a grown up maiden who accepted the love of Dushyanta, without waiting for the consent of her father. Her friends and companions were also grown up maidens. Hsuan Tsang, the Chinese traveller, mentions a case of marriage between a grown up Brahman young man and a girl with whom he at once began to live and who gave birth to a child of his after one year. This was in the sixth century. The Moslem writer Abu Raihan Alberuni, writing in the eleventh century A.D., says "The Hindus marry at a very young age, therefore the parents arrange the marriage for their sons." We think it will be fair to conclude that the custom was in the making when the Moslem invasion began and that that invasion gave it a further point. The reason was that the Mohammedan religion prohibited the carrying off of married women as slaves.

To return to the provisions of the *Sutras* and the *Smritis*, the very conception of infant marriage pre-supposes the assumption of great powers on the part of parents over the persons of their sons and daughters. The Hindu law-givers had no difficulty in recognizing this power, but when they came to enunciate the principles which should guide men in their treatment of women, they found a strange conflict of views among the different strata of society. On one hand, was the Aryan feeling of high respect for the woman, on the other, was a notion that the woman should never be independent. On one side we find Manu laying down that—

"Women are to be honoured and adored by fathers and brothers, by husbands, as also by brothers-in-law who desire much prosperity (*Bahu Kalyan*)"

"Where women are honoured (or worshipped) there the gods rejoice, but when they are not honoured, then all rites are fruitless."

"Where women grieve, that family quickly perishes, but where they do not grieve, that (family) ever prospers."

"Houses, which women, not honoured, curse, these as if blighted by magic, perish utterly."

"Therefore they are ever to be honoured at ceremonies and festivals, with ornaments, clothes, food, by men who desire wealth (or prosperity)." (Manu III, 55 to 59)

Once more it is repeated (in III, 62) that "If

the wife be happy, all the house is happy and if she is not happy, all are unhappy "

Compare this with the following general disqualifications stated in Chapter V

"In her childhood (a girl) should be under the will of her father, in (her) youth, of (her) husband, her husband being dead, of her son, a woman should never have freedom of will "

"She must never wish separation of herself from her father, husband or sons, for by separation from them a woman would make both families contemptible "

"She must always be cheerful and clever in household business, with the furniture well cleaned and with a not free hand in expenditure " (Manu V, 148 to 150)

Again in IX, 2 and 3, it is repeated that "Day and night they should be kept by the male members of the family in a state of dependence. The father guards them in childhood, the husband guards them in youth, and in old age sons guard them "

In verse 7, the husband is enjoined to "guard his wife with diligence, as by guarding her he guards his posterity, his ancestral usages (*Kula Dharma*), his family, himself and his own duty (*Dharma*)". The husband entering into the wife and becoming an embryo is born again on earth and since the woman brings forth a son of like sort with the man whose love she shares, therefore the man should guard the woman with care that he may obtain purity of offspring ". The next two verses explain what is meant by guarding. No man, it is said, can guard a woman by force or by secluding her, only those women are well guarded, who guard themselves, though themselves, though some suggestions are thrown out in Chapter II as to how to keep them employed. A very low estimate is formed of the natural instincts of a woman and in the interests of purity of blood it is insisted that she should be kept in firm control. In these laws the one point constantly kept in view is the purity of the offspring. It is to be secured (a) by a careful selection of the parties to the marriage, (b) by insisting on marriages within the caste, (c) by laying down a very high ideal of womanly fidelity, (d) by giving the husband full control over his wife, (e) by pointing out in strong language the evil consequences of marriages out of caste, and (f) by assigning a low social position to the issue of mixed marriages.

In the earlier literature, we notice an anxiety to legalize almost all permanent unions, whether the result of love, chance or caprice, in order to legitimize the offspring. It was expressly stated that in the case of marriages out of caste, the caste of the offspring shall be that of the father. The sons of maidens were declared to be the legitimate sons of their fathers as well as the sons begotten on another person's wife when such person had left the wife without her fault or when he was impotent or consumptive, and so on. In the later literature the offspring of

all unions out of caste are held as degraded, with a few exceptions the same fate is assigned to the issue of illicit intercourse. It will be interesting at this stage to enumerate the different kinds of marriages recognized by Hindu Law.

Hindu Law recognizes marriages of eight kinds. Of these, four are approved, one is tolerated, but the other three are disapproved. The fact, however, that they are counted as marriages shows that they were at one time legal. The approved forms are those in which the maiden is given away by her guardian, according to rites. The tolerated one is the union of mutual love apparently without or against the consent of the guardian. The three disapproved ones are (a) when a price is demanded by the father and taken, (b) when the maiden has been forcibly abducted, presumably against her will, (c) when a man dishonours a woman when she is sleeping or otherwise unconscious. This was considered to be the basest act, but the act having been done, it was legalized in the interests of all concerned. (See Narada XII, 38 to 44.)

HINDU EUGENICS.

The Hindus had developed a high idea of the law of eugenics, as is clear from the following rules which we take from the law books.

Says Narada (XII, 13, 8) "The man must undergo an examination with regard to his virility, when the fact of his virility has been established beyond doubt, he shall obtain the maiden (but not otherwise).

"If his collar-bone, his knee, and his bones (in general) are strongly made, if his shoulders and his hair are (also) strongly made, if the nape of his neck is stout, and his thigh and his skin delicate, if his gait and his voice is vigorous, et cetera. By these tokens may a virile man be known, and one not virile by the opposite characteristics."

The fact that Narada lays emphasis on the competency of the man, and Manu on the eligibility of the woman, also shows what a change had come in the ideas of the Hindus from the days of Narada's book to the days of the code which is now extant by the name of Manu.

Says Manu "Let him, i.e., the young man, who has completed his studies and is desirous of becoming a householder avoid for marriage ties these ten families—That by which rites are neglected, which has no males, which possesses not the Vedas, the members of which are hairy or have piles, also families afflicted with consumption, dyspepsia (chronic), epilepsy and leprosy.

"Let him not marry a tawny maiden, nor one with superfluous members, nor a sickly (maiden), nor one without hair or with excessive hair, nor a chatterbox, nor one red (eyed), nor one called after a star, a tree, (or) a river, nor

one called after barbarians or a mountain, nor one called after a bird, snake, or slave, nor one with a terrifying name

"Let him marry a woman not malformed, with a prosperous name, that walks like a *hansa* (swan) or elephant, with slender hair locks, and teeth, (and) soft-bodied"

All the law-givers are agreed that the most approved form of marriage is the one within the caste, though they allow a man of a superior caste to marry a woman of inferior caste. In the case of marriages out of caste but approved, the tendency of the earlier authorities is in favour of the issue getting the status of their fathers, but that of the later is against it. Such mixed marriages explain the numerous castes and sub-castes that are to be found among the Hindus to-day beyond the original four

A careful study of all the provisions of the present code of Manu, makes me think that at the time when this edition was compiled, there was a strange conflict of opinion between jurists and lawyers about the rights and position of women. Some were in favour of maintaining the old ideals, while others were inclined to give to the males a complete mastery over the females. These latter went so far, as even to lay down that in all the ceremonies to be performed for the woman, no mantras (Vedic formulas) were to be recited. She was denied the right of reading the Vedas, and was thus placed on a level with the Shudras. On the other hand, the chivalrous-minded held that a woman was a goddess incarnate. Baudhayana and Vashishtha have said that "women are free from all stains, Soma gives them cleanliness, Gandharva music, and Agni, purity of all limbs". Both these writers hold that a woman is never entirely foul, as month by month her temporary uncleanness removes her sin. In similar strain, says Manu, that the mouth of a woman is always pure, like a spring or stream of running water

So far we have considered the position of women in general, or of a woman as wife, but when we come to look into her position as a mother we find that she is at once placed on a higher pedestal, a view in which all authorities agree. In II, 145, Manu lays down that "the *Acharya* (meaning a spiritual teacher) exceedeth ten *Upadhyayas* (meaning an ordinary teacher) in the claim to honour, the father exceedeth a hundred *Acharyas*, but the mother exceedeth a thousand fathers in the right to reverence and in the function of educator." In the story of the Ramayana, when the mother of Rama begged of him not to accept his father's decree of exile, she cited this authority in favour of her command, but Rama, on the other hand, reminded her of her own Dharma, as a wife, viz, not to do anything which will be contrary to her husband's wishes or his Dharma. This silenced her. Motherhood, among the Hindus,

is the most sacred function in the cosmos. They respect it all through nature. On her merits as a woman, every woman is a potential mother. So every woman, other than one's own wife, or one's own daughter or sister is addressed as mother. When talking to stranger women a Hindu always accosts them as "mother", sometimes as "sister" even, but more often the former than the latter. The mothers among the Goddesses, receive the highest homage and are sometimes placed even above the gods. Similarly, the native land is also worshipped as the motherland ("*Matri-bhumi*") Among the Hindu festivals, there are several which are dedicated to the worship of females as mothers, sisters and daughters. Wife is worshipped under the name of Lakshmi, which in the ordinary modern acceptation is considered the worship of wealth. There is a sacred day in honor of husbands

The Hindus are generally very tender towards their females. There are, of course, exceptions to the rule. In the darkest period of Indian history certain customs sprang up, confined to certain sections of the population though, which reflect the highest discredit on the originators and followers thereof, such as *suttee*, infanticide, the ill-treatment of widows, infant marriage, polygamy, selling girls, dedicating girls to the service of the gods. Missionary zeal sometimes paints them thick, and gives them out as universal customs. They are sufficiently bad, and one at least, pretty general, viz, child marriage, but certainly not so bad or so general as they are represented to be. *Suttee* and infanticide were never general. They were confined mostly to royal families or the highest castes. *Suttee* was originally entirely voluntary. Some of these customs have already disappeared. Others are in the process of change and dissolution. Young India has no desire to palliate them, and all modern reforming agencies are pledged to the restoration of the woman to her original high position in society.

LEGAL STATUS

(a) *Rights in Property* There is a verse in which Manu says "Wife, son, slave, these three are said to be without property, whatever property they acquire, is his to whom they belong." It should be noticed that the wife here occupies the same position as son, but read in the light of other provisions in the same code, and also with the provisions laid down in other law books, it appears that the verse is a mere piece of rhetoric or a pious wish or an interpolation

Hindu Law has always recognized the right of the wife and the son to possess property of their own. In IX, 194, Manu says "That which is given over the marriage fire, that which is given in the bridal procession, that (which is given) over, for an act of love, and that (which is) received from brother, mother,

father, (all this) is called the sixfold property of woman (195) That which is received as a gift (by married woman) after her marriage, from the family of her husband, or of her connections, and that which has been given her by her beloved husband, shall become the property of her children should she die while her husband is alive

In a joint Hindu family, no one male or female is entitled to a definite share of property. The property is managed by the head of the family, in the interests of all the members of the family, male and female. A daughter of the family remains a member of the family as long as she is not married, but when married she joins another family. In divided families, widows, mothers, daughters and sisters are recognized as heirs under certain circumstances. An unmarried daughter, according to some authorities, inherits a share of her father's property along with her brothers. Ordinarily when sons survive, they take the whole estate of the father, with a legal liability to maintain the female members of the family out of the father's estate. In case of their neglecting to do so and the property being sold, the right of the female members to be maintained out of that property is supposed to follow the property, whosoever may be in possession thereof. In case of no sons surviving, a widow inherits the property of her husband with full rights as to the use of the income thereof, but with restricted rights as to the alienation of it. She can only alienate for legal necessity or with the consent of the next heir. On her death the property goes to the daughters of the family with the same rights as were possessed by their mother. Similarly, the mother is also an heir in the absence of brothers.

The special property of the females is inherited by their children (sons and daughters) in the first instance, or in their absence by the husband in certain cases, and by the father's family in certain others.

Rights of Adopting a Child Females have full rights of adoption. They can even adopt a son to their husband after his death, if he in his lifetime authorized her to do so for him, or if his blood relatives consent.

Rights to Guardianship of Children Under certain circumstances, a mother has the right of guardianship over her children of both sexes. She is also counted as one of the guardians for the purposes of giving away a daughter.

Rights Over Issue Hindu law books contain very elaborate rules as to the raising of issues and as to whom the issue belongs after birth. These rules will seem to be very curious to people brought up in conventional Christian theology, but when read in the light of modern advanced thought as to parentage and eugenics they will not be devoid of interest. In IX, 32, Manu likens the woman to land and man to seed. In some places the seed is the principal factor, in others, the womb of the woman,

when both are equal the offspring is considered the best. In a general comparison between seed and womb, the seed is called weightier, for the offspring of every created being is characterized by the characteristics of the seed. Whatever qualities the seed possesses, the same will be found in the produce. "For (though) this earth is declared to be the eternal womb of created beings, (yet) the seed exhibits in the things produced from it, not a single one of the qualities of the womb. In the earth, even in one and the same (kind of) land, the seeds which spring up after being sown by husbandmen at the (proper) time are of various appearances, each according to its own natural qualities. Rice, cane (a kind of rice), mudga, sesame, beans, and barley sprout forth according to their seed, and so do leeks and sugarcanes. Hence a well-instructed man, aware of this law and understanding wisdom and science, should never sow seed in the wife of another man. Just as in the case of cows, mares, female camels, slave girls, buffalos, cows, goats and ewes, it is not the progenitor that owns the offspring, even thus (stands the rule) in (the case of) other men's wives. Those who, not owning the land, but possessing the seed, sow it in the land of another man, do good to those who own the land, and the possessor of the seed receives no fruit. If there has been no agreement between those that own the land and those that own the seed, the advantage gained belongs plainly to those who own the land, the womb is more important than the seed. But all that is produced in consequence of a special agreement between the owner of the land and the owner of the seed is possessed equally by both.

Dissolution of Marriage Marriage according to the Hindu law is a sacrament, and in theory, the tie is indissoluble. Once married, always married, is the formula. This theory discountenances the remarriage of widows, though it has not in practice operated so strictly against the widower. The earlier law looks, however, show that in those days not only was the remarriage of widows common, but that under certain circumstances, both the wife and the husband were allowed to remain in the lifetime of their former mates.

Remarriage in Lifetime First, in the case of the woman. Says Narada in XII, 103, 97, "When her husband is lost or dead, when he has become a religious ascetic, when he is impotent, and when he has been expelled from caste, these are the five cases of legal necessity, in which a woman may be justified in taking another husband."

Narada prescribes different periods of waiting for married women of different castes, in case of absent husbands, and says that no offence is imputed to a woman if she goes to live with another man after the fixed period has elapsed. To the males, presumably, Narada allows greater freedom. Starting with a general injunction,

that 'husband and wife must not lodge a plaint against one another, with their relations or the king, when a quarrel has arisen through passion, which has its root in jealousy or scorn,' he adds that when husband and wife leave one another from mutual dislike they commit a sin

Punishment of an Adulteress Narada has no mercy for a married adulteress. He says "Her hair shall be shaved, she shall have to lie on a low couch, receive bad food, and bad clothing, and the removal of sweepings shall be assigned to her as her occupation. One who wastes the entire property of her husband under the pretence that it is her own Stridhana, or who procures abortion, or who makes an attempt on her husband's life, he shall banish her from the town." In the next verse it is laid down that the husband will be justified in expelling a wife who always shows malice to him or who makes unkind speeches. A woman thus abandoned had presumably every right to take another husband. On the other hand, Narada does not omit to say that "if a man leaves a wife who is obedient, pleasant spoken, skilful, virtuous and the mother of (male) issue, the king shall make him mindful of his duty by inflicting severe punishment on him."

Manu on the other hand lays down elaborate rules regulating the degree of guilt attachable to a husband, in case of transgression of marriage vows under different circumstances, for instance, it is said in IX, 77, that the husband should wait one year for a wife who hates him, at the end of the year he should take away what (he) has given her and not live with her (any more). In the case of a wife taking to adultery, Manu excuses her "if she hates the husband because he is crazy, degraded, castrated, impotent or afflicted with an evil disease," but not so if he only neglects her, or is a drunkard or troubled with an (ordinary) disease. Even in the latter case, the wife's guilt affords no ground for his setting her aside for good. She may be neglected for three months. Manu allows a man to "over-marry," in case his wife indulges in intoxicating liquors, or does sinful things, or (always) opposes her husband, or is diseased, or plagues her husband, or is always wasting his money. In the case of sterile women, however, a man has to wait for eight years. But if the wife is of a lovable disposition and endowed with virtue, though sterile, the husband can only remarry with the permission of the former.

By the time of the present code of Manu, opinion had swung to condemn the remarriage of widows. I do not think even the present code of Manu makes it illegal, but it certainly does not approve it. The ideal of marriage set up in the present code of Manu is high from the ordinary conventional point of view, but rigid and illiberal from the point of view of modern thought. In the opinion of Manu, the whole duty, in brief, of husband and wife towards

each other is that they cross not each other and wander not apart from each other, in thought, word or deed, till death. And the promise is, that they who righteously discharge this duty here, shall not be parted hereafter, even by the death of the body, but shall be together in the world beyond (Manu IX, 101, V 165 Bh D 211).

The idea was one of complete merging of the two personalities into one. It is said that "As the quality of the husband is, such becometh the quality of the faithful wife, even as the quality of the waters of the river becometh as the quality of the ocean into which she merges" (IX, 22). Husband here is likened to an ocean and his superiority is presumed. In another place in the same chapter, it is said that "The man is not the man alone, he is the man, the woman, and the progeny." The sages have declared that the husband is the same as the wife, (IX, 45), evidently implying the superiority of the woman, as it is expressly stated in IX, 23, that "if the wife be of noble soul and the husband sinful and she determines to follow him in death unwidowed, then even as the strong snake-hunter grasps the serpent and drags it out to light from the deepest crevice, even so shall her giant love and sacrifice grip the husband's soul and drag it from its depths of sin and darkness into the realms of light above." Here the love of the wife is assigned a higher position than the wisdom of the husband. The whole idea is poetically put in a book of mythology (Vishnu Purana, VI, XIX), where it is said, "He is Vishnu, she is Shri. She is language, he is thought. She is prudence, he is law. He is wisdom, she is sense. She is duty, he is right. He is author, she is work. He is patience, she is peace. He is will, and she is wish. He is pity, she is gift. He is chant and she is note. She is fuel, he is fire. She is glory, he is sun. She is orbs, he is space. She is motion, he is wind. He is ocean, she is shore. He is owner, she is wealth. He is battle, she is might. He is lamp, and she is light. He is tree, and she is vine. He is music, she is words. He is justice, she is truth. He is channel, she is stream. He is flagstaff, she is flag. She is beauty, he is strength. She is body, he is soul." It will be observed that in this description she is superior in certain respects and he in certain others. Both are "equally important and indispensable and inseparable, that each has distinct psycho-physical attributes and functions which supplement each other that both are present in each individual life, but that, in certain epochs, one, with its set of forms, and the other, with its differentia and propria, in another set of forms"—Bhagwan Dass (*The Science of Social Organization*, P 222).

The English expression "better half" has an equivalent in Sanskrit (*Ardhangi*) which means only "one half." The idea is probably based on I 32, in which it is said that Brahman, the

Creator, having divided his own body into two, became a male by half, by half a female. So divided, a man and woman only became a per-

fect person when again joined in wedlock, and only as one perfect person can they perform effective religious ceremonies

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS REJOICE OVER PROHIBITION

JANUARY 16, 1920, brought much rejoicing among university students in America. Most of them had desired prohibition. They had given money to secure it, they had worked for it, and all who could do so had voted for it. Hence they were happy over the result.

It had not always been so. Twenty years earlier, university students had not generally favored legal prohibition. Most of them were total abstainers and many wished to eliminate the saloon in their home communities, but they were not yet converted to state or national prohibition. In some schools, drinking customs were prevalent and the "beer bust" quite popular.

The change was largely effected by the Intercollegiate Prohibition Association, organized in 1900 by students and maintained always as a student organization, entirely separate from other anti-alcohol societies. Its purpose was to secure unbiased study of alcoholism and of the liquor traffic by students. "Study the problem for yourself, from your own conclusion and then act," was the slogan. Giving each man the right to think through for himself, it then laid upon his conscience the moral obligation to apply his conclusion.

In twenty years, the organization became the largest student civic movement in the world, with local societies in most of the colleges and universities of the United States. Its trained secretaries reached 100,000 students annually. An oratorical contest system caused the writing of 10,000 orations and their delivery before 3,000,000 people. Emphasis on study induced 100 institutions to present accredited study courses on the liquor problem, and 125 more to arrange volunteer study classes. Series of study topics, text books, a strong student magazine, and other anti-liquor literature were prepared and published. Hundreds of prohibition lecture

courses were conducted in the universities by national leaders. Journalistic contests secured the publication of great masses of original material. As many as 2,000 students served in local prohibition campaigns in a single year. Drinking customs in colleges were investigated and fought. Hundreds of petitions and thousands of letters were sent to legislators. A spirit of co-operation was spread among the other temperance organizations and united work was initiated. A number of leaders were furnished to the various anti-alcohol societies, and a great multitude of public leaders were informed and stimulated for leadership in their own walks of life. The I P A was "The Training School of the anti-liquor reform."

In its national convention, January 5, 1920, the association completely re-organized for new methods necessitated by the victory. The work in America will be continued until prohibition becomes an accomplished fact in the social life of the nation. Law enforcement will be stressed. A careful survey of the results of prohibition will be made and published. All efforts to weaken the prohibition law will be vigorously fought.

Numerous appeals for aid received from student anti-alcohol organizations in other nations were considered. These appeals stated that the proved methods and trained *personnel* of the I P A can be of great assistance, that the story of the fight of American students for prohibition will inspire other students, and that the presentation of the results of American prohibition will advance the reform. The association voted to answer these appeals and to place itself at the service of students all over the world. It was emphatically agreed to offer assistance only where invited by university leaders.

Mr. Harry S. Warner, General Secretary of the I P A for twenty years, will travel in Europe this spring and summer for study

of the alcohol situation. He will visit many of the universities and will return to America the last of the year. Mr. Warner is widely known in America as one of the best authorities on alcoholism, his book, "Social Welfare and the Liquor Problem," having been used as a text book in hundreds of colleges and universities. He has made a long study of alcoholism and the liquor traffic, especially

in their relations to other social problems. His European trip will enable him to gain a wider viewpoint of their world aspects. I will ask him to write an article on "Prohibition and its Results in the United States" for the *Modern Review*. I will endeavour myself to send further contributions on this subject.

FREDERICK GRUBB

AN INDIAN TUBERCULOSIS SPECIALIST IN ENGLAND

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

I HAVE been spending a few days under the hospitable roof of Dr. Chowry Muthu, an eminent Indian specialist in tuberculosis, who for twenty years has been maintaining one of the largest and most up-to-date sanatoriums at Wells, Somersetshire.

The Great Western Railway train from Paddington Station in London brings one to Wells, in a little less than four hours, traversing a country that smiles more and more the farther one gets away from the metropolis. Wells lies in a happy, prosperous valley, surrounded by hills. The road rises gradually from the town to the first lodge of the sanatorium estate—nearly 800 ft. in 3 miles.

THE INSTITUTION

The administration building set in the midst of 300 acres of woodland and meadow, in the heart of the pine-clad Mendip Hills, is approached by the main drive, which winds past a grove of tall, old beech trees, and through a thick hedge of pines, laurel, and other evergreen trees and shrubs. The patient on arrival, is taken at once to the reception room where he (or she) is given tea by the Sister-Matron, and is later welcomed by the Secretary. Tea over, he is conducted to the consulting room and introduced to the chief physician (Dr. Muthu) who takes his history, makes a cursory examination, gives a word of cheer and encouragement and sends him to bed, after which he has a consultation with the relatives and friends of the person who has come to find healing in the heart of the pines in God's open air.

The chalets in which the patients live are modern structures connected with a corridor at the back and a separate verandah in front, and face the south, looking upon a vista of pines that stretches as far as the eye can see. Each chalet is provided with a bedstead, combination wash-stand and chest of drawers, a book-case and a chair, is fitted with electric light, and hot and cold water, and warmed with hot water radiators.

A card containing printed rules for the guidance of the patient, and the daily programme, and a temperature chart hang on the wall of each chalet.

The doctor himself planned all the chalets, and so arranged the position of doors and windows that every square inch is flushed with fresh air, and no part of them can have a pocket of still or stale air.

During the first week or so following the patient's admission into the sanatorium, he is ordered to rest in his chalet. If his evening temperature is inclined to go up, the length of his rest is prolonged. When the proper time has arrived the Doctor prescribes graduated exercise. Gradually his walks are increased from 5 to 10 minutes to an hour and an hour and a quarter in the morning and an hour in the evening, all the walks being regulated according to his temperature and the condition of his lungs and general health.

During the stormy, rainy, or snowy weather, the patient is sent into the pine woods, where he can take his exercise sheltered from stormy winds and rains amid the pine avenues, a distinctive feature of the Sanatorium. The pine needles form a soft

brown carpet underfoot. All the huily bully and smoke and smells of modern life are as if they never existed. The wind southing through the trees soothes the nerves, and communion with nature drives away all care and worry, and the inhalation of the aroma from the pines exercises a healing influence upon the diseased lungs.

As the patient improves, in addition to the walking exercise, he is initiated into breathing and singing exercises and is set to chopping, sawing and planing wood, gardening, and other light manual work, graduated according to his condition, the idea being to increase all physiological activities, expand the lungs and improve the breathing capacity, and, in a general way, to improve his inhalation and nutrition that help to heal the lungs and arrest the disease.

In the intervals of various exercises come periods of rest—the silence hours—the two most important being an hour before dinner and another before supper. The doctor places great value upon these rest hours which, if rightly taken advantage of, help to restore the jaded energies, improve the general health and exert a soothing and recuperative influence over body and mind.

Besides fresh air, exercise and rest, food forms an important part of the programme of healing. The doctor pays a great deal of attention to the diet of the patients. He believes in the three-meal system and emphasizes that there should be an interval of at least four hours between meals. He does not believe in over-feeding the patients, and strongly condemns the German system of superalimentation, as it tends, in his opinion, to bring about hæmoptysis (bleeding of the lungs), gastric derangements, and other troubles. He also lays great stress on giving the patients fresh food to eat—fresh meat, fresh green vegetables, most of them gathered from the sanatorium garden, and fresh milk just drawn from the cow or brought straight from the dairy. He says that stale, boiled, and sterilised milk, stale and tinned foods, and frozen and adulterated foods impoverish the body and lead to tuberculosis, for such foods deprive the body of vitamins—those vital, organic elements and living salts that are absolutely necessary for the building up of the body.

In the sanatorium, meals are served punctually at 9, 1.30, and 7 and it is interesting to watch the patients—except the bed-patients

—troop into the dining hall and take their places when the bell rings. The doctor is such a strict disciplinarian that a patient has to deposit a penny in the charity-box, if he is even one minute late.

THE MAN

So far I have merely described the doctor's institution, but most important of all, is his personal supervision. He supplies the soul. He is the centre of the place. Round him revolves everything. His eyes are here, there and everywhere. He is ably helped by the assistant doctor, the Secretary, the Sister-Matron, and the nursing staff, but his is the last word, and he supervises every department.

The best of the East, and the best of the West have gone into the making of this man. Born 55 years ago in Madras, of Christian parents, he went to England and studied at Kings College, London, and after graduating and practising medicine in a London suburb travelled all over Europe attending various universities, acquiring higher degrees, and enlarging his experience.

Simultaneously he made a deep study of the Indian system of medicine, and books on Indian thought and culture. The more he delved into the medical lore of long ago, the more he found that the ancient Indians had read the inmost secrets of nature, had discovered the fundamental causes of a great variety of diseases (including tuberculosis) and elaborated systems of cure which even a prejudiced scientist would consider remarkably effective and closely following the ways of nature.

CAUSATION OF DISEASE

Dr Muthu thinks that tuberculosis is a disease of civilisation, and has always been such. Civilisation breeds it in two ways. First, it upsets the mental balance by late hours, over-heated rooms, over-excitement, worry and self-indulgence. Second, it impoverishes the body by packing people together in city slums and flats, lacking fresh air and sunshine, and compelling them to eat food, minus the necessary body and nerve-building qualities. The poor, especially, suffer through unhealthy surroundings, lack of nourishment, and financial worry. These tendencies begotten of civilisation derange that harmonious process of secretion and excretion of the various organs which go on

in a perfectly healthy body, which the scientists call metabolism. This impaired metabolism, directly due to unbalanced civilisation, is the root cause of tuberculosis.

Exactly what part the germs of tuberculosis play in its causation, in the majority of cases, is, according to Dr Muthu, a matter of dispute among the highest medical authorities. The

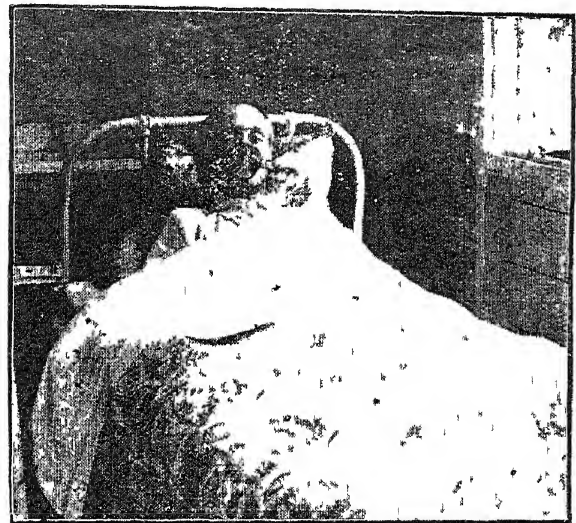


Dr Chowry Muthu,
Head of the Mendip Hills Sanatorium

bacteriologists still maintain their extreme position. Dr Muthu contends, however, that there are cases of pulmonary tuberculosis, where with definite clinical symptoms no tubercle bacilli can be demonstrated by the most expert bacteriologist. He says that medical men are more and more finding that behind the microbes lie impaired metabolism, and that behind the impaired metabolism lies the mental factor of the disease. In other words, the importance of the soil is being more and more recognised, and the doctors are learning that unless the soil was ready for its reception, the deadliest of germs could do no harm. As he puts it, infection is conditional to the soil. His long experience makes him inclined to the belief that the clinical

manifestations of the disease are more the products of bad environment than they are produced by the germs.

Dr Muthu, writing in "The Lancet" recently, declared that we can have tuberculosis without tubercle bacilli (one such case was reported by his friend Sir St. Clair Thomson in the "Tubercle") in the same way that we can have influenza without the influenza germ. He noted that fully 30 per cent of consumptive patients admitted into his sanatorium had no tubercle bacilli in their sputum. On the other hand, he said that there were cases where tubercle bacilli were present in the glands of the body and in the system without presenting any symptoms of consumption whatever. Yea—he said that



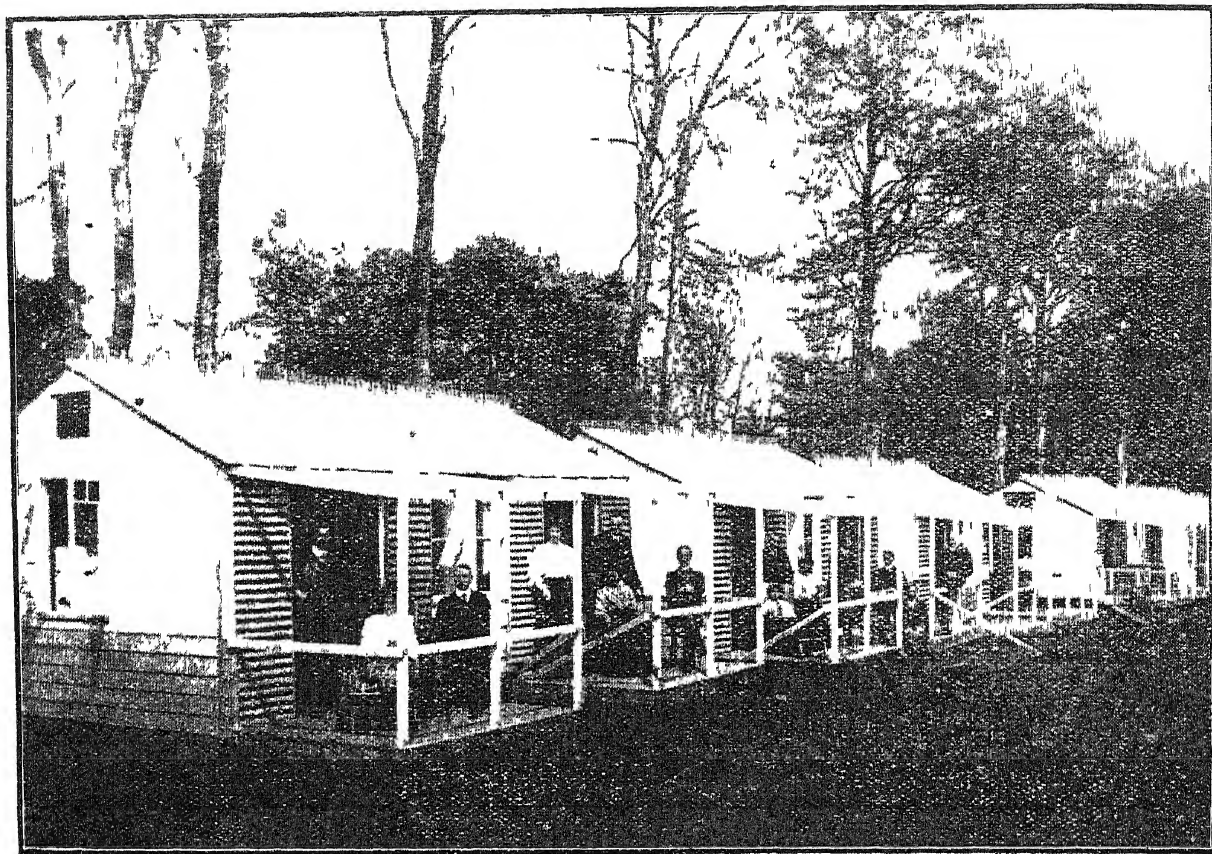
A Patient at Dr Muthu's Sanatorium wearing the mask containing lint soaked with healing medicines

tubercle bacilli were actually found in the blood of two typhoid patients at Henry Phipp's Institute, Pennsylvania, by two experts, Petty and Mendenhall.

STAGES OF TUBERCULOSIS

Conversing with me upon the subject, Dr Muthu explained that the first stage of tuberculosis is known as the "consolidation" stage. The patient's temperature does not rise above 99° or 99.6°. Only small portion of one apex, or both apices of the lungs are involved. The appetite is good, and the patient sleeps well, but has a slight persistent cough. This stage, he went on, might be divided into three periods.

At first the patient is slightly irritable



A group of Chalets at Dr Muthu's Sanatorium

and begins to suffer from sleeplessness, and to be overpowered by lassitude. Girls become anæmic. Nothing, however, is found, on examination. It appears as if the nervous system is most involved.

During the second period a slight rise of temperature in the evening, following exertion, is registered, and all symptoms become accentuated.

In the third period, the temperature rises perhaps as high as 100° in the evening, and the cough develops. On examination, the apex is found to be involved.

The end of this period and the beginning of the first period of the second stage merge into each other. Between the third period and the first stage of the next, the tuberculous bacilli appear.

The third stage Dr. Muthu characterises as the "cavity stage." The temperature swings between 98° and 102° —it might be called a typhoid temperature.

DR MUTHU'S CONCLUSIONS

After twenty years of experience with the "great white plague", Dr. Muthu has come to

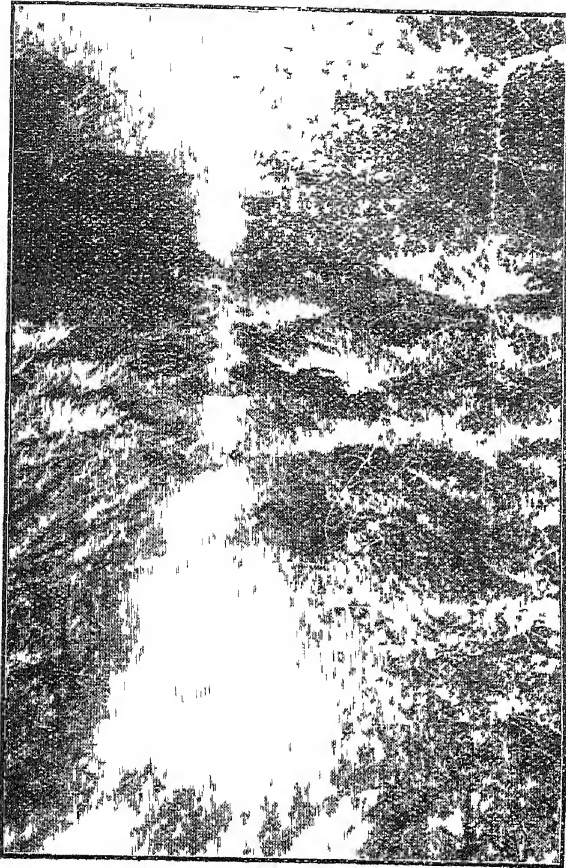
certain very definite conclusions. He declares —

1 The disease is fundamentally due to dyscrasia or constitutional weakness, which may be caused by poverty of the mother's milk, or to being artificially fed, or to lack of nutritious food or malnutrition during infancy or youth, or, in later stage of life. Or it may be due to residence in unhealthy conditions such as over-crowded slums or over-heated or sunless flats. Or it may be due to physical and mental habits such as alcoholism, worry, over-excitement, over-work, sexual excess, and the like.

2 Tuberculosis flourishes in a such soil. The greater the dyscrasia, the greater the virulence of the tubercle bacilli.

3 The tubercle bacilli cannot create disease unless the soil is ready for it.

4 Therefore the soil is infinitely more important than the bacilli, that is to say, the general, physical, mental, moral, and social conditions, play a far more important part in the causation of tuberculosis than the presence of tubercle bacilli.



An Avenue in the Pine-Woods

CURE

5 The cure of tuberculosis depends not so much upon the eradication of the bacilli as upon the eradication of the conditions that provide a fertile soil for them. In other words, the chief treatment aims at the improvement of the general, physical, mental, moral, and social conditions of the patient.

When it comes to the question of treatment for tuberculosis, Dr. Muthu lays great stress upon the necessity of the patient

1 Coming to him in the earliest possible stages of the disease,

2 Having plenty of fresh air to flush out the lungs,

3 Having absolute quiet,

4 Having an abundance of nourishing food, but not eating to the point of over-feeding,

5 The absence of worry and complete relaxation of strain.

To sum up, Dr. Muthu aims at giving Nature the opportunity to repair the damage wrought by bad housing, worry, fatigue, etc.

Dr. Muthu does not believe much in the

use of drugs, and does not resort to them except in cases of absolute necessity. He wants to create conditions that will give Nature the maximum opportunity to repair the damage wrought in her handiwork. Instead of medicines he prescribes open air and healthful physical and mental conditions supplemented by graduated exercise, continuous inhalation of anti-septic vapours to purify and strengthen the system, by means of a mask covering the mouth and nose, and electric treatment for the nerves. The personality of the doctor, he thinks, plays a great part in the cure of the disease. He must inspire confidence. He must radiate cheerfulness. He must have the effect of calming over-wrought nerves, in other words, he must be a psychopathist as well as a physician.

INDIAN GENIUS

It came to me somewhat of a surprise to find that this Indian who for over 35 years had lived in the heart of the English countryside, far away from the capital of Empire, and six thousand miles distant from his Motherland, should be a great admirer of the genius of his people and a firm believer in their destiny. He said to me that if Indians would but be true to their own traditions, if they would but study their own literature, philosophy, religion, art and science, if they would only give up aping the West, and



Laidy patients sawing wood for the sake of exercise



Patients taking breathing exercises

attempt to fashion the future of India in conformity with the highest Indian ideals, India would once again lead the world as she did in the days gone by

Only by being true to their inmost nature, Dr Muthu said, could Indians save their souls and regenerate their bodies. If in their perversity, they cut themselves adrift from their ancient traditions and customs, they would not only lose their souls, but would ruin their bodies as well. The noise and smoke incidental upon industrial life, the troubled mind, the jangled nerves constantly itching for excitement which result from the strenuous life, and the creation of tenements where men, women, and children grew like the fungi cut off from God's light and fresh air, would make for tuberculosis and other diseases in India, as the multiplication of mills, factories, workshops, and tenements have done in the West.

In Europe and America, the far-seeing have already realised that if the race is to survive, industrial conditions must be revolutionised, in fact, the whole tenor of civilisation must be changed. Is India, Dr Muthu asks, going to don the clothes that the West is discarding—the dirty, soiled, and verminous linen whose very touch is polluting to the body as well as to the soul? Or is India going to retain that spaciousness of life, that peacefulness, that meditateness, that has always characterised her. If she must apply steam and electricity to her industries, will she forget her own past, and also the experience of the West, and create these new industries in already overcrowded, unhealthy,

towns, or will she set the world a great example by setting up large industries in the heart of the forest, where men and women can produce articles of utility, without losing their contact with nature, and becoming slaves of machinery?

DISEASE BREEDING CONDITIONS

Dr Muthu wishes India to mend her ways quickly, for during his recent visits to India, he has found a state of affairs that has alarmed him. In Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, and in fact every large town where modern industries have grown up, he has discovered that the evils of Western industrialism are not merely repeated, but are greatly accentuated by the climate on the one hand, and by the greed of factory-owners on the other. Men, women, and children, are toiling for long, weary hours in rooms oft-times filled with steam, with an angry tropical sun beating upon the roof, living in houses that are dark and dingy and fearfully overcrowded, and subsisting upon food insufficient in quantity, and poor in quality. The most elementary laws of sanitation are defied. Men and women never have enough of tissue-building food. Germs of virulent diseases are thus encouraged to grow and to multiply, while the human body does not possess the vitality to resist their attacks. Hence diseases like tuberculosis have acquired a hold upon Indian life that inspires Dr Muthu with fear.

Dr Muthu estimates that the deaths in India from tuberculosis range from 900,000 to 1,000,000 per annum. Mortality from that scourge in Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and



Patients out for a walk wearing their masks

other Indian cities, in proportion to their population, is larger than it is in Birmingham, Glasgow, and other industrial towns in Great Britain

The ratio of mortality from tuberculosis among Indian women is greater than among men. This is especially true of the classes whose women observe purdah. Women of child-bearing age are great sufferers, which unfortunately involves a double loss. The pity of it all is that there are only four or five sanatoriums to treat the sufferers from this dire disease in a vast continent like India.

A PRACTICAL PROGRAMME

If he could have his way, Dr Muthu would organise the widest and most energetic campaign to fight the conditions that make for tuberculosis in India, to save every man, woman and child suffering from that disease, and to fight the conditions that produce the "great white plague". He believes that one of the prime necessities of our day is the establishment of a central bureau in India, with provincial and town bureaux, to disse-

minate information about the cause, growth, prevention, and cure of tuberculosis. There should also be hospital homes, with special facilities for lodging patient's relatives and cooking food according to caste regulations. There should be colony sanatoria in rural districts, just outside towns, where a person suffering from tuberculosis could live with his family, in healthy conditions, and continue to support them while he is undergoing treatment to cure his own disease.

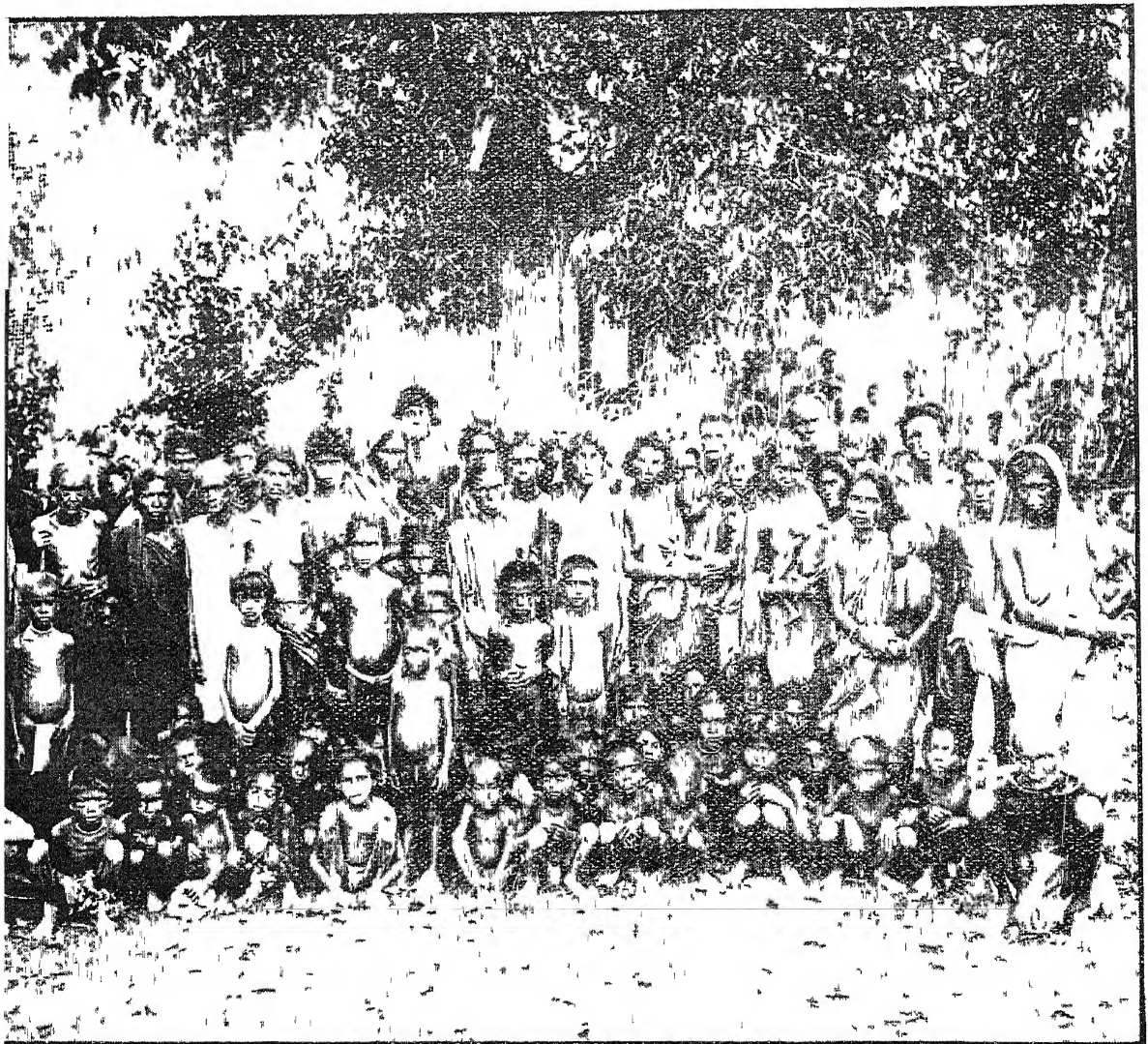
The longer I know Dr Muthu, the more I study his methods and become acquainted with his nationalistic ideals and ambitions, the more I am forced to ask myself: How can India afford to spare this son of hers to toil in a foreign land? Is not his rightful place in India, saving his own people from the dread scourge, rather than abroad, bringing health, hope, and happiness to men and women who are not of his own blood? Is it not a great loss to India that another country should benefit from his work, so sorely needed by his Motherland?

FAMINE IN PURI DISTRICT, ORISSA

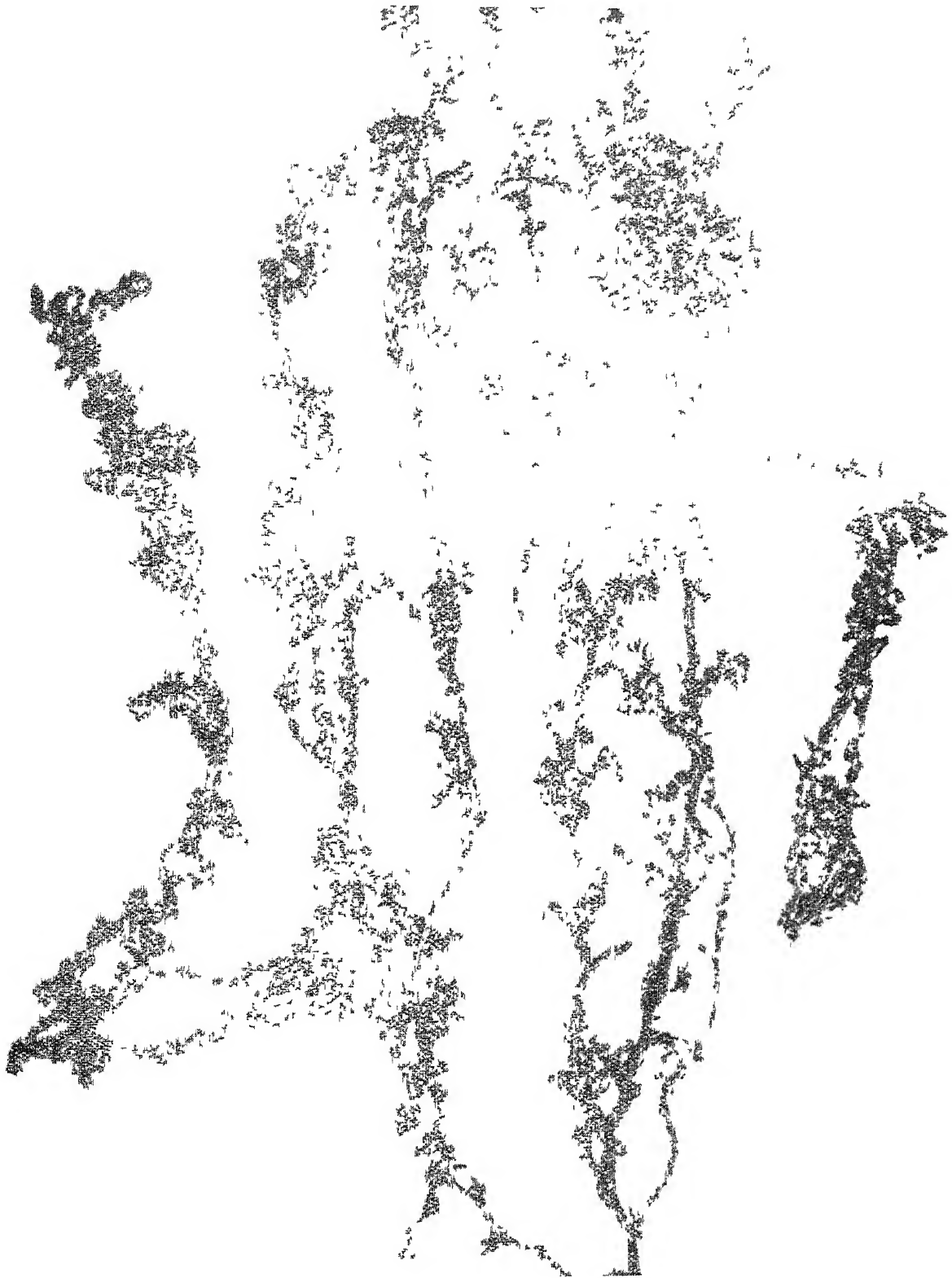
THERE is a nice distinction drawn in official parlance between scarcity, distress and famine, and, therefore, even when large numbers of people in some tract of country may be living (or rather slowly dying) on grass, leaves and earth, famine may not be officially declared there. However, as His Honour the Lieutenant Governor of Bihar and Orissa has himself visited Puri and is reported to have been satisfied that all that ought to have been done has not been done, it is

hoped that the luckless people of Puri will now get more help from the State than before.

Nearly an area of some 150 square miles has been affected for well-nigh 2 years. Last year almost the whole district suffered badly from drought and the part in question suffered very terribly. The drought was followed by flood, which lasted for over a month. It caused untold miseries to the people. The paddy crop was absolutely destroyed. The patches of rabi crops



A Group of Famine-stricken People in Puri (Orissa)



The Grass which has hitherto formed the staple food of the people of Puri during the Famine, but which is now scarce owing to the heat of summer

that a few people had here and there showers These successive visitations of
grown were washed away by subsequent nature have rendered the tract desolate. Up



Some Famine-stricken men, women and children of Puri

to the first week of April last, no help was received from Government except the inadequate Taccavi grant. Test works were opened for some months at some places, but it was practically impossible for any large number of people to attend, because of the low wages and of the extremely weak condition of their physique to which they had been then reduced. Some villages have become practically deserted. The district famine relief committee, organised through non-official efforts, with the district magistrate as president, gave some relief, which was utterly inadequate.

The photographs kindly supplied by the Hon'ble Mr. Gopabandhu Das and repro-

duced here, will give some idea of the condition of the people. The starving people had hitherto been living on, among other things, the grass of which a picture prepared from a sample sent by the same gentleman is given here, but that, too, has now become scarce owing to the heat of summer. The condition of the people is desperate, and as State help is never quite enough, we must ourselves render as much help as possible. Contributions may be sent to (1) Mr. Gopabandhu Das, Satyabadi, Sakshigopal P. O. (Puri), (2) Mr. Jagabandhu Sinha, President, Famine Enquiry Committee, Puri, or (3) Mr. L. Sahu, member, Servants of India Society, Puri.

TWILIGHT

When twilight falls
And running waters sing
For joy of Eventide,—
When the moon-gold primrose lights
The piny dusk
Like pale stars fallen and become
Calm eyes of dreamy Earth,—
Then through the holy stillness
Memory flies
To long-forsaken regions,
And the little words of childhood
Belong no more

As oracles of delight
The little thoughts
That hovered round our innocent hearts
Come singing through a mist of tears
With silvery messages,
And they we lost in years gone by
Gather around once more,
Old grief all gone,—
When twilight falls
And running waters sing
For joy of Eventide

E. E. SPEIGHT.

THE SHADOW OF COMING EVENTS

BY PRINCIPAL HERAMBACHANDRA MAITRA, M. A.

“IT is the universal belief,” wrote Sir Sankaran Nair in his minute of dissent of the 16th April, 1919, “and there is little doubt that facts unfortunately tend to support it, that primary English education for the masses and higher education for the middle classes are discouraged for political reasons.” The existence of this unhappy belief is largely due to the very inadequate expenditure upon education by the State and to the doctrine, sometimes formally inculcated and so often implicitly acted upon, that the range of high education ought to be narrowed in order that its quality may be improved. This doctrine and the policy based upon it have been severely criticised in the Report of the Calcutta University Commission. And we had hoped that henceforth there would be a marked change for the better in the attitude of Government towards high education. But the pernicious theory we have referred to does not appear likely to be discarded soon. It has been a pet argument with many Anglo-Indian officials that high education ought to be restricted in order that it may not grow out of proportion to primary education. When Sir Michael Sadler appeared as a witness before the Joint Parliamentary Committee, he was asked by Lord Sydenham whether he was “surprised to find” that the number of students receiving high education was too large in comparison with the total number of pupils receiving instruction, whether education in India was not “top-heavy because of the comparatively small foundation which the primary schools at present have.” These questions fairly reflect the tone and temper of the bureaucracy in India in dealing with this vital question. No champion of the cause of education could have replied to them more effectively than Sir Michael. He said he had “remarked the comparatively small number in the primary schools”, but that “he did not regret at all the number of those

in the high schools or the universities. He wanted them earnestly to have a much better education, but he did not want any kind of curtailment of educational opportunity, on the contrary, an extension of it, and an improvement of it.” He emphasized the view expressed by the Commission by adding that “he wanted very much to see the base of the pyramid strengthened, but the apex of it not whittled away.” Sir Gurudas Banerjee had said the same thing in criticising the views of his colleagues on the Indian Universities Commission. Words like these, coming from an eminent English educationist of the position of Sir Michael Sadler, are like a fresh breeze blowing across the arid sands of Anglo-Indian officialdom. We recognise the old familiar face of the bureaucracy in the Resolution of the Government of India of the 27th January last, which has filled the minds of all who are interested in the cause of high education with alarm. Nothing is said about such of the recommendations of the Commission as are dictated by the conviction that, while it is necessary to improve the quality of university education, it would be disastrous to narrow its range. And it is proposed wholly to do away with the safeguards against repressive measures and violent changes which have been insisted on by the Commission in order to conciliate public opinion and soften the transition from the old order of things to the new one in working out a scheme which is described by its authors themselves as revolutionary. The drastic changes recommended by the Commission are to be enforced with a rigour from which they have shrunk, and new restrictions of a most arbitrary character are to be imposed on the spread of high education. The indictment penned by Sir Sankaran Nair is a grave one, and the course of action outlined in the Government Resolution under review is an addition to the pile of facts which tend

to support it. The Government of India flings itself perversely athwart the scheme of the Commission in most essential things, and we are told that it is that scheme which it proposes to carry out. Now it is absolutely clear that, whatever may be the merits of the policy chalked out in this announcement of the intentions of Government, it is not a carrying out of the scheme framed by the Commissioners. It is in sharp conflict with their plan of operations, not in minor things, but in matters vitally affecting our educational interests.

One most notable feature of the Report of the Commission is a frank recognition of the fact, that in order to bring about the improvement of education very large expenditure must be incurred. "If Bengal is to have a better system of education," they say, "Bengal must pay for it, and only Bengal can pay for it, and what Government has to show is not 'generosity', but courage in levying the necessary taxation, a courage not to be expected until it is plain that those who will have to pay the taxes are ready to do so." Their estimate is that an annual expenditure of 68 lakhs and capital grants amounting to 61½ lakhs (excluding Dacca) would be necessary to give effect to their proposals. This does not include the outlay that would be required to meet other urgent needs, such as the extension of primary and technical education. "We should fail in our duty", they say, "if, in putting forward claims on behalf of university education, we did not also hold in view the not less important claims of the other educational grades upon the resources available for educational purposes". Their estimate is admittedly a rough one. Since the issue of the Report there has been an enormous rise in the price of land and building materials in Calcutta, which must add immensely to the cost of the scheme proposed for Calcutta. But we need not go into details. The essential point is that a much larger expenditure of money from the public funds must be provided for. Sir Michael laid the utmost stress on this in his evidence before the Joint Parlia-

mentary Committee. "The real defect in education in Bengal," he said, "is anæmia, and this anæmia is due to *want of money*—money wisely spent and rightly guided, but, *above all things, money*" (The italics are ours). And on this question the Resolution is silent. We have only one short sentence in the concluding paragraph: "Funds will be required." If, as the Commissioners say, "the main burden of establishing a new and healthier system must be borne by the taxpayer," it was the clear duty of Government, in dealing with the Report, to give the taxpayer some idea of the way in which it is proposed to raise money. "It is no part of our duty," the Commissioners say, "to suggest how the money is to be found. But it is part of our duty to show that reform can only be had by paying for it." "It is part of our duty, also, to recognise that in the conditions now existing in Bengal, the raising of the necessary funds must present difficulties." These were questions which the Government was bound to tackle. But they have been quietly ignored. Is this statesmanship? Education is to be a transferred subject when the Reform Act comes into operation. It will be the Minister and, through him, the re-constituted Legislative Council, that will have to find the money needed for the expansion and improvement of education of all grades. It is therefore absolutely necessary that the public should be taken into confidence in this matter. The Government of Bengal, we are told, is "in accord with the Government of India" regarding the action contemplated. We do not know what are the views of the Bengal Government on the financial aspect of the question. The Hon'ble Member of the local Government who holds the education portfolio declared at a public meeting some time ago, that when the Government was re-constituted under the Reform Act less money would be available for education than now. If that is the case, we do not know how an expensive enterprise may be now undertaken. If, on the other hand, the Imperial Government and the local Government have between them devised some scheme for raising funds, the

scheme—or an outline of it—should have been embodied in the Resolution. It is the avowed object of the Resolution to give the public an opportunity of criticising the proposals contained therein. But the duty of offering criticisms is rendered very difficult by the absence of a clear statement as to the funds likely to be available, not for a year or two, but for a reasonable length of time, for the working out of a scheme involving operations which must be extended over a number of years. We have ample experience of the futility of schemes of reform causing widespread agitation, without adequate support from the public funds for carrying them out. Speaking of secondary education in Bengal before the Joint Parliamentary Committee, Sir Michael Sadler said, the University “had tried to do everything to fulfil its responsibilities, but there had not been enough money given for it to be possible to reform these schools and to bring them to the standard which the University would desire them to reach.” But while nothing is said as to the way in which, and the extent to which, it is proposed to provide funds for carrying out the recommendations of the Commission, “the Government of India,” it is stated, “accept them as probably embodying the most feasible scheme which is compatible with existing conditions.” Are we to understand that “existing conditions” include the measure of financial support which Government is prepared to give, or that the scheme is “feasible” without such support? An expensive administrative machinery, including an Executive Commission “for the initiation of the new order of things” and a salaried Vice-Chancellor, is to be provided. But no assurance is given, no hope is held out, of any assistance to be given to colleges and schools in the all-important matter of finance. What both the Commission and Sir Michael Sadler have described as “anæmia” is to continue. Henceforth much more is to be spent on doctors’ fees. That, it appears, is “feasible.” As to providing more nourishment for the sick man, his guardian, whose great responsibilities are eloquently dwelt upon, is not in a position to commit himself.

No champion of the rights of the people could have laid greater stress than the Commissioners have done on the necessity of enlisting the sympathy and securing the co-operation of the public in carrying out the reforms they have proposed. They have noticed the existence of a strong feeling, or rather “an instinct” in the public mind, “that education should not be controlled in all its vital issues by a bureaucracy, however competent and disinterested, acting in the name of Government.” And they have repeatedly urged the necessity of proceeding in such a way as to have the support of public opinion. “A new educational outlook is sorely needed in the schools and colleges of Bengal. But this reform,” they believe, “must draw its chief strength from a determined movement in public opinion.” They speak most appreciatively of a growing demand for education and of disinterested enthusiasm for educational progress among us. “Much of the zeal for secondary education,” it is admitted by them, “springs from non-self-regarding motives and works against what might appear to be self-interest. It is this belief in education for its own sake, a belief which, though often vague and indiscriminating, is ardent and sincere—that gives its chief significance to the movement now spreading in Bengal.” And speaking of the reform of secondary education, they declare that “a wave of public opinion, supporting the actions of a new representative central authority, can alone raise the present system to a new level of usefulness and open out new educational opportunities.” But the Resolution displays either an amazing ignorance of this growing demand for education or a determination to ignore it and follow a course which cannot but alarm and exasperate the public. “The Government of India,” it is stated, “are assured that there is at the present moment in Bengal a strong and general aspiration for improved methods in the higher branches of instruction.” We do not know whether those who act in the name of Government have taken note of the fact that there is now in Bengal as

keen a desire for an extension of education as an aspiration for improved methods. If there is any feeling or sentiment of the public mind which is most emphatically admitted and most generally supported by the Commissioners, it is this desire to have the avenues leading to the temple of knowledge widened as far as possible. And the generous support given to this desire by the Commissioners constitutes the brightest feature of their Report. There is much in it with which we are unable to agree. But we are deeply grateful to its authors for their having lent the most valuable aid of their powerful and united voice to the demand of the people of Bengal, that the plea of efficiency "in the higher branches of instruction" should not be put forward as a ground for the curtailment of educational opportunity. They "sympathise very strongly with the view that one of the greatest needs of India is more education, widely spread throughout the community." But lest this should be understood to mean merely a wide diffusion of education in the lower grades, they declare that the educational system of the country "should be crowned by universities, professional schools and technological institutions, popular in their sympathies, exacting in their standards, many-sided in their courses of study, staffed by able teachers, and *accessible to all who have shown themselves competent to profit by advantages necessarily costly to the State*." We share the opinion that, just as the main economic purpose of the co-operative movement is to democratise credit, *a chief aim of the educational institutions of India should be to democratise knowledge*" (The italics are ours.) And this is the view to which Sir Michael Sadler gave forcible expression before the Joint Parliamentary Committee. Accordingly he and his colleagues have insisted on the necessity of bringing about the improvement of university education, not by abolishing a large number of colleges, but by giving liberal financial help from the public funds to all colleges prepared to fulfil certain essential conditions. Of this constructive side of the scheme of the Commission we see nothing

in the Resolution. But we see a plan of ruthless destruction clearly laid down. The Government, it is stated, intends to introduce a Bill which will "not depart in essential respects" from the recommendations of the Commission. The "essential outlines of the Commission's scheme" are to be embodied in it, though "there may be room for differences in detail." But, after these professions of a desire to adhere to the main recommendations of the Commission, we find some of the most important features of the scheme of the Commission—proposals prompted by sympathy for struggling institutions and a desire to proceed cautiously in the working out of a revolutionary scheme—brushed aside as if they were matters of little consequence. "Some colleges in Calcutta," the Commissioners say, "will at first be incapable of taking part in such a co-operative system as we have wrought out. For these colleges temporary provision on something like the existing basis will be necessary, until they shall have been enabled—we hope with both public and private assistance—to bring themselves up to the requisite standard." But the course of action foreshadowed in the Resolution before us is not characterised by any such weak feeling of sympathy. It favours the adoption of measures "for dealing with such colleges in a more expeditious manner than that contemplated by the Commission." They ought, it thinks, to be "definitely separated from the University" and placed under the proposed Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education with a very limited membership, "if they hold out no prospect of fulfilling the conditions of constituent colleges." As to the duty solemnly enjoined upon the State of giving them liberal assistance to enable them to fulfil these conditions, the Resolution, as we have seen, is silent. And the reason assigned for such a drastic course in dealing with institutions which have not sufficient resources of their own to come up at once to the required level of efficiency, is that the treatment proposed for them by the Commission may "lead to difficulty." "It will be hazardous to permit the continued existence in Calcutta

of a class of institutions insufficiently equipped for participation in the Teaching University," for they would be "calculated by their proximity to depress the standards which such a University should maintain." This, we must admit, appears to us to be a doctrine of an absolutely original character, wholly unknown to such eminent experts on the theory and practice of the science of education as Sir Michael Sadler and his colleagues. They have emphatically condemned purely restrictive measures unaccompanied by generous efforts to help and strengthen the colleges. They have denounced the idea—so greatly in favour with the bureaucracy—of "whittling away the apex" of the educational fabric. But their emphatic declarations in favour of a constructive and sympathetic course of action have made no impression upon the Government of India. If the doctrine that has been promulgated by Government is to be accepted as the basis of educational re-construction, the work of re-construction must be accomplished, not by building up, but by pulling down. Excepting the small number of students who may be fortunate enough to secure admission to the one or two institutions favoured by the State, the multitudes of young men clamouring for education in the teaching university to be organised in Calcutta are to be denied access to it. As to the theory put forward by Government in support of such a course, where in the world has it been acted upon? And what would be the effect of its application to the entire educational system of the country? In many district towns in Bengal, there are several schools recognised by the university, some of which are far less efficient than others. Should these be closed in order that secondary education may be raised to a higher level? It cannot be said that all the colleges at Oxford or Cambridge stand on the same level. Should the weaker ones be destroyed, in order that they may not by their proximity "depress the standards" aimed at by these great seats of learning?

The great object that the Calcutta University Commission has kept in view is the establishment of a teaching univer-

sity in Calcutta, the essential feature of which is to be the co-operation of the colleges and the central authority in providing efficient instruction for under-graduates as well as post-graduate students, and the system contemplated by them has been described as one of synthesis. But the line of action proposed in the Resolution is one which would make the existence of constituent colleges almost impossible. The Commission admits that no college could at once "turn its intermediate students into the street," and that "even in the case of the best colleges" it is necessary to provide for a transitional period. But Government takes no notice of all this. The mufassal colleges, however, are to be treated differently, for they serve a useful purpose "by providing higher education near to the homes of many students" and by preventing them from adding to "the already overcrowded state of Calcutta colleges." Even those mufassal colleges which cannot be immediately placed in the category of University colleges, are to be allowed to retain the degree courses for some time. But they must "rid themselves from the commencement of the presence of intermediate students." As to the problem created by the large number of senior students in Calcutta and the multitude of intermediate students in the mufassal being at once "turned into the street"—to borrow a phrase from the Commissioners, that does not deserve any attention from Government. We have not a word in the Resolution as to the steps to be taken to provide educational facilities for these unfortunate young men. Surely "the high and difficult enterprise" on which the Commission has invited the educated classes to embark, is something very different from what is here offered to them in its name. And it is cruel mockery to bespeak their assistance and co-operation in carrying out such a plan!

As in the manner of dealing with the colleges, so in the constitution of the University, the deviations from the recommendations of the Commission proposed by Government are not of a minor character. They are of very vital importance. It is

proposed to substitute the Chancellor for the Government of Bengal as the authority that is to sanction the statutes, "in order to emphasise the personal relation of the Chancellor with the University." That is to say, in the most important matter of university administration the re-constituted executive council and the ministers are to have no voice. It is further proposed to reduce the representative elements in the composition of the Council, to lessen the number of representatives of recognised teachers in the Academic Council, and to give the Executive Council "supervisory control, subject to certain safeguards, over the framing of new Regulations." And finally, the organisation of secondary and intermediate education is not to be included within the scope of the legislative measure to be brought forward by the Government of India. It is to be left to the local Governments "to take such action as they think fit regarding the most important recommendation of the Commission, namely, the separation of intermediate from collegiate education, the placing of it, together with secondary education" under a properly constituted board. This is described by the Commissioners "as the very pivot of their whole scheme of reform." This is to be left untouched in the bill to be placed before the Imperial Legislative Council, and yet the bill, it is stated, will "embody the main proposals" of the Commission. But the proposed departures from the scheme of the Commission, which are described in the resolution as "slight" modifications, involve those vital issues on which the avowed intentions of the Government are entirely opposed to the course of action which the Commissioners have in the most emphatic manner urged it to pursue. And what the Resolution itself describes as "the most important recommendation of the Commission" is left to be dealt with by the local Government in such manner as it thinks fit. It is, we presume, intended that the proposal to take away the intermediate classes from colleges preparing

students for the degree examinations should be accepted and given effect to, not by a legislative measure on which the representatives of the people in the Legislative Council may have an opportunity of expressing their views, but by an executive order.

It might have been expected that the Government of India, intimately acquainted with the actual condition of things and the difficulties in the way of translating a revolutionary scheme immediately into practice, should seek to soften its rigour and bring it into operation cautiously and slowly. But the course which it intends to follow is precisely the reverse of this. The most generous proposals of the Commission are set aside, the degree of caution and the sympathy and consideration they show for existing institutions is rejected as likely to do harm, and the utmost keenness is shown in the matter of giving effect to the most drastic recommendations of the Commission "in a more expeditious manner" than the Commissioners have thought just or expedient. To declare that such a course is adopted for giving effect to the scheme of the Commission is to convey to the public mind a most erroneous impression as to the real intentions of Government. Should the new era which is to dawn upon this unhappy country when the Reform Act comes into operation—an era to which we are looking forward so hopefully—be ushered in without a change of attitude on the part of the executive, the generous concessions made to our demands by the British Government will fail to achieve their great ends. They will neither help us forward on the path of progress nor bring peace and contentment, in the place of disorder and discontent if the bureaucracy continue to display such want of sympathy with our aspirations and such lack of insight into the real nature of the problems which demand solution as are exhibited in the educational policy chalked out in the Resolution of the Government of India.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Art in Muslim India

In an article on ‘Art in Muslim India’ by Professor Jadunath Sarkar printed in the Modern Review for October 1919, I find the following passage —

“Mr Havel (sic) holds that the Mughal dome is really of Hindu origin and represents an attempt to translate into stone or brick the figure of a drop of water resting on a leaf, which in Sanskrit literature is the emblem of the shortness of human life and the uncertainty of all earthly things. His theory seems to be far-fetched.”

I fully agree with the last sentence, but will Professor Jadunath Sarkar kindly inform your readers where in any of my writings he finds a description of ‘the Mughal dome’ which bears the interpretation he puts upon it? I certainly have never had the intention of expressing myself in this way and am sorry that I should have been so misunderstood.

E B HAVELL

M. A. Foucher and the Nationalists

My attention has been drawn to the three communications published in the Modern Review on the subject of Professor Foucher's reference to the so-called “nationalists” in his University lectures in Calcutta.

If I may be permitted to recall my impression of what the learned Professor said in the course of his lectures which I had the privilege of attending. His reference to Mr. Arun Sen and the so-called “nationalist” critics was certainly disparaging, if not positively contemptuous. In one of his next lectures he followed up his caustic allusions by saying that if the modern Javanese under the stress of “swadeshi” enthusiasm were to claim originality in respect of the art of Borobudur, they would be as ridiculous as our “nationalists” who would like to usurp the credit which is due to Greek artists in the Punjab. I do not claim that I have been able to reproduce the actual words of the great *savant* but I am positive that I have been able to give the substance of his suggestions. Before putting down these notes I referred to three of my friends (who shared with me the honour of listening to the lectures of the French *Pandit*), one of whom is a distinguished Professor of History at the Calcutta University and the other, an enthusiastic student of Indian Antiquities, all of them agreed in characterizing the learned lecturer's reference as exceeding the limits of light banter and as being

certainly contemptuous. It is therefore obvious that the same words of the learned lecturer produced different impressions on different members of the audience, like the flute of Krishna described in the Srimadbhagavat as having affected in a widely different way, the different class of auditors. And the mystery of this divergence of effect has to be found in the fact that Professor Foucher offered very little arguments, (I do not say, none), to meet the so-called “nationalist's” point of view and many of the audience who expected him to criticise the ‘nationalist’ view with sound arguments naturally resented his dismissing the ‘nationalists’ by contemptuous banter. Fortunately or unfortunately the position of the so-called nationalists is much too important to be laughed out in the way it is sought to be done. And nobody, and least of all the so-called nationalists themselves, will accept in the place of arguments banter and contempt even when they are offered by *savants* from the Collège de France. The professor's banter tasted all the more bitter from the fact that we have learned to respect French courtesy as the best model in all human intercourse. I have one word to say about the use of the expression ‘nationalist’ applied to the Indian point of view by its opponents. All interpretation of art—as distinguished from its history—must be national, for art is nothing if not national—the individualistic and racial utterance of a nation. Indian art has been understood and explained in terms of the nationalities of our Western critics. And the Indian student has a right to characterise the criticism of Western Pandits as ‘national’ in its opprobrious sense of a prejudiced and biased interpretation. It should not be taken as, in any manner, a refusal to pay tribute to the valuable labours of our Western Pandits, if the Indians say that the key to the understanding of Indian Art can never be found by centuries of excavations in Gandhara, and that Indian Art can never be measured by the standard of Greek Apollon or Iateran Sophocles.

“AGASTYA.”

(2)

I was one of the audience present during M. Foucher's lectures, and the impression I have of the remarks of M. Foucher about the Nationalists is the same as Agastya's, a strange coincidence indeed in the face of the strong repudiation on the other hand by several distinguished hearers.

ONE IN THE CROWD

This controversy is closed —Editor, *M R*

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

I The Society of Nations

THE SOCIETY OF NATIONS By T J Lawrence
New York, Oxford University Press 1919 Pp 194

This is a treatise on international law written in a popular style, avoiding technicalities as much as

possible. In the brief introduction we find these words “My profound conviction is that the great fundamental factor in the whole complicated problem is moral and spiritual. If the nations are content to go on with their enmities and jealousies, their belief that the foremost places in the world, and the largest share

of its material and intellectual good, are the prize of those who can most clearly outwit and most efficiently outfight their neighbours, then there is nothing left for mankind but a swift descent into the abyss. But if they will substitute brotherhood for enmity, and mutual service for jealousy, and instal justice instead of force as the ultimate arbiter in their disputes, they may rid the human race of some of its most crying evils, and inaugurate a better epoch of peace and prosperity." Again, towards the end of the book, we have something more in the same strain. "The problem before us is at bottom moral and spiritual. There is no real security for a better and nobler international society save the ennoblement of the thoughts and desires of men. The best constitutional machinery in the world will not produce good results if the citizens who work it are base and ignorant, nor will the most ably devised scheme for a League of Nations give to tortured humanity the peace and security it longs for if the nations themselves still cling to their old jealousies and schemes for mutual disservice." This is no doubt a counsel of perfection, but even those who advocate it do not imply what they say, for the humanity of which the author speaks throughout the book is white-mankind, with perhaps the solitary exception of Japan, of whose might and world-position as a first class international power the author seems to possess a thorough appreciation. There is not a word in the book about the position of the other Asiatic, not to speak of the African races, under the new dispensation. They are evidently to be left as they are, and the League of Nations is applauded as the contrivance by which the white races (with Japan thrown in) may continue to dominate the world without mutual quarrels and recriminations which threaten their supremacy. The author will perhaps repudiate this interpretation if it be presented to him in all its naked ugliness, but having read the book carefully we do not find any expression of sympathy with, or suggestion for the amelioration of the political status of the subject nations. The *status quo* will be perpetuated for them by the League of Nations. When the book was written, the League had only been just adumbrated by President Wilson in language breathing liberty and justice, and it was not known that the American people would be the first to repudiate such a sham court of international equity, nor was the ship-building competition between America and England, substituting, in the words of Marquis Okuma, navalism for militarism, come so much to the fore, and President Wilson's regard for the Asiatic as a man and a brother had not been put to the acid test of the racial equality proposal before the Peace Conference, and his recent declaration that the presence of the Turk in Europe was an 'anomaly', a declaration which seemed to take no note of the fact that the white man's occupation of the territory of the Red Indian whom he exterminated is morally much less justifiable, had not given us a further revelation of the mentality of the august author of the League.

After explaining that International law is really Interstate law, for there are many states that are not nations (e.g., Switzerland) and many nations that are not states (e.g., the Poles before the war), the author says that in the modern world, civilisation, rather than religion, has been the passport of admission into the Society of Nations, and cites the example of Japan, which 'had won for herself a position for herself among the great world powers, to whom the political leadership

of civilised humanity has been tacitly conceded.' It seems that in the region of international law, Japan has made remarkable contributions, for 'the political thinkers of Japan are producing works in French and English which are read with delight and quoted with respect wherever the *Jus Gentium* is studied and applied.'

Machiavelli's statecraft led to the terrible Thirty Years' War of the seventeenth century, of which the author says "Famine and pestilence followed in the wake of the armies. There was no pity, no reverence, no devotion. Wolfish ferocity, blasphemous impiety, unbridled lust, bore sway over the words and deeds of men. Whole districts went out of cultivation, and were restored to forest and wilderness. The wretched inhabitants, such of them as were left alive, formed predatory bands, and lived by robbery. Often the gibbets were deprived of their ghostly load to satisfy the pangs of hunger. But cannibalism was frequently preceded by murder. Human beings, turned by misery into wild beasts, rivalled the beasts in ferocity and foulness. Greed was rampant, and nothing was secure from the spoiler. Even the abodes of the dead were ransacked in the search for treasure, and mouldering bodies thrown out to the kites and the wolves. Men gloried in the wickedness. They chanted litanies of the devil, they sang songs in praise of lust and torture, they raged with special fury against churches, priests and pastors. In the remote country districts religion died, and learning perished from the universities." The teachings of Treitschke and Bernhardi have been followed by greater horrors in the present War. 'German troops have of set purpose, and not in a fit of temporary madness, desecrated graves, violated women, and mutilated children' and so on and so forth. The international law of the family has been changed by them into the international law of the pig-sty. The chapter on 'the partial overthrow of international law' is taken up with the nameless barbarities and atrocities practised by Germany. Though the author admits that it would be wrong to represent them as the only sinners in a Society where absolute integrity has hitherto been the rule, there is little recognition of this fact except in a few passages here and there, e.g., "at a later period in the war one of our air squadrons bombed the open town of Friburg in Baden in reprisal for German air-raids on London and other centres of civilian population. The result was that we stained our hands in vain with the blood of a few German mothers and babes." How thoroughly this lesson was learnt by the British military officers in the Punjab our readers know only too well. Truly does the author say, and this applies to the Punjab as well as to Europe, 'in a competition of barbarism the side which is most callous and unscrupulous to start with is found to win in the end,' as the military in the Punjab, backed by the bureaucracy, have won. The author repeatedly denounces the German doctrine of *Kriegsraison*—military necessity—and "the long catalogue of horrors which her doctrine of *Kriegsraison* enables Germany to let loose on the world with a conscience that remains clear instead of being haunted by the furies of remorse." The author surely did not know that the same doctrine was applied by his own countrymen, the gallant military officers of the Punjab, to justify the bombing of innocent civilians from aeroplanes and the indiscriminate massacre at Jallianwala Bagh, compared by another Englishman

with the massacre of Glencoe, the justification in the one case being the very existence of Germany as a free nation, in the other case the prevention of Hartal or closure of shops by way of protest against an unpopular measure, followed by some acts of lawlessness "But I feel bound to add that the set back to progress thus indicated does not spring entirely from the demoralisation of Germany. It is partly due to the use without stint or limit of all the highly developed power of the modern state for military purposes" "Hitherto the nations have moved in a vicious circle. No single one among them has dared to disarm and trust to neighbourliness and just dealing for peace and security

but the experience of the last few years has been so awful that, for the time being at any rate, the most militant have been sobered by it" Writing before the Peace Conference, with the words of President Wilson (what a mockery they now seem, in the face of the happenings in Egypt and India, the Anti-Asiatic campaign in South Africa, and the fate of Turkey and of the racial equality proposal of Japan!)—"they are giving their lives that homes everywhere may be kept sacred and safe and men everywhere be free"—ringing in his ears, the author takes a very hopeful view of it "It will be a Congress unlike any other that has ever assembled to end a war. It will be unique in the number of states represented at it and unique in the chastened mood of all the parties to it, not excepting the bleeding and exhausted victors" But might is still right, for while the victors, because they are themselves bleeding and exhausted, are being gradually compelled to mitigate the severity of the terms originally imposed on Germany, they are relentless against Turkey, who was admittedly a clean fighter, but against whom there is a universal howl of execration in Christian Europe because she is weak, and President Wilson, in whom the author has found a leader of the nations, reminds one of Browning's 'Lost Leader', for he can no longer be credited with the idealism which once characterised his utterances

The author's conclusion is that "civilised states must not be content with obeying international law, but must in addition accept the duty of enforcing it on wrong-doers among their number" We have seen that the author primarily means the white races by 'civilised states', and international law is the law by which they guarantee each other against mutual interference, among other things, in the exercise of their dominion over the black and brown races. Consequently the following exhortation, written in the chastened mood immediately following upon the war, lacks the moral weight which would otherwise attach to it, and we already find that the old jealousies, conscription, naval programmes, and national armaments, all flourish as before, and a more terrible Armageddon may almost be prophesied, for the future. Nevertheless it must be admitted that for the time being, the most powerful nations of the earth have passed through some terrible heart-searchings, and this may not, let us hope, prove altogether fruitless. This is all the consolation that the weaker races who yet dare to call themselves 'civilised', though not in the sense in which politicians understand the term, can derive from writings in the following vein

"It is clear that such an epoch-making act [the enforcement of international law] cannot be brought about without a great change of heart among the peoples. They must realise the brotherhood of

nations in a way they have never done before. They must part for ever with the doctrine that right and justice, benevolence and good will, have no place in the intercourse of states though they are essential to the well-being of the society of individuals. In short they must resolve to apply the principles of Christianity to their transactions with one another. The will to power must go and the will to serve must take its place. There can be no doubt that the war has brought about a great spiritual awakening in many circles, and even when no effects of this kind are perceptible, mere prudence may do what the vision of a regenerated world has failed to accomplish. For the bitter experience of the last few years must surely have convinced the most sceptical that a continuance of present conditions will in no long time destroy civilisation itself. And the resulting barbarism will be much worse than that from which the race has slowly emerged, because it will have all the resources of science at the disposal of its spirit of violence and destruction"

But a cardinal fact of human psychology is that prudential morality breaks down at the first touch of self interest. The white races after the war may imagine that all that is required is to keep each other in the peaceful enjoyment of their dominion over the non-white races, but so long as such immoral and unjust selfishness forms the motive force of their patched up League of Nations, with its unholy doctrine of 'mandates', that very selfishness will involve them in further armed conflicts over their possessions in Asia and Africa, and thus injustice will bring its own Nemesis. The only sure prop of justice among nations is an absolute sense of right irrespective of prudential considerations, and till the nations are governed by such a sense of right, nothing will save them from further wars

II Modern China

MODERN CHINA A POLITICAL STUDY by Sih-gung Cheng, M.A., B.Sc. (Econ) Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1919 Pp 380

To one who wants reliable information on the Celestial Republic, this book is simply invaluable. It is a storehouse of information, and deals chiefly with the political development of the country, its constitution, the problems that beset its path, the treaties which hamper its growth, the trade, commerce, and diplomacy, the tariff, economic development, foreign investments, the relations with foreign states, chiefly Japan, the concessions and ex-territoriality, and in fact all matters which a foreigner would be most likely to be anxious to know. The author has lived for five years in England and France and appears to have first-hand knowledge of international diplomacy. His grasp of the complicated problems with which he deals is evident throughout. A more unbiassed and sober treatise from the pen of a native Chinaman could not be expected though the writer's patriotism is unmistakable. When controversial questions are treated in the spirit in which the author handles them, he is sure to obtain a respectful hearing even from opponents and he earns the right, by reason of his fairness to both sides, to be referred to as an authority. Not only is the book full of lessons for us in India, but the spirit in which the book is written deserves to be widely emulated. The future of China cannot but be full of hope if it contains many politicians of the type of the learned author of the present work

We cull below some passages from the book which are likely to be of interest to our readers. Our own comments, if any, will be given in square brackets. The rest is quoted from the book under review. Except those sentences which have been pieced together from various parts of the book, all other extracts are put within quotation marks.

The territory and population of China are nearly four times as vast as those of the United States. There are five different peoples, e. g., Manchus, Chinese, Mongols, Mohammedans, and Tibetans, inhabiting the country.

"Taking the size of her territory and population into consideration, China presents a greater degree of uniformity than any other nation. Throughout the whole country—apart from Mongolia and Tibet, which are governed as dependencies under different regulations—there is practically no difference in race, in language, or in religion. The Manchus, who do not belong to the Chinese stock, have, nevertheless, been so thoroughly absorbed by the Chinese that they have lost their original characteristics, and the Mohammedans are numerically not strong enough to disturb the equilibrium or to destroy the uniformity of the country. It is, therefore, easy to divide China into different administrative units and to unite them under one central government without encountering difficulties which beset countries like India, where the racial, the religious, and the linguistic differences divide up the peninsula to such an extent, that not only the institutions in the various parts of it should be different, but the fundamental principles underlying them should be also diverse." [There is internal evidence in the book to show that the author has read Mr Montagu's Report and Mr Lionel Curtis's pamphlets.]

Under the Manchus, government was carried on by bureaucracy selected by competition. "The examination embodied a democratic principle of government, because it was open to candidates of all kinds, irrespective of their faith, wealth, social standing, or family traditions, and any one who was sufficiently intelligent to pass it, had a chance of participating in the government. An intellectual aristocracy was thus created which governed the country without any regard to public sentiments, and the cleavage between governors and governed became marked." "Throughout the greater part of Chinese history, emperors were either impotent mediocrities or intolerable despots." "China has always been governed by 'rule of men' and not by 'rule of law'." "Rule of law" maintains a certain standard of efficiency for all times unaltered by a change of personnel, whereas 'rule of men' makes the standard vary according to individual integrity." "The divine theory of the throne has been discredited and repudiated, and the institution of the Empire [i. e., the restitution of the monarchy proposed in some quarters] will not revive the mystical, historical, and theoretical reverence and belief. So far as one can see, there is no hope for the return of the Manchus or for any other person to wear the Imperial crown, and provided China is made immune from the menace of Japan which would destroy her existing form of government she will pass through all her internal difficulties and firmly establish her republican government to the satisfaction of the Chinese and foreigners."

"What they [the Chinese] have done is to develop

self-government in their municipal districts, independent of authorities appointed by the central government, and exercising a certain amount of control over them. But there is nothing in the nature of self-government for the whole empire." "The so-called self-government in municipalities" is carried on by the family, the guild, and the gentry. Even a murder or a homicide, committed between members of different families, may be settled by mutual agreement by the heads of the clans concerned. The guilds cannot impose criminal punishments, but they are fully entitled to impose a fine. As for the village gentry, they maintain roads, enforce sanitary measures, and provide public education and poor-relief to those who are not already provided for by their family. In the provincial capital, the prefecture, the district or the village, the gentry, consisting of *litigiate* and men of eminence, were all-powerful. They commanded respect from officials as well as from the populace, and served as a link between the governor and the governed. But "unlike the conception of gentry in Europe, the word 'gentry' in China does not denote any class distinction. It includes not only scholars but also representatives of many interests, merchants and manufacturers, farmers and labourers, and the representation of them all in a council would create an ideal assembly." "The family and the guild may be efficient organs of local government, but they are strictly local and do not incite their members to look beyond their limits. They have all failed to create a national spirit among the Chinese. The secret, however, is that till recently the Chinese required very little government. They have developed self-control to an extraordinary degree, and law-abiding spirit has become their second nature. The family, the guild, and the gentry, though imperfect, have been adequate for their requirements and have satisfied their wants. Moreover, the spirit of tolerance and compromise, characteristic of the Chinese, has enabled them to live peacefully with their government officials, provided the latter do not interfere with the individual freedom that they have so jealously protected." [Mark, for both good and evil the great similarity between Chinese local self-government and the ancient Indian system of village panchayats.]

"Although China has not increased her military strength during the last twenty years, she has nevertheless witnessed a marvellous rise of national sentiment. Many Chinese of this generation are imbued with Western ideas of patriotism and nationality and are determined to sacrifice their life and comfort on the altar of their fatherland for the sake of maintaining its independence. Unlike their ancestors, they do not despise or hate all foreigners alike, but discriminate among them. They believe in the disinterestedness of the United States and in the sense of justice and fair play maintained by Great Britain. To France, they are indebted for the inspiration resulting in the destruction of inefficient despotism, and they now look to her for guidance in solving their constitutional difficulties. Of Japan, they are generally distrustful and suspicious. They are openly hostile to her when she attempts pressure to bear on the Chinese government."

The partition of China which was much advertised at the beginning of this century, is now no longer possible, and, provided internal disruption is averted, the break-up of China is now a dream of the past."

The Revolution in China was not initiated by the

bulk of the peaceful, industrious and yet poverty-stricken Chinese. It was initiated and organised by politicians. The internal reason was Manchu misrule and revolt against a bad government has been frequent in Chinese history. “The rise of Japan as a power and her victory over the Russians made the Chinese realize that, provided they organized themselves on modern lines so as to be able to resist foreign pressure, they could not only survive as an independent nation, but also train themselves to the rank of a great modern state.” The relations between the sovereign and his subjects had been so remote, that the people at large did not feel any effect produced by the substitution of a President for the Emperor. “Reviewing the history of China for the past seven years, I am convinced that the Revolution of 1911 is not yet over, and it is therefore premature to consider whether it has been a success or a failure. So far, the Revolution of China, unlike that of Russia or France, has not been followed by a reign of terror, and the immunity from this greater disaster should console the country for the trouble arising from instability of government and constant petty warfare. In spite of her internal chaos, her trade has steadily increased during the last seven years, and to-day her financial credit stands higher than ever in European markets. The indifference of the people to political affairs prevents them, on the one hand, from being useful citizens of a modern democracy, but on the other, it maintains social stability against political disturbance. The future of China depends upon a training of her inhabitants that will enable them to carry on their government free from any exploitation by political adventurers.”

China being a vast country, there are some marked differences between the North and the South. Wheat is the staple food in the North just as rice is in the South. The South has been a manufacturing district since ancient times, the North has, till quite recently, remained agricultural and pastoral. The embroidery, the gorgeous silk, the magnificent porcelain, all are the produce of the South. Free from invasions, the South has developed a literature and an art even more exquisite and beautiful than those of the North, from which it received its original civilisation. The people of the South, especially the Cantonese owing to their greater facilities for coming into contact with Europeans through travel and commerce, have been much more vividly impressed with the need of introducing Western methods into the Chinese political regime. The Cantonese were the first to go abroad to study in Western universities, and were the first to propagate revolutionary ideas and to organise revolutionary movements. The North was by no means unresponsive to the introduction of reforms and, in fact, in the few years preceding the Revolution, it had witnessed marvellous strides in modern industry and education, thanks to the exertions of several enlightened and capable Viceroyes. The chief difficulty is with regard to the Northern and Southern armies, between which there is no feeling of comradeship, though both are nominally under the control of the Ministry of War. If China is to be saved from the danger of internal disruption, she must centralise the administration of her army, and the military officers must on no account be permitted to interfere with civil administration. It must not be thought however that there is any animosity between the bulk of the people, who take no direct part in politics. They speak the

same language, and the same civilisation has united them as one people. They inherit the same historical traditions, believe in the same creeds and cherish the same aspirations. The barrier created by the difference in dialect has already begun to be pulled down by the adoption in the National Assembly, and other public institutions of the Metropolitan Mandarin dialect. “The North may be more conservative and the South more radical, but no party in either of them—not even the Militarists and the Constitutionalists themselves—has ever intended to separate one from the other and to divide the country into two Empires or Republics.”

The Chinese Parliament consists of two houses the Senate or the Upper House, and the House of Representatives. The four articles of the first chapter of the Provisional Constitution, 1912, run as follows: 1. The Republic of China is composed of the Chinese People. 2. The sovereignty of the Chinese Republic is vested in the people. 3. The territory of the Chinese Republic consists of the 18 provinces, Inner and Outer Mongolia, Tibet, and Chinghai. 4. The sovereignty of the Chinese Republic is exercised by the National Council, the Provisional President, the cabinet, and the judiciary. The second chapter of the constitution deals with citizenship. The first article of the chapter (art v) is the glorious lesson of the French Revolution which has everywhere been accepted as the foundation of the political creed of nations. It runs as follows: ‘Citizens of the Chinese Republic are all equal, and there shall be no racial, class, or religious distinctions.’ Art vi is as follows: ‘Citizens shall enjoy the following rights: (a) The person of the citizens shall not be arrested, imprisoned, tried, or punished except in accordance with law. (b) The habitations of the citizens shall not be entered or searched except in accordance with law. (c) Citizens shall enjoy the right of the security of their property and the freedom of trade. (d) Citizens shall have the freedom of speech, of composition, of publication, of assembly, and of association. (e) Citizens shall have the right of the secrecy of their letters. (f) Citizens shall have the liberty of residence and removal. (g) Citizens shall have the freedom of religion. Among other rights of the citizens are that of participating in civil examinations [art xi, without any proportion being fixed for natives of the soil as in India], of voting and being voted for [art xii], of suing officials for violation of law against their rights [art x], and among the duties of citizens is that of bearing arms for the defence of the country [art xiv].’

“Responsibility to the nation is a meaningless phrase [in China], as by reason of the vast extent of its territory and the present undeveloped state of political education it is incapable of formulating a will to direct Government action. The essence of a responsible cabinet is that it is at one and the same time a part of the executive and a part of the legislature. ‘It is a hyphen’, says Bagehot, ‘which joins, and a buckle which fosters, the legislative part of the state to the executive part.’ It is controlled by Parliament, but it also exercises great influence on it, supplying it with necessary information. It is liable to censure and inquest by the country through its representatives and yet it educates it by political reasonings and debate. It will be wise, however, that at this early stage of her political development,

when a parliamentary frame of mind has not been acquired by her citizens, China should not accept a responsible cabinet in the full sense as understood in England or France. The Legislature should be so restricted in power, in function, and in the number of its members, that it will be enabled to check the cabinet, but not obstruct its action, to stimulate it from idleness, but not meddle with intricate problems which are beyond its capacity to grasp, to afford opportunities to train politicians and educate the country, but not at the expense of the stability of the Government, and to control ministers collectively and individually, but not tie their hands when prompt decisions are necessary. Political parties are not created in a day, they require time to develop. Still more time is needed to adapt a country which has hitherto had no notion of political parties to the requirements of party government, granting that such government is desirable for its own sake."

Ten members of the Senate are to be elected by the Electoral College of Tibet. Graduation at a higher special school is considered sufficient educational qualification [In India only graduates of several years' standing are qualified to vote] Those who have contributed to learning by some publication or invention certified by government are also eligible to vote. Less than ten per cent of the people are now qualified voters, and one member of the lower House represents 1,000,000 inhabitants. In China as in England after the second Reform Act of 1867, the cry should be 'we must educate our new masters.' "For the growth of public opinion several conditions are requisite. Homogeneity of population is one of them. In this respect China finds no difficulty in her path. Within her boundary, though there are populations of different races, all are moulded in character and belief by the same Confucian civilisation, and on vital questions like the industrial development of the country and the reorganisation of national defence, the Manchus, the Mongols, the Tartars, and the Chinese of the North and the South are essentially at one. The real difficulty in the growth of public opinion in China is that the people at large are not always interested in politics. The average Chinese is industrious, honest, and virtuous, but to use an Aristotelian phrase, a good man is not necessarily a good citizen. In China the vision of the average peasant or workman does not go beyond his village or workshop, and his interests are confined to his family. He obeys the ordinance of the Government, if it does not interfere with his occupation. He exercises his right to revolt, if it is obnoxious. But, as Mr Curtis points out in his 'Letters to the People of India on Responsible Government,' people will never get the political education required of them if they are to wait till the opening of schools in which to train themselves. The opening of schools throughout a vast country is a laborious process and takes time. Moreover, schools are not the place to train citizens for political purposes, though they may give them information and knowledge which will enable them to understand politics. Actual participation in politics is always the best and the easiest means of getting political education, and leaders of public opinion often arise from the school of practical politics. The enfranchisement of an ignorant mass may temporarily produce unwholesome results, but it is the only way

to arouse its interest in politics." Compulsory Education has not been enforced yet in China, but schools are mostly maintained at Government expense and the charge is so small that they are practically free. China "is certainly more tolerant of religious opinions than any other nation. Buddhism, Mohammedanism, Judaism and Christianity all have their followers in China, but throughout her long range of history there has not been a single instance of religious persecution."

The best part of the Chinese navy was destroyed in the Chino-Japanese war. The Ministry of the Navy controls a few docks and shipyards and the Customs Service controls some wireless stations. The army of the Republic has been trained on more or less modern lines, and is 800,000 strong. In the rural districts, the inhabitants organise their own police in their own fashion. There are a few aeroplanes in the army. The judicial system has been reorganised on the European model, but in many parts of the country modern courts have not yet been established and there is as yet no organised bar. There is an efficient postal service. Towns and villages of considerable size are now all connected by telegraph wire. No ocean-going vessel is under the Chinese flag, but a Chinese company owns many vessels of four or five thousand tons for coastal and river traffic. The Pekin-Kalgan Railway has been built entirely by Chinese engineers, and is very efficiently managed.

It is good for us in India to remember that "experience in the past few years has shown that the establishment of a new department is not always followed by initiation of new activities, but affords opportunities to office seekers of enjoying handsome salaries without doing useful work."

The history of China's foreign relations, as told in the pages of this book, is sad reading. One by one the outer provinces and vassal states, Annam, Burma, Mongolia, Manchuria, Tibet, were either wrested from her, or subjected to foreign control or the recognition of interests prejudicial to Chinese suzerainty and important concessions, seriously curtailing her sovereignty, had to be granted to foreign powers over large tracts of country along the seaboard, till towards the end of the nineteenth century "it was generally believed that the time was ripe for the partition of China, and that the lease of territory and the limitation of spheres of interest were only preliminary steps to the break-up of an empire that had developed the world's most ancient and most original civilisation, but that had failed to adapt itself to changes of environment produced by modern scientific invention. Like a giant, it had now been stabbed, and helplessly laid on the ground pending spoilage at the hands of those better-equipped with arms and scientific instruments. There was a twofold tragedy in the situation, firstly, the past achievements of China availed nothing to uphold her in this time of trouble, and secondly, there was no one to help her along the path by which she might consolidate and strengthen herself." The Boxer rebellion was prompted by a feeling of revenge against the foreign aggressions, and its object was to save the country from further humiliation and territorial encroachment. But China, 'the most populous and yet the most impotent country in the East,' was subjected to further humiliations and encroachments under the guise of putting down the rebellion.

When Europe first knocked at the door of the Celestial Empire in the early years of the last century, "she had no notion of the modern conception of equality of states. She treated all other states as 'barbarians', and all diplomatic missions as tribute-bearers" [So did India regard all foreigners as Mlechchhas, and refused to have any dealings with them, with the result that her fate is now a thousand times worse than that of China] But now, "for the first time in the four thousand years of a wonderful and sensational history, China discarded the idea that she was the only civilised country on the earth [an idea which still finds favour among a section of the orthodox Hindus] For good or evil, the great wall which separated her from the rest of the world had now been broken down, not only by foreign Powers, but also by her own government." "The increase of travel has already put an end to the calm and tranquillity of the old order. Factory life has been introduced and organisation on a big scale has become necessary in order to meet the requirements of modern industry and trade." "Scientific inventions have destroyed the distance between different countries, and in welfare and interest they have become interdependent. The great wall of China had long been crumbled down, and whether she wished it or not, she had to discard her traditional policy of isolation, which was no longer tenable in this age of steam travel and electric communication."

The history of Japan, China's great Mongolian neighbour, possessing a common civilisation, illustrates in the most remarkable and striking way possible what is to be gained by following the contrary policy of cooperation, imitation, assimilation, and perfect freedom of intercourse with all the nations of the earth. The tale of Kiaochow and the Shantung is a tale of gross violation of neutrality and of grave international injustice—a lesson which Japan has learnt only too well from her foreign friends. "She has," in the words of the author, "asserted her power and prestige to such an extent that she now takes precedence over almost all other states in the council of the Foreign Diplomatic Corps in Peking. It is no exaggeration to say that, without her approval and consent, Europe and America will find it difficult to launch any new policy in connection with their transactions with the Chinese government."

"'Asia for the Asiatics' has been adopted as a motto by Japanese diplomats, some of whom have even gone so far as openly to declare in favour of a Monroe doctrine for the Far East." Mr Suniyama has made some suggestions in a pamphlet in which he lays down three periods in the conclusion of a Sino-Japanese alliance.

"In the first period, Japan should conclude a special convention with China by which the former would render military assistance to the latter in case her territorial and sovereign rights are encroached upon. In return Japan would demand these privileges:

- (1) The appointment of Japanese financial advisers by the Chinese central and provincial governments,
- (2) the appointment of Japanese advisers to train the army and police forces in South Manchuria and Shantung,
- (3) the establishment of a Chinese fleet in Fukien with Japanese officers and
- (4) the unification of Japanese and Chinese fire-arms and armament.

"In the second period, Japan and China should conclude a defensive and offensive alliance. The

Chinese arms and navy should be trained and reformed by Japanese officers, and all plans relating to defence and military operations should be placed in the hands of the chief commander of the Allied armies, who will be Japanese.

"In the third period, an Eastern Asiatic Federal Empire should be established with Japan as its leader. The control of foreign politics and military affairs should be in the hands of the federal government and internal affairs jointly administered by Japan and China."

The author is convinced that the object of Japan is the annexation of the Chinese Republic and its incorporation in the Japanese Empire, and consequently he invokes the aid of the white races, especially the United States, 'her disinterested friend, willing to lend a helping hand in her time of need' against "the danger of the militarization of China by Japan," as "that might lead to the destruction of Europe by an Asiatic invasion." The Yellow Peril bogey, has time and again been invoked by the white races to preserve and extend their own hegemony in the Far East. For a Chinese writer to draw the attention of the West to the same supposed danger can only be dictated by an overwhelming fear of Japanese domination. It is difficult for us in India to judge how far this fear is justified. A Monroe doctrine for Asia, with Japan as leader, is not itself an idea to which we in India would be likely to take exception, provided Japanese leadership were actuated by an honest desire to lift the other Asiatic nations from their present helpless condition. A strong Asia is as much to the interest of Japan as of the other nations of the Asiatic continent, and it must not be forgotten that China's weakness is a menace to the Land of the Rising Sun, just as the failure of Korea to serve as a powerful buffer state between Japan and Russia was a menace to the existence of Japan as an independent country. If not Japan, then her then mighty rival Russia, would have swallowed up the Hermit Kingdom, and Japan cannot be blamed if she was first in the field to grasp the prize. Since China could not prevent the European nations from making serious encroachments on her sovereign rights, Japan could not stand by as an idle spectator and to protect her own interests she had to take part in the same unholy game. But there is ample evidence in the book before us that the ascendancy she has acquired in Korea and China is being used, not as a trust to make those countries strong and powerful against foreign aggression but to further her own imperialistic designs and this has created an unfavourable opinion of her diplomacy all over Asia, which universally acclaimed her, during the Russo-Japanese war, as its saviour. It is now believed by thinking men everywhere in China and India that the object of Japan is to dominate over the rest of Asia and exploit the undeveloped resources of the continent and treat it as a vast market for her cheap goods. This suspicion is strengthened in the minds of the Chinese by the consciousness of the fact that a strong and unfriendly China, with her vast reservoir of man-power, would be a dangerous rival to Japan, and hence the instinct of self-preservation may lead the Japanese to think that China should not be allowed to grow overstrong. But a more farsighted statesmanship would recognise the impossibility of keeping a whole nation, as homogeneous and civilised as China, under perpetual leading-strings if

once its patriotism is aroused, and would consequently try to maintain friendly relations with it instead of inviting its hostility by devious diplomacy. Such statesmanship does not seem to be very common in Japan. America, alone among the nations, has remitted her share of the Boxer indemnity, "of all the treaty states, America is the only one who holds no territorial concession in China and has proved not only by words but also by deeds that she is ready to help her." It would be easy for Japan to secure the confidence of China as America has done, but she has missed the opportunity by her grasping policy. And it is well-known that the relations between Japan and America are not over-friendly, so that in any future conflict with the United States, the friendship and sympathy of China would have been invaluable to her. By treating China with justice and fairness, Japan would also have regained the confidence of the other Asiatic nations, which would be a valuable asset in the struggle for that Asiatic leadership which she never makes a secret of claiming. The present war has shown that the dishonest diplomacy of the West brings on its own Nemesis. Japan should in future beware of such diplomacy, for however successful it may prove for the time being, honesty, in the long run, would be more successful, the Chinese dragon, just roused from her sleep of ages, may not always be the same pliant tool in the hands of intriguing politicians as she has hitherto been, and her friendship may then count for something even among the puissant sons of *Die Nippon*.

One is glad to learn that the deathblow to autocracy has been sounded once for all in the Middle Kingdom, which is however no longer a Kingdom, but a Republic. "The autocracy has been destroyed and there is no person in China so powerful and so capable as to be able to restore it." The history of China has been full of examples of such great men who introduce reforms by their own genius but fail to produce any permanent effect on the people. Unless personal rule is replaced by the establishment of representative government, there is no guarantee that the Chinese will progress at all times irrespectively of the character of those who happen to be at the head of their government. Representative government may be only successful at once when the conditions requisite for it are already in existence, but it is equally certain that after it is introduced, it will foster the growth of those conditions, even if they do not exist in advance. The constant call on the people to exercise their right to vote, and the liability of the Executive to Parliamentary censure, will not fail to incite public interest in politics and to put an end to public indifference to government. The Chinese at large may not be sufficiently interested in, and critical of, their government at present, but they will gradually remove these defects when they have had a few years' experience of representative government."

Foreign investments in China are not governed by the economic law of competition, but by international cooperation. The United States has however withdrawn from the Consortium and refused to commit herself to a policy injurious to the Republic, for such cooperation of exploitation denies China the freedom to contract loans in the most favourable market and under the most favourable terms. "The restriction by the Chinese government on the introduction of foreign capital, as shown in the mining regulations [in India the mines are mostly worked by European concession-

aires], is explained by their dread of admitting foreign political influence and domination, which in the past have always accompanied commercial exploiters. The Chinese seem to have made up their minds that they would rather have their treasures buried underground than let foreigners open them and bring in diplomatic controversies. Their patriotism is no less strong than that of any other race, and the nationalistic feeling has been strengthened rather than weakened with the progress of modern education, and the time may come when the possession of heavy guns and cruisers will no longer enable foreigners to disregard the sentiments of the Chinese. It is therefore worthy of the consideration of the foreign governments that, while they secure reasonable protection for the investors of their respective countries, they should allow them a free hand to compete in China, as they do in all other countries, without giving them any supervision and direction influenced by political or territorial considerations."

The author's views on Protection differ to some extent from the Indian popular view. "It is true that a country which is passing from a purely agricultural state to the industrial, requires some protection for its infant industries against foreign competition, but in China the transition has hardly begun and there are, as yet, very few industries to protect. The people should be encouraged to consume foreign goods in order to raise their standard of living, and the only thing in China (agriculture) that offers employment to the overwhelming majority of her people and that needs protection in order to keep them employed, has already been sufficiently protected by virgin soil and cheap labour, and requires no protective tariff."

Ex-territoriality is a serious encroachment on China's sovereignty, but the author is not blind to the circumstances which have rendered it possible and even necessary. "Before the total abolition of ex-territorial rights, China must, first, reform her prisons, which, as they now exist in most parts of the country, are nothing more than filthy caves allotting a very limited space to many prisoners. They should be rebuilt and equipped with modern sanitary appliances, so that, when occasion arises, Europeans could be detained in them without actual injury to their health. Secondly, she must be possessed of civil, industrial, commercial, and reformed criminal codes, so that intending litigants, before they go to court, may understand their liabilities and responsibilities by referring their case to statutes. Justice will then be explicit and will not depend on the pleasure of the judges. The third requisite is that she must train a large body of judges capable of enforcing and applying the code with impartiality and fairness. Twenty years may have to elapse before the total abolition of ex-territoriality is accomplished." At the same time the author's observations on the Chinese judiciary deserve quotation. "In the eyes of the modern jurist, the judiciary in the old China was objectionable and the punishments were monstrous, but it should be remembered that torture was practised in France before her revolution of 1789, and that as late as 1814 an Englishman guilty of treason might be cut down from the gallows while alive, and have his entrails taken out and burnt before his eyes. China may be a century behind the Western States in her legal reforms, but she is traversing the same path which England and France have already trodden."

In 1908, a convention was signed with Great Britain

by which it was agreed that from 1909 onwards the annual import of Indian opium should be reduced by one-tenth and should be stopped altogether at the end of ten years, China undertaking to diminish her annual production of opium in the same proportion. “The stipulations of these conventions,” one is glad to learn, “have now been fully carried into effect and the opium traffic as well as opium smoking has practically come to an end.”

The author concludes his book with the following suggestions to Great Britain, France, and the United States. (1) “The three powers concerned should encourage their capitalists to invest in China not with a view to establishing their political influence and raising diplomatic controversies, but with a view to developing the country by purely private enterprise,” (2) they should allow their citizens to cooperate freely with the Chinese in industrial and commercial enterprises in China, (3) they should send over to China a large number of persons skilled in engineering and in industrial management, in order to help her to survey and open the mines, to establish factories, to introduce scientific irrigation, and to construct railways, (4) they should restore to China the right to fix her own tariff, so as to relieve her financial stress, (5) they should agree to a revision of the existing system of extra-territorial jurisdiction, (6) Great Britain and France should follow the example of the United States by refunding the balances of the Boxer indemnity and allowing them to be used for the education of the Chinese.

In the appendix some recent treaties and exchanges of notes between Japan and China have been quoted in extenso.

The value of this work as a standard book of reference cannot be overestimated, and coming as it does from the pen of a native Chinese who is a patriot as well as a man of culture with knowledge of international law and economic problems, it possesses an unusual interest for us in India, where the social and political conditions are in some respects similar.

III. Political Problems and Hunter Committee Disclosures

POLITICAL PROBLEMS AND HUNTER COMMITTEE DISCLOSURES, By Alfred Nundy, Bar-at-law. Published by S. K. Roy, 71-1 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re 1-8-0, 1920.

This excellently printed and nicely bound volume of 190 pages contains a series of articles in the *Leader* of Allahabad. They well deserved reproduction in book-form, for the articles are written in a sober and well-reasoned style, without being overburdened with too many quotations, and are useful for future reference.

The author is a Moderate, he has no sympathy with the Extremists, or the methods of Mr Gandhi, though he recognises the saintliness of his character and his perfect rectitude of purpose, he thinks that we have yet to prove our capacity for the fullest measure of self-government, and the small opportunities for proving our worth in the municipalities and the legislative councils have not, in the author's opinion, been utilised to the best possible advantage of the public. He has not considered whether their smallness combined with the effective character of official interference may not have stood in the way

of stimulating public spirit. He gives the Hindu-Moslem *entente* the fullest credit, and is hopeful about the growth of mutual toleration and co-operation, but does not fail to see its weak point. It is “an artificial *entente* influenced by ulterior motives. Eliminate these and dissolution may set in, for the union was not based primarily on mutual regard and sympathy. The Moslems for joining the Hindus in their political agitation fixed a price which consisted in the concession to them of communal representation on a numerical basis.” The poison has spread, and now every little group, be it non-Brahmans, Indian Christians and the rest, have got it, and like the caste system, it is creating divisions, and dissensions in the body-politic, till national interests may one day be entirely submerged by sectarian and sectional interests and mutual antagonisms and it may “produce discord in self-governing institutions and in the end defeat the very object for which they were brought into existence.”

The author has done yeoman's service in bringing the Punjab atrocities to the notice of the public, both here and in England. In this book he analyses the evidence of the military and civilian witnesses before the Hunter Committee, and quotes from the comments of the British press. Though the object of the inhuman barbarities practised in the Punjab was to teach the Punjabis a lesson they would never forget, every attempt was made to maintain the strictest censorship over them so that even the Secretary of State had to plead ignorance and one town did not know what was happening in a neighbouring town. If the things done were actuated by a worthy political motive, why this secrecy? asks the author. A bare recital of the incidents as given in this book makes one's blood boil, and it is desirable that it should be read by our children and our children's children so that they may know the crimes that autocracy, unchecked by popular control, may commit, even when these autocrats belong to a nation which boasts of a high civilisation. The orgy of frightfulness could have only one result on the loyalty of the people, but that was of course no concern of the gallant military officers. Mr Bernard Houghton has rightly asked: “Has not a Government which can only keep the peace by such atrocities abrogated all claim to be considered a civilised Government?” And the London *Westminster Gazette* says: “Not the least astonishing thing of all is that General Dyer's massacre did not precipitate a real rebellion. Saner people will realise that a few more episodes of this kind would suffice to bring our rule to an end.”

Mr Nundy knows the Punjab well, and the following is his estimate of the Punjabis as a whole. “They are credited with being a martial race, and yet an experiment was tried there which Englishmen know would not have been tolerated in any other part of India. A long residence in the Punjab has forced the conviction on me that toadyism, flunkeyism, the craving for rewards, titles and seats in a Durbar have obsessed the people there to an extent unknown elsewhere. They are utterly lacking in moral backbone, and for selfish ends will commit despicable acts without being conscious that they were doing anything improper. Corruption is rampant in all departments and among all classes of officials. That people so devoid of self-respect should be made the objects of any kind of experiment need excite no surprise.”

But it is a pleasant relief to hear that "a new life born of intense suffering has been infused in the Punjab which no repression is likely ever to extinguish," "the sufferings they have undergone have borne fruit and the small band of political agitators on whom rests the future progress of the Punjab have received such an accession to their ranks that before long the race of toadies will be wiped out of existence. Frightfulness was utilised for a particular purpose [that of cowering down the people], but it has aroused such a deep resentment in the whole of India that it has opened the eyes of the submissive Punjabis and has infused a new spirit in them which will make a repetition of this frightfulness next to impossible." If this be so, then the horrible toll of a hundred Indian lives and more for every European killed in the Punjab will not have been paid in vain, and the officials in the Punjab will no doubt learn, from the utter failure of the recent campaign of terrorism, the truth of what an English political writer has said: "Representative institutions, petitions, public meetings, a free press, are various means through which the people can assert itself. When refused these means and when yet sufficiently rigorous to use them, it will assert itself by armed rebellion, or if that is not possible, by secret conspiracies and assassinations. A wise statesman will make revolution impossible by making it unnecessary, or certain of failure, because not supported by the General Will."

Mr Nundy's attitude towards our political aspirations will appear from the following extract: "India is at present at the parting of the ways, dominated by two contradictory influences, autocracy fighting tooth and nail for its life, backed up by traditions of a century and a half, and democracy slowly and steadily advancing, swayed by a wave of nationalism which is pervading the whole world."

The electorate in India under Lord Southborough's scheme will not amount even to 10 per cent of the population. But this need not discourage us. "By comparing this with some foreign countries we find that three years after the Reform Act of 1832 the electorate of England was 4.6 per cent, of Ireland 1.2 per cent, of Scotland 3.2 per cent, and so late as 1888 for the whole of the United Kingdom it had risen to only 8.9 per cent. Sweden started with an electorate of 1 per cent and Italy with 2½ per cent. And the United States of America, the most democratic of countries, had so late as 1888 an electorate of only 17.5 per cent, of the total population."

The bankruptcy of the Punjab bureaucracy in public morality, justice and common humanity has been laid bare by the indiscriminate massacres, bombings, floggings, the salaaming and crawling orders and other refinements of barbarism invented and practised by them. The Indemnity Act was an admission of moral defeat. British character and British prestige have suffered an incalculable loss and it remains to be seen what action Mr Montagu takes on the Hunter Committee's Report to rehabilitate the British character in the esteem of the 'less civilised' natives of India.

Mr Nundy writes with rare sobriety, and takes an evenly balanced view of the various political problems he deals with. His impartiality is commendable, while his patriotism deserves our generous recognition. His book deserves to be widely circulated.

Q.

IV Economics of the Silk Industry

ECONOMICS OF THE SILK INDUSTRY By Ratan C Rawley, M.A., M.Sc. (Econ), Pp 343, P. S. King & Son, Ltd, 2 and 4 Great Smith Street, Westminster, S.W. London 10s 6d

The book is a new one of its kind and deals with the economic aspects of the silk industry. It contains valuable information regarding the existing state of the industry of the silk-producing countries of the world. The author has also described the rise and fall of the industry of some countries and the causes thereof. On page 27 we notice that the downfall of the industry in Bengal is ascribed to the greed of the East India Company. The author has not said anything about the oppression by the servants of John Company. We quote the following from Bolts' "Consideration of Indian Affairs" (London 1772): "With every species of monopoly therefore every kind of oppression to manufacturers of all denominations throughout the whole country has daily increased, in so much that weavers for daring to sell their goods, Dallahs and Pykars for having contributed to or connived at the above sales, have by the Company's agents been frequently seized and imprisoned, confined in irons, fined considerable sums of money, flogged and deprived, in the most ignominious manner, of what they esteem most valuable, their castes. Weavers also upon their inability to perform such agreements as have been forced upon them by the Company's agents, universally known to Bengal by the name of Mutchulkas, have had their goods seized and sold on the spot, to make good the deficiency, and the winders of raw silk, called Nagaods, have been treated also with such injustice that instances have been known of their cutting off their thumbs, to prevent their being forced to wind silk."

On page 37 we notice that economic causes and diseases of silkworms led to the decline of the industry in Kashmir, but fortunately the rearing industry has revived there and the net income of the State from the cocoons is about Rs 12 lacs at present. It is a pity however that the filatures of the Kashmir State are not running profitably and the best cocoons are exported. On page 56 we notice that in France the rearing and reeling have been supported by granting of bounties. In France the reeling industry is not flourishing as in Italy but its reputation has been kept up by dint of its efficient organisation. On page 58 we notice that in Hungary the industry is a State monopoly and the surplus cocoons are exported to Marseilles and Milan. The industry is not in a flourishing condition in Spain. In Russia only a limited quantity of raw silk is retained by the Russian Government. Cocoons are produced in the Caucasus region and they are exported to Italy. On page 94 we notice that the system of mere cocoon production in a country where raw silk can be produced is detrimental to the future development of the industry. On page 112 we notice that gradual rise in the price of labour due to the industrial competition was one of the causes of the progressive decline in the production of cocoons in France. Fortunately the production of cocoons in India is increasing now. In Kashmir the industry is a State monopoly. With all its advantages State control and monopoly destroy initiative among the producers and lack industrial enterprise.

The decline of the British silk manufacture is due to

foreign competition. The prosperity of the industry in Japan is due to cheap labour, mechanical inventions and automatic machineries, reeling industry, early start and the spirit of enterprise. Some of the above causes exist also in China. The tariff protected the interests of the French manufacturer not only in the home markets but in the external markets as well. Imposition of import duties on silk goods adopted by France, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, Austria and Russia, is protecting the industry. In America the silk industry is a "child of protection." In India the decline of the industry is also due to the absence of cooperation and lack of organisation.

It appears to us that the following steps should be taken in India for the resuscitation of the industry —

- (1) Granting of bounties or subsidies
- (2) Imposition of a tax on the export of raw silk, silk waste and cocoons
- (3) Imposition of a tax on the imported silk fabrics
- (4) Establishment of a silk conditioning house
- (5) Production of disease-free eggs on a large scale
- (6) Establishment of a central silk institute

T. S. R.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH

THE AHMADIYA MOVEMENT (*The Religious Life of India series*) By H. A. Walter, M.A. Pp. 185, with Preface, appendices and index. Price, Re 1-4 and 3s 6d in paper and cloth bindings respectively. Publisher Association Press, 5, Russel Street, Calcutta.

One of the most important movements in the recent history of Islam was started by the late Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian (Punjab) in the eighties of the last century. He claimed to be the promised Messiah,—an incarnation of Jesus Christ—in fulfilment of the terms of Muslim tradition. He has quite a respectable number of followers scattered all over the world, but mostly in India, and he is sincerely regarded as "the promised one" by thousands of Muslims.

The aim of this book is to sketch the history of the Ahmadiya "Church" as dispassionately as is possible for a Christian missionary to do and the author has fairly succeeded in the attempt though the antipathies of the Christian apologist are never altogether absent from the exposition of the impartial historian—the sub-current is inseparably mingled with the main stream.

The author's treatment of his subject is undoubtedly illuminating. He gives in a brief compass but with sufficient clearness every necessary piece of information

connected with the Ahmadiya movement, i.e., the life of its founder, his distinctive claims, the relations of his creed with orthodox Islam, Christianity and indigenous religions of India, description of the Ahmadiya community &c. And considering that the author is a Christian missionary and has published the book in the interests of his mission, we may call his treatment as also liberal and broad minded. The book contains a very copious index and several appendices that are particularly valuable.

STUDIES FROM THE HYDERABAD WORLD, POEMS AND TRANSLATIONS FROM HAFIZ By Muhammad Rahimuddin. Pp. 51.

A curious jumble of poems and short rambling essays.

INDUSTRIAL POSSIBILITIES OF INDIA By R. Trimurti Rau, B.A., L.T. Messrs Srinivasa Varadachari & Co., 4, Mount Road, Madras—Pp. 192.

An interesting little book for the use of the general public. Too many subjects have been dealt with in a small space for the book to be useful to the student or the technologist. A bibliography and a few illustrations would have greatly added to the value of the book. However just at present books of this type are a welcome new departure.

K. N. C.

THE ORGANISATION OF SCIENTIFIC WORK IN INDIA

A RECENT issue of *Nature* (dated February 19, 1920) contained a leading article on the organisation of scientific work in India, from which we learn that

70½—9

"The reorganisation and development of scientific work in India are now under consideration, and important and far-reaching decisions on these questions will shortly be made by the Secretary of State. It has already been decided, both by the Government of India and by the

Secretary of State, that large sums of money must be found at the earliest possible moment for the purpose of fostering the development of the Indian Empire by means of scientific research."

Alike in peace and in war, the application of the results of scientific research has been demonstrated to be essentially necessary in modern times for the survival and continued prosperity of peoples. Recently, Professor Francis, Dean of the Faculty of Chemistry in Bristol University, addressing the Rotarian Club on "Chemistry and the War," said —

In chemistry Germany's position was immeasurably superior to ours. Based on the dye industry, it was independent in war, but we relied on Chile, and if Von Spee's squadron had not been sunk our supplies would have been cut off, and we could not have gone on fighting. The ammonia future of Europe lay with Germany, who was in a position to supply essential fertilizers to the whole of Europe. The safety of our Empire depended on our establishing an industry such as Germany's, and it must be established irrespective of pre-conceived notions about fiscal policy.

The most alarming outcome of the war was the new chemical arm—an advance comparable to that of the firearm over the bow and arrow, with possibilities infinitely greater. If it were possible to create fog for any length of time the nation that first discovered it had the rest of the world in its pocket.

Germany was in a better position to-day than before the war. It would take us a generation to compete on even terms with the German chemical industry. Our research and industry must be fostered, as success would be to the country with the largest supply of highly trained chemists.

Such being the vital importance of research, it is a matter for satisfaction that "the principle of State aid on a generous scale has been accepted," "but," says *Nature*, "the important question of the best method of utilising this form of assistance in the future development of India remains to be settled." It thus summarises the two policies which at present hold the field.

(a) Centralisation under a proposed Imperial Department of Industries of the Government of India in which chemists, botanists, zoologists, and so on will be formed into distinct, well-tight, graded services, each under the control of a departmental head, and (b) decentralisation under which the scientific workers at the various

universities and research institutes will be given as free a hand as possible.

The policy of centralisation and the creation of graded scientific services have been strongly advocated by the Indian Industrial Commission, which was presided over by Sir Thomas Holland, formerly Director of the Geological Survey of India. It is favoured by a number of administrators in India who consider that some measure of official control is necessary for all scientific investigations, and it has also received the support of several of the scientific witnesses examined by the Commission.

Again —

The Industrial Commission considers that for administrative purposes the chemists now employed by the State in India, and at present distributed among the cadres of various services, should be brought together into one service to be called the Indian Chemical Service, and should be under the control, so far as their scientific work is concerned, of a senior officer styled Chief Chemist to the Government of India. The remaining members of the service would be divided into three groups—agricultural, mineral, and organic chemists—each group being under the supervision of a Deputy Chief Chemist located at a suitable centre. The junior members of the groups would be lent to Local Governments and to various Government Departments for periods normally limited to five years; they would carry out the routine duties required, in some cases including teaching, and undertake certain forms of research with the approval of the head of the service. All the members of the Chemical Service would carry on their duties on the following lines: (i) Whenever it is possible to lay down for any officer a programme of research work, such programme would not be sanctioned without the consent of the head of the service, (ii) the head of the Chemical Service would have power to inspect the scientific work of any of his transferred officers and to report thereon to the local authority, (iii) the results of scientific investigations would be reviewed by the head of the service, and would not be published without his consent. Ordinarily, such results would be given their first formal publication in the official journal of the service.

We are told that as soon as the organisation of chemists is completed, the Industrial Commission suggests that the botanists, zoologists, and entomologists working in India should be formed into similar centralised services. *Nature* also describes the present system.

The present system under which research is conducted in India may be described shortly as one of decentralisation, the work being carried out at the various university colleges and at a number of independent research institutes under

the control of the Government of India, the Local Governments, the Indian States, and trusts, of which latter the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore is the chief example. A large number of the most successful investigators working in the universities and at the various research institutes do not favour centralisation in separate scientific services, but consider that the present system should be developed and extended, and that in applied science the bond of union of the workers engaged should be the general subject investigated, such as agriculture or forestry, rather than the particular science involved. At present the investigators dealing with a many-sided subject like agriculture are collected at agricultural research institutes, and now belong to the agricultural department. A similar method of organisation obtains in forestry and at the centres of medical research like Calcutta and Bombay.

Nature pronounces the opinion that

The present system has proved successful in practice, and the value of the work done in India in pure science, in tropical diseases, in agriculture, and in forestry has been widely recognised. Decentralisation, therefore, has been justified by success, and a very strong case will have to be made out before the workers at the existing institutes are re-grouped in centralised services under the control, as regards their scientific work, of the proposed Department of Industries of the Government of India.

The last paragraph but one in the article in *Nature* from which we have already made several extracts shows unmistakably that that leading scientific journal is distinctly against Centralisation. It runs as follows —

Increased financial assistance on the part of the State would enable the present universities and research institutes to be developed and more workers secured. With such facilities, there should be the greatest possible freedom for the investigators carrying on original work. The general conditions under which the researches are conducted should be made as attractive as possible, and the policy to be adopted should be one which would secure the very best men available, and the provision of adequate means for their work. For original scientific investigators little or no official control is needed, and they should not be constantly called upon to furnish interim reports and programmes of work to an official chief, or to obtain his formal sanction before undertaking an investigation or publishing the results of their work. Such formalities waste valuable time, lead to constant friction, and are altogether foreign to the spirit which should reign in all centres of creative scientific research.

The article concludes —

Briefly stated, the case to be decided is one

between the advocates of a system of rigid centralisation and those who consider that in research work the man is everything, and that there can be no progress without freedom. Obviously, the conflict of opinion is a fundamental one, and much will depend on the wisdom and sympathies of the Secretary of State, with whom the final word lies, in deciding which policy is to prevail.

The next issue of *Nature*, dated February 26, 1920, contains letters on this subject from two eminent men of science, *both of whom are against the bureaucratic policy of centralisation*. Prof. Frederick Soddy, F.R.S., who is well known throughout the scientific world by reason of his work in connection with the subject of radio-activity and is professor of inorganic and physical chemistry in the University of Oxford, writes —

I trust the rank and file of scientific investigators throughout the empire will wake up to the urgent need of combined energetic action. The proposals to centralise under the control of a few official departmental heads the body of actual scientific investigators in India, thus creating a few highly paid administrative posts for senior men and effectually killing all initiative, enthusiasm, and liberty of action on the part of those actually carrying on the investigations, is perfectly in accord with what has happened in this country since, in an evil day, the Government assumed the control of scientific and industrial research. It is a proposal that appeals, naturally, to the official without knowledge of the way in which scientific discoveries originate, and anxious to secure a body of cheap and docile labour, even though it be mediocre in calibre, and to those few who hope to secure for themselves these senior lucrative administrative posts. To genuine investigators such posts, however highly paid, would be unattractive, and under such a system there seems every inducement for men of originality and scientific ability to give the service a wide berth. Whereas the crying need in India, as everywhere, is for men of high calibre and honest, independent mental outlook, anxious only to secure favourable conditions under which they may be left free to pursue their creative work, and, this being secured, careless of wealth, rank, and power save as the necessary antecedents to the essential condition.

Two assertions, which can be made without the slightest fear of contradiction, may be put into juxtaposition in order to contrast the remedy proposed with the state of things it is desired to cure. First, that of all great nations the British Empire has most signally failed in its application of scientific knowledge and

methods to its national problems, and, secondly, that in the British Empire there exists a body of skilled and hard working scientific investigators second to none, and, even under the most disheartening conditions, actually enlarging the boundaries of natural knowledge in no mean degree. As the great schemes for rectifying matters crystallise into action, with the formation of a Department of Scientific and Industrial Research at home and concrete proposals for action, as in the Indian reorganisation suggested, more and more they seem to amount to this. The men who do the work, and against whom no fault is alleged, are to be deprived even of what little satisfaction and independence genuine scientific work for its own sake affords, and are to be put under the men against whose incompetence and lack of knowledge the whole uproar originally arose. In research, where, as the leading article in *Nature* of February 19 so truly says, the man is everything, that man is to be put under men who brought an Empire, as rich in scientific talent and genius as any, perilously low. The remedy, surely, is to put the incompetent machine under the charge of competent men, not *vice versa*.

Again.

I do not wish to advocate for scientific investigators a close corporation keeping lynx-eyed vigil over their professional interests and seeking every opportunity to enlarge and consolidate them, identical with other learned professions, for the paramount interest of a scientific investigator should be his work and his privileges, emoluments, and status are to be regarded merely as means necessary to secure opportunity and power to *do it*. That should be the test of these schemes, and not the further subordination of the men who do the work to the organisation attempting to get the work done.

The next letter is from Dr A B Rendle, F R S, who concludes thus

There may have been some waste of effort in the past, both at home and overseas, owing to insufficient co-operation between men of science working independently, but this is a matter for workers to set right among themselves, and will not be mended by an organisation *conceived on the lines of a German military system*. Further, it is unlikely that the best men will be attracted to work under such deadening conditions.

Care must be taken that public money is not wasted in scientific development, but the kind of official control suggested by a scheme of centralisation does not commend itself as an efficient waste-preventer. Grants of money to scientific societies or institutions might be administered by carefully selected boards of trustees, the scientific work being left to the unhampered initiative of the scientific staff

under a head specially suited to the character of the work. The management of our Natural History Museum, a Government institution, is invested in trustees, who leave to the scientific staff the carrying out of the scientific work as effectively as funds and opportunity allow. Research work of the highest value to agriculture is being carried out at the Rothamsted Experimental Station, the original endowment of which has been generously supplemented by private munificence and by Government grants. Here also the management is vested in a small committee the members of which represent the various scientific sides of the work carried on.

Nature for March 4, 1920, contains letters from five distinguished scientists, *all of whom are against the bureaucratic plan*. Prof W Bateson, F R S, writes

The relations between scientific inquiry and constituted authority, whether ecclesiastical or civil, have seldom been cordial or wholesome. Science was once a fearful dragon, to be destroyed or confined. With the discovery that the beast had powers from which profit could be made by cunning masters, it was found more expedient to tempt him into harness. Our former state was probably the better, or at least the safer, and most of us will agree with Prof Soddy that the scheme devised by the Indian Industrial Commission is simply an offer of servitude undisguised. While there is time, those with whom the decision rests should be told very plainly that the adoption of such rules of service as those quoted in the leading article in *Nature* of February 19 must mean the alienation of all sincere and genuine investigators.

Research, like art, literature, and all the higher products of human thought, grows only in an atmosphere of freedom. The progress of knowledge follows no prescribed lines, and by attempting such prescription the head of a Service would merely kill the spontaneity and enterprise of his workers. No one fit to be entrusted with research worthy the name would undertake it knowing that his results might be buried or withheld from publication at the whim of his superior in the Service. Such conditions may be appropriate to certain forms of technical or industrial invention, where the sole purpose is to get ahead of a trade rival, but we can scarcely imagine that the vast and manifold undertakings promoted by the scientific services of the Indian Government are to be conducted in that spirit.

Mr J S Gamble, F R S, writes.

I hope you will allow me to express through the medium of *Nature* my concern at the proposal referred to in the leading article in the issue of February 19 to centralise in an Imperial Department the various scientific

services in India—a policy which I believe to be likely to prove detrimental to good work. I was a member of the Indian Forest Department during the years 1871-99, so that my Indian experience is not very recent, but I have kept myself informed of what was going on. Since I left India research institutes have been established in different provinces with officers attached to them required to devote themselves to the study of scientific questions. In my opinion, it is of the utmost importance that these officers should have as free a hand as possible, and be allowed to work in their own way on the subjects which they know themselves most competent to study. If they are called upon to work under a centralised Department, and perhaps to turn from branches of study which they thoroughly understand to others in which they may have to begin by reading up, much of their time will be wasted and the results poor.

A centralised Department, to most people of Indian experience, means many reports and returns and constant correspondence, and I believe the result of such an innovation will be that some hours at the beginning of each day will have to be spent on what may be called "clerical duties." If a scientific worker is to do his best, he must be able to spend all his time on his researches, and not be obliged to waste much of the day on clerical duties, only beginning his real work when tired and unable to do his best.

Centralisation will also mean, in my opinion, the spending of much money in keeping up clerical staffs, which, as most Indian officers will admit, have a wonderful tendency to increase. It will be much better that the recommendations of the last paragraph but one of your leading article should be followed and the money spent in giving financial assistance to the universities and research institutes instead. The paragraph to which I refer puts the arguments for the continuance of the present system and its better development excellently in a few words, and I trust it may have the effect on the administrative authorities that I feel sure it must have had on the scientific men who have read it.

Sir Ronald Ross, K C B, F R S, writes —

I have not yet had time to study the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission, and may, therefore, be ignorant of some of the arguments for centralisation, but I am certainly in general agreement with the views expressed in the leading article in *Nature* of February 19, and by Prof Soddy and Dr Rendle in the issue for February 26, regarding the dangers of that method of research organisation. Investigations under centralised bureaucratic control must almost always be concerned solely with questions capable of receiving easy and immedi-

ate replies, for the obvious reason that directors and committees can rarely be persuaded to authorise attacks upon difficult or distant objectives, regarding which, perhaps, no replies at all may be forthcoming. Now the most important discoveries have generally been made precisely by such attacks, and investigation is a lottery in which the greatest prize often falls to him who takes the greatest risks. Directors and committees do not like risks, and, consequently, seldom make discoveries. I should like to know, for instance, how any "Indian Scientific Service" would have attacked the malaria problem, which I commenced to assault (in a very foolhardy manner!) in 1890. I am sure it would have refused to authorise my attempts, and even to publish my first results. On the other hand, it would have wasted, with ripe bureaucratic prudence, thousands of pounds in looking for *Plasmodia* in marshes, or in trying to correlate various species of mosquitoes with local outbreaks of the disease, and I am sure it would have achieved nothing at all up to the present day.

We forget that, like really valuable art and invention, scientific discovery is almost always due mainly to the individual. One might as well try to organise an Institute for the Writing of Poetry as institutions for making great discoveries or inventions. Like art, discovery is creative. It depends much more on the brain than on the hand, even in work requiring the most careful manipulative skill. Scientific services will not be able to pick up "discoverers" on every bush. All they can do is to organise hand-work, for which they may be useful. But if the Government of India wishes to obtain great results for its expenditure it must buy genius. Now genius may be defined as the quality which achieves success, and the only way to buy it is to reward success as suggested by the Committee on Awards in *Nature* of January 8. What we all fear is that the Government of India will be tempted to spend much larger sums of money in buying, not genius, but its opposite.

At the same time certain researches, even of a petty kind, will require subsidies, and the Government ought also to possess expert advisers in many branches of science. Some kind of scientific service will therefore be needed, but this should not be allowed to engross the whole field, and the best results are sure to be obtained in the future, as they have been in the past, by untrammelled men of capacity working as they please.

Dr E J Russell, F R S, observes

Experience shows that successful co-operation is achieved only when a deliberate attempt is made to secure optimum conditions for each individual worker.

How can a State system be adapted to fit these various necessities? For financial reasons

complete elasticity is impossible. Treasuries must know their liabilities. In any Civil Service system promotion is almost inevitably by seniority. Individual action and thought would be intolerable, everything must go through a chief, while anything repugnant to him must be suppressed. In all these directions the State system is absolutely incompatible with living research, although it might be consistent with much careful accumulation of facts, with survey work, and with the establishment of some central collecting institute. For these reasons I cannot believe that the intensely centralised system proposed for India could succeed. One man may organise work in one institution where he is accessible to the staff morning, noon, and night, but he would indeed need to be a superman of most exalted degree if he aspired to direct the research work of a country.

The system devised by the English Ministry of Agriculture is, in my view, much better. It possesses some degree of financial elasticity. While it contains the inevitable regulation about promotion by seniority, this is qualified by clauses under which the best man available can, nevertheless, be appointed to fill a vacant post. There is no attempt to govern from Whitehall, no general director, deputy director, or other official to run the research workers, but only occasional friendly gatherings of the chief officers to discuss common problems. Could not some such system be tried in India?

Prof A C Seward, F R S, expresses the following opinions —

The advantage of organising research within certain limits is generally admitted, facilities should be afforded for supplying information, for suggesting problems, and for the co-ordination of the activities of individuals, or institutions, but it would seem that the policy of centralisation advocated by the Indian Industrial Commission, presided over by Sir Thomas Holland and "favoured by a number of administrators," is much more than this. It is, in short, a proposal to bring scientific investigation into line with routine official work—a procedure which, one learns with surprise, has the support of several scientific witnesses examined by the Commission. If there is one thing vital for the successful prosecution of scientific research of the best type and for the encouragement of the full development of a researcher's capacity, it is freedom of action.

It is safe to predict that very few men possessing what may be called the research temperament would consent to submit to a bondage that would be not only irksome and irritating but also fatal to individual initiative and enthusiasm. If adequate remuneration is offered and reasonable laboratory facilities are provided good men will be easily secured. Given the

right sort of men, I venture to think that the only rational course is to trust them to work out in their own way, with such advice or assistance as may be asked for, the problems entrusted to them.

The appointment of a head for each department of science with the powers of a dictator would be the surest means of encouraging mediocrity, and of warning off just that type of original thinker and independent investigator whose services would be of inestimable value to the State. It may be contended that any State scheme whether concerned with routine duties or original work, must be under some central direction, but there is no reason why the direction should be of such a kind as would be tantamount to asking every researcher to place himself, body and soul, under a dictator.

The issue of *Nature* for March 11, 1920, contains a letter from Sir Jagadish Chunder Bose in the course of which he writes —

With reference to the practical scheme now under the consideration of the Government of India, the leading article in *Nature* of February 19 states very fairly the comparative merits of the two alternatives, namely, that of centralisation under a proposed Imperial Department, and that of decentralisation, under which research workers will be given as free a hand as possible. Under the centralisation scheme the work of an investigator would depend on the previous sanction of the head of the Service, who would probably not be of any scientific eminence, or might even be without scientific qualification, and, most serious of all, he would not be able to publish his results without the consent of the official head of his special department. The possible abuses of such conditions are sufficiently obvious to all.

Every real investigator is making a great adventure into the unknown, and all the initiative and all the risk must therefore be his own. Nothing could be so disastrous for the growth of knowledge as to place competent men under an incompetent machine.

Finally, who should be the judge of the value of the work accomplished? Such judgment should not be departmental or secret, the verdict should come from the open court of the scientific world itself, and this would effectively put an end to official or non-official incompetence.

Sir P C Ray was the only Indian member of the Chemical Services Committee, 1920, whose Report has, we understand, been printed and submitted to Government and may be expected to be shortly published. We may safely presume that his opinion will be found to be similar to those of the distinguished scientists

who have written on the subject to *Nature*. If the Secretary of State acts on the eminently reasonable opinion of the scientists, who alone are the best judges in such a matter, he will be a great benefactor of humanity in general, and of Indians in particular, who have been peculiarly subject to intellectual repression and suppression.

It is said, the policy of centralisation and the creation of graded scientific services

has received the support of several of the scientific witnesses examined by the Indian Industrial Commission. But it is certain that these witnesses cannot claim to speak with greater scientific authority than the men of science whose opinions we have quoted from *Nature*, nor can the witnesses claim to possess greater knowledge of "Indian conditions" than Sir J C Bose, Sir P C Ray, Sir Ronald Ross, and Mr. J S Gamble.

THE NEED FOR PUBLIC HEALTH AND SOCIAL WELFARE EXHIBITIONS

INTRODUCTION

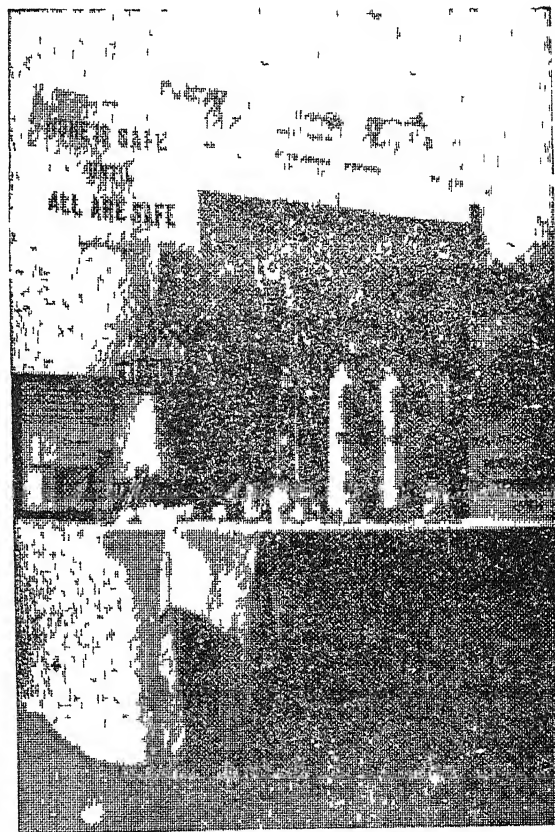
WITH the fact of the phenomenal success of this great exhibition before the public one feels doubtful of the necessity of emphasizing the need for such exhibitions, when that need has been so amply demonstrated in the most practical manner by the thousands of men, women and children of all classes and stations of life, who have crowded the halls and corridors of this great Town Hall to such an extent that on many occasions the doors had to be closed on the ground of public safety, and the period of the Exhibition has had to be further extended. But proved things have still to be repeatedly proved and that is my apology for this paper.

THE EXHIBITION IS A SIGN OF THE TIMES

Events like men, are alike the creation of expression and the creators of an age. They come charged with the message of generations past and present and they give out that message, with a power and force that constitute their greatness, to generations, present and future. Examples of this are common everywhere. The mother's milk which recreates the child is but an expression of the love and health that created that milk. The tiny spring, parent of the mighty river, is but an expression, at a suitable bursting point, of the streams of water that have long been meandering along the strata of rock, beyond the sight of man, and, even so is the storm, like a great war, the expression of rushing currents, irresistibly set up by causes which the casual eye does not see.

Thus, when a movement wells out from the bosom of a society or of an age, at the stroke of a pioneer, who guided almost by an instinct, drives his drill at the right time into the right

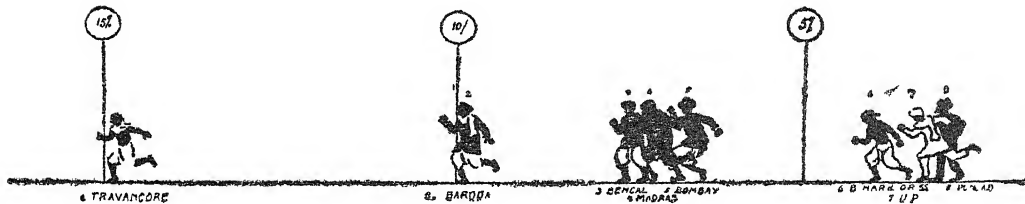
spot, that flow is perennial and goes on gaining in volume. It shows that the deeper



Stall of Bengal Social Service League

By the courtesy of Dr. Bentley.
Photo by Dr. D. N. Maitra.

THE COMPETITION FOR LITERACY.



strata of peoples' thoughts have been struck, that it is not a shallow pool of a passing event, which having no life-source of its own, dries up

every now and then and looks up to a passing cloud or flood to fill up its hollows, it further shows that it is a true expression of the deeper

currents that were running scattered and confined in the sub-conscious regions of thought, seeking an outlet to supply drink and life to the millions

Such, to me, is the psychology of the growth of this Exhibition Movement. It shows that it does interpret a real desire and readiness on the part of the people to be educated in this way, and the history of its development and growth and increasing public appreciation proves that it is a real and growing movement and a Sign of the Times

DO
THE RIGHT WAY



- 1 STRAIGHT BACK
- 2 PROPER DISTANCE FROM BOOK
- 3 LIGHT FROM LEFT AND A LITTLE BEHIND

DON'T
THE WRONG WAY



- 1 STOOPED BACK
BENT NECK
- 2 EYES VERY CLOSE TO BOOK
- 3 LIGHT FROM FRONT AND FALLS DIRECTLY ON EYES

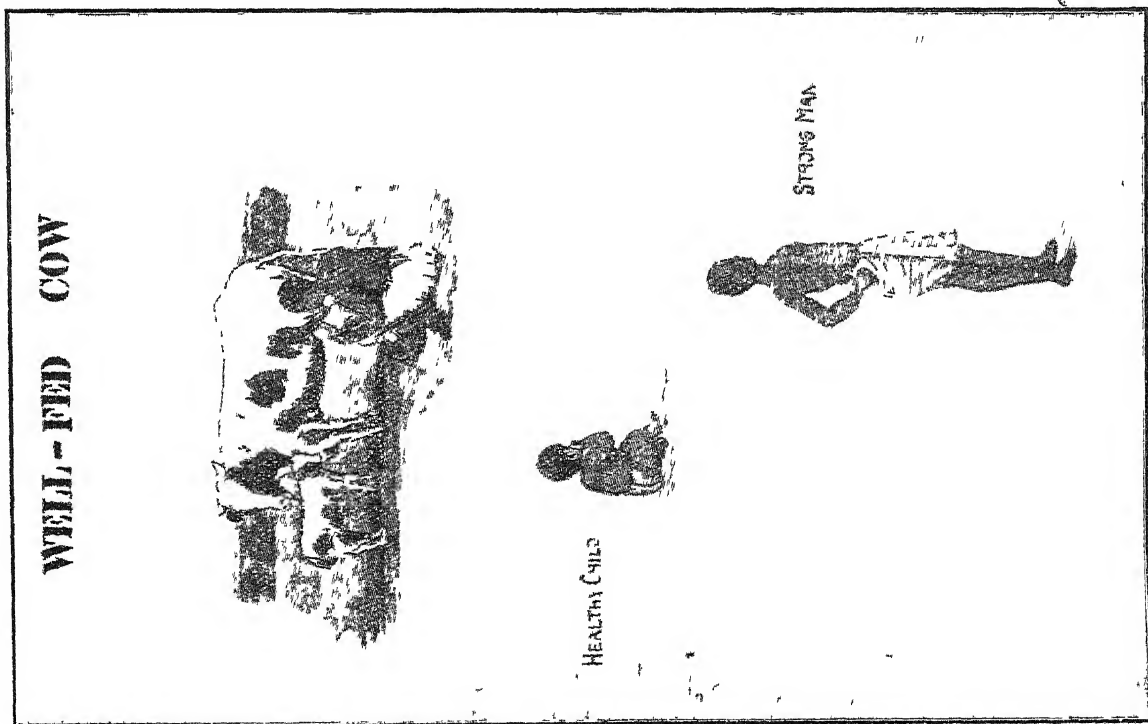
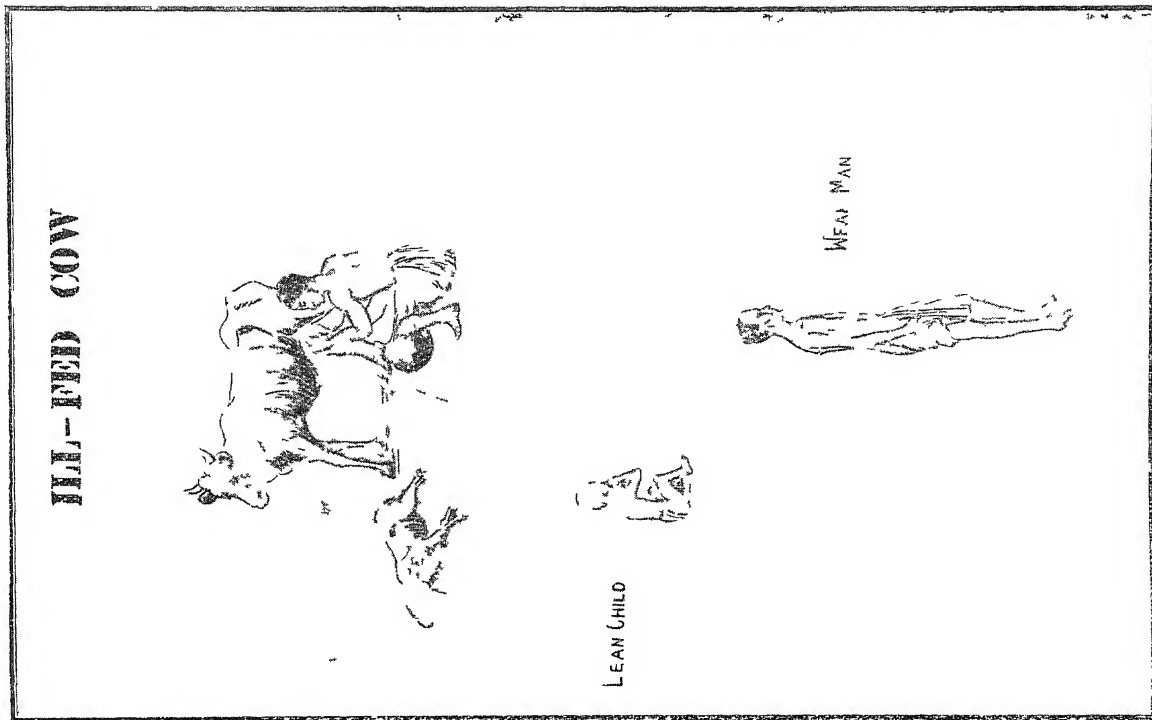
RESULTS
OF

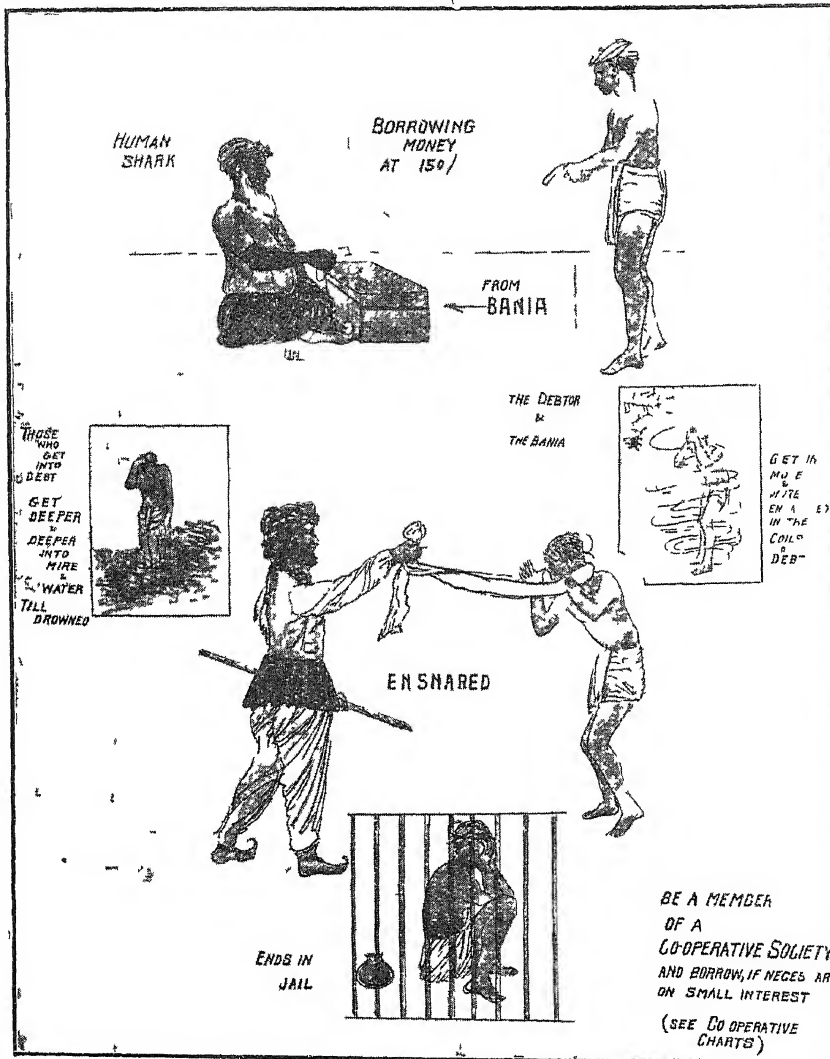


ITS PURPOSE

The sanitary conscience of our people has been awakened to a remarkable degree and extent during the last few years. If this exhibition has on the one hand been the outcome, as I hinted above, of a general awakening, though feeble and inarticulate, it bids fair, on the other hand, to produce a wide and articulate awakening of our people to the sanitary needs of the country, and to stimulate them to action.

The models and charts and pictures, the practical demonstrations and illustrated lectures, cannot but produce a deep and powerful impression on our dormant consciousness, and once convinced of the value and importance of the suggestions





Borrowing Money

implied or urged, action on our own account or in co-operation with other organisations will not be far distant

And this leads me to consider the next point
ITS NATURE

This movement is principally educative, and not executive. People must not expect it to supply the panacea for all possible evils and to solve problems which it does not pretend to include within its scope. Its main purpose is to stimulate a wide-spread popular thinking on matters relating to Health and Social Welfare, and its main feature is to create a strong public opinion based on a careful study of actual facts and figures, which will urge people to act directly or indirectly.

It is visual oratory, emphasizing compelling facts. It is the University of the literate and the illiterate, it makes the illiterate read. It prepares the soil of the people's minds for the

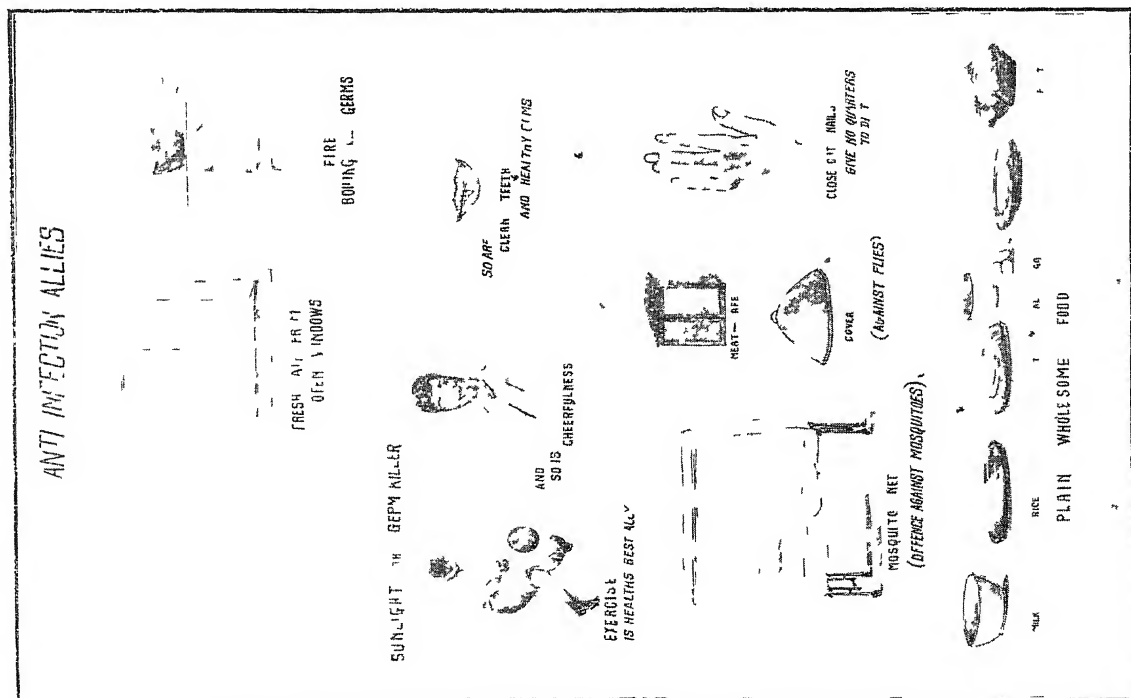
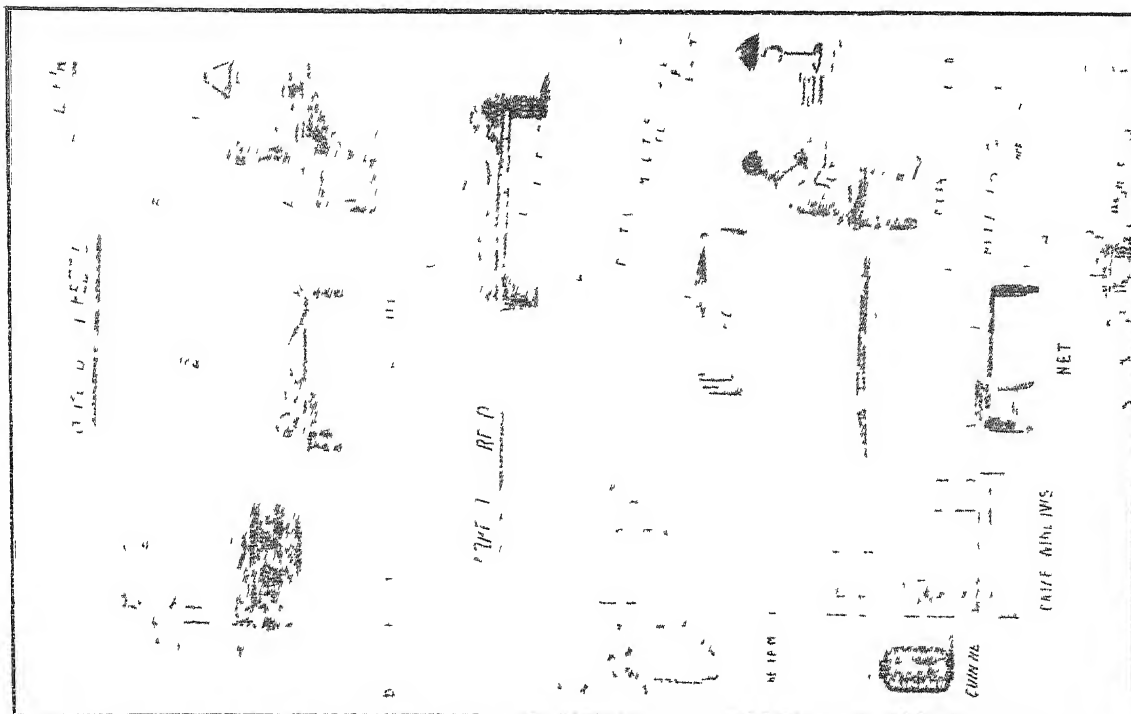
reception and germination of the seeds of suggested reforms that will be found scattered broadcast on its walls and floors. It is not an easy task. Those only who are concerned with the collection of data for, and the preparation of the designs and the execution of the various charts and models and demonstrations, can realise what an amount of study, research, thought and observation underlies an apparently pleasing picture or a model, which is strictly drawn to scale, on a careful and comparative study of facts and statistics. It is thus a most powerful stimulus to social study, both in its preparation and in its lessons.

THE NID OF SUCH EXHIBITIONS

Fortunately, after all I have said above, it does not require much pleading to show how very obvious and urgent the need is. A vague desire for saving one's country often proves impotent. Knowledge must precede an operation, and the more accurate and the more thorough the knowledge is the better the incentive for, and the result of the operation. The days of empiricism are gone or are fast disappearing from every walk in our lives. Science or sys-

tematised knowledge and a scientific study and interpretation of facts now form the bases of all constructive and progressive work on right lines. As the application of the art of surgery or medicine may not only be useless but may prove positively dangerous without a clear and accurate knowledge of the human bodily system in health and in disease, so any effort for the amelioration of the condition of our masses, whether in regard to their sanitary or economic condition, may not only be useless and wasteful but may be harmful, without an intelligent study of the various conditions in their normal and abnormal, ideal, practical and comparative aspects.

The ground must be thoroughly studied and prepared for receiving the seeds, the soil must co-operate with the seed to yield a happy result and thus the popular mind, the understanding of the people, of the mass, of the women and even children, must be sufficiently and intelligent-



ANTI INFECTION ALLIES

SUNLIGHT THE GERM KILLER

FRESH AIR FROM OPEN WINDOWS

FIRE BOILING KILLS GERMS

SOAPS CLEAN TEETH AND MENTHOLINS

EXERCISE IS HEALTH'S BEST ALLY

AND SO IS CHEERFULNESS

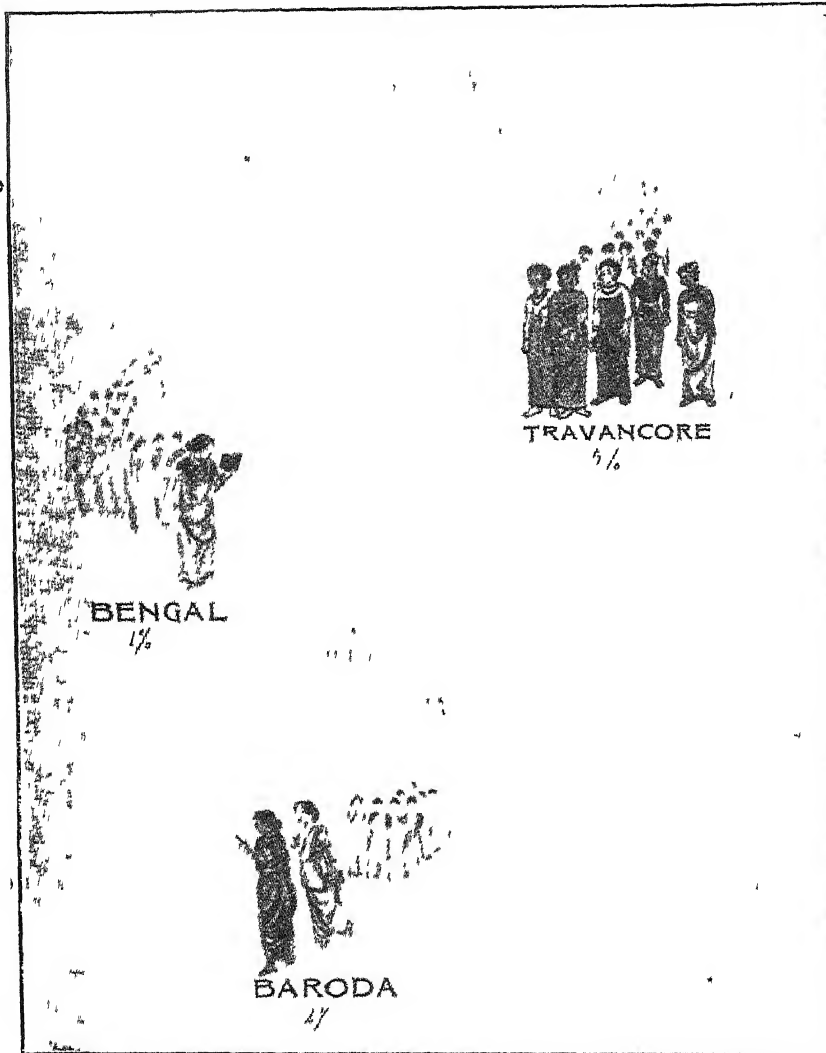
NEAT - NICE

COVER (AGAINST FLIES)

CLOSE CITY HALLS GIVE NO QUARTERS TO DIRT

MOSQUITO NET (DEFENCE AGAINST MOSQUITOES)

RICE PLAIN WHOLESOME FOOD



Comparison of Female Literacy.

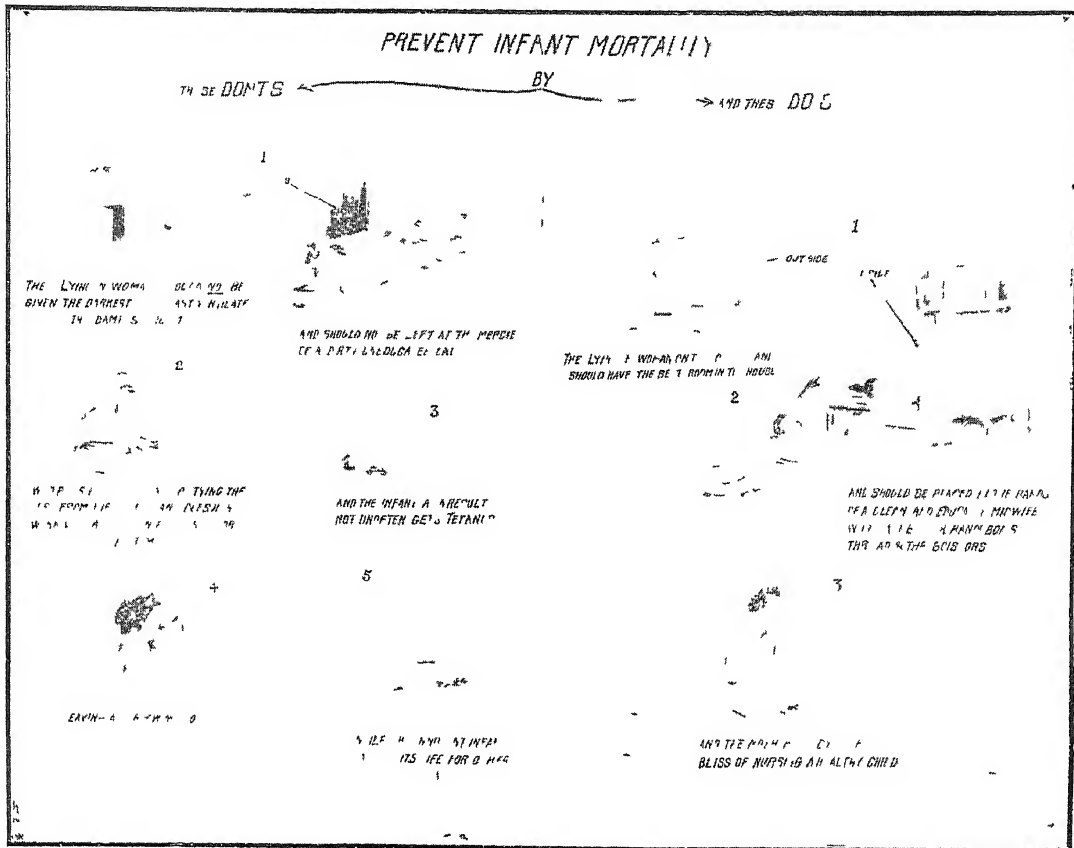
ly and forcibly yet pleasantly enlightened and impressed to get the full measure of their willing and intelligent co-operation. Such co-operation is indispensable for the achievement of any amount of success in our undertaking. Herein therefore lies the immense need and value of these exhibitions, specially for the less educated and illiterate classes, and I am not sure, if it is not equally, or more, necessary for our "educated" classes. "Information on social welfare is growing rapidly, and we must close the gap between the small group of socially informed people who keep abreast of this knowledge and the great mass of those whose understanding and co-operation must be gained before the application of the knowledge can be made" (Routzahn).

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE HEALTH SECTION

If the need of such Social Service Exhibitions is great and urgent, the need of such Health

and Child Welfare Exhibitions is perhaps greater still. In 1918 the first Social Service Exhibition was held in Calcutta and comprised various sections such as Health, Education, Economics, Sociology, etc. A descriptive and illustrated report of that Exhibition has been published. A reference to its pages show that full 13, out of 19, pages of descriptive matter have been devoted to the section of Health without any conscious desire of giving that section any undue preference. There is no doubt that the economic, educational and sanitary conditions of the people, and efforts for the improvement of these conditions, are all interrelated and interdependent. There are, however, schools who would urge the superior claim of one section to the others. I do not in any way minimise the value and urgency of improving the economic condition of the people or of spreading an elementary primary education, as the most helpful desiderata for enabling our people to have good food and the power of resistance to fight infection. But I do hope all will agree with me when I say how much more urgent is the immediate need of diffusion of such sanitary knowledge as may, without any particular cost or the necessity of school attendance, dispel a great

amount of the appalling ignorance which is the cause of that enormous loss of lives (and this is a tremendous economic loss too) from such fatal diseases as cholera, small-pox and various bowel complaints as are preventable by an elementary knowledge and by very simple means. When we are told that the frightful infant mortality in Calcutta is most alarming in such sections as Barabazar and Armenian Street, and when we are told that nearly a lac and a quarter people died of cholera in 1919, which included a number of educated Indians, it will be at once seen that it is Ignorance, with a capital I, of the elementary laws of health, more than lack of money, that has been the cause of these tragedies. And the best and most popular way of removing this widespread and appalling ignorance is not merely by books or figures or lectures, which can reach only a minute fraction of our community whose literacy is said to be as low as 7.7 per cent and whose female literacy



is but 1 per cent, but through such exhibitions and demonstrations as may interest and educate all classes and compel action

ITS FUTURE

is immense and of great promise. The wheels have just turned, and as these gain in momentum, we do not quite know, through what wonderful and unexplored regions we might yet be carried. In that mysterious fog, which envelops the future of all human endeavours, the eyes of those who have faith in the life and mission of this movement and have heard the whispers of its great message, may perhaps discern the outlines of a new *University of Popular Education*, with permanent museums in all big cities and towns and with periodical expositions in connection with all *melas* and gatherings. It will thus hold classes for the literate and the illiterate, for the men and women and children, of all classes and creeds. In this University of Democracy and Art, the memory will not be taxed and burdened, the fibres of the brain-cells will not have to be turned and twisted, but lessons will be given in the most artistic and realistic, pleasing and impressionable and compelling form by means of mottoes and couplets, panels and posters, charts and pictures, models and designs, and experiments and demonstrations.

It may so happen that this new movement

may merge itself in the ordinary classes of schools and colleges and the dull realities of the ordinary curricula may be largely enlivened and idealised by the process of this movement and its own ideals realised by reformed methods of teaching.

And by and by as this movement develops—and differentiation and specialisation are features of development—it will split up into different sections such as Agriculture, Economics, Education, Co-operation, Industries, Sanitation, Social Reform, Sociology, etc., and will include even other phases of human relation and endeavour such as Patriotism, Philanthropy, Home-life, and so on. And each section will have sets of definite series of exhibits leading up to a definite conclusion and an irresistible force for compelling action.

The man with the faith and the vision will further see, as the movement develops and travels to the villages, which claim "fifteen annas" of the total population of this province, that the great exhibition pavilion of the future will be carried by a band of highly educated workers who will seize the occasion of the numerous *melas* in this country and pitch their tents right in the midst of the vast concourse of people, who form the bulk and backbone of the population. The exhibition will include a travelling dispensary through which medical and surgical aid shall be rendered and good advice



COVER YOUR FOOD

AGAINST

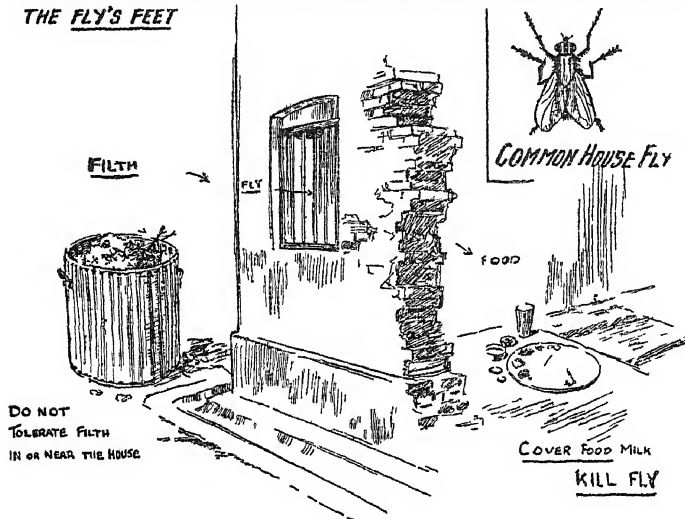
FILTH & FLY

WHAT SITTING OF FLY MEANS



**FLIES ALIGHT ON FILTH AND FOOD INDISCRIMINATELY
THEY CANNOT SWALLOW SOLID FOOD, SO TO DISSOLVE FOOD REQUIRED,
THEY VOMIT THE CONTENTS OF THEIR GROP, OR FALSE STOMACH, ON TO IT
BY THIS MEANS, THE FOOD IS CONTAMINATED WITH THE CONTENTS OF THE GROP,
WHICH MAY CONTAIN THE GERMS OF DISEASE SUCKED UP FROM EXCRETA OR
OTHER FORM OF FILTH**

**IN ADDITION THE INFECTIVE MATERIAL MAY ALSO BE TRANSFERRED TO FOOD ON
THE FLY'S FEET**



given to the ailing and long-suffering multitudes according to the simplest and the most up-to-date scientific methods, it will be a practical lesson to the numerous village doctors and practitioners who would be specially invited, and it would set up a standard of efficient yet cheap treatment which may take many a year to filter down to the interior of the Bengal villages. Through popular lectures and lantern slides and cinema films, the men, women and children will be shown the great, beautiful and interesting world, of which they are the citizens, what splendid social work is being done in many countries by the joint labours of men and women, how improvements can be effected by co-operation and by the force of healthy public opinion, how villages can be kept clean and are kept clean, how cultivation can be improved and cattle kept fit, how the purity of food and milk and water can be maintained, how infection could be fought, how small industries could be developed, and so on and on. It will open up their minds to newer visions and ideals of life and urge them to greater and nobler endeavours. There will be of course the stationary exhibits to see and study and there will be demonstrations agricultural, educational, sanitary, etc. And, should we even forget such hymns and *kirtans* as all may take part in, the

spirit of which makes all human endeavour instinct with life and enthusiasm and the force of which, specially in our country, has been so great. If some critic would trot out the usual joke as to the doubtful utility or futility of turning the handle of a cinematograph before a poor villager whose spleen is bigger than his "stomach" and who has not even a cowrie in his earthen pot,—well, the simple answer is, these shows may at any rate bring even some joy and recreation and education to them and would doubtless help towards the creation of that strong public opinion and effort, the force of which would sooner than later, compel the authorities to pay greater attention to the needed reforms, and compel our own people to put forth greater efforts at self-help to which these exhibitions will partly show the way.

PRACTICAL ISSUES

This Exhibition movement is now a fairly well established institution of great force and weight. Just two years ago when it was first inaugurated under the auspices of a private association, his Excellency the Governor, who presided over the closing ceremony, was pleased to observe "This venture on the part of the Bengal Social Service League is one of great promise." He further observed "If this sort of thing can be done not only in Calcutta but at many centres throughout the Presidency of Bengal, we should indeed have gone a long way to improve the position of sanitation, hygiene and health and so on, amongst the masses of people and I think the Social Service League are to be heartily congratulated upon being the pioneer in this work. They have set an excellent example and I hope that they will not rest upon their laurels but on the contrary that they will be encouraged by the success which has attended their endeavours this year to carry on the work which has been so well begun and make this exhibition a permanent feature in the life of Calcutta." This hope has been largely fulfilled, having regard to the humble resources of that association. We have held the exhibition already 17 times during the last 2 years in this province and even in Bihar and Assam. It is now in serious contemplation to give effect to the other section of our original scheme, viz., to establish a Social Service Museum, "as a permanent feature in the life of Calcutta" with many sections where charts and models could be permanently housed and copies loaned out or sold for other exhibitions elsewhere.

It would be very desirable indeed to establish in this connection a *Social Service Training Class*,

An annual session may be held during the Easter in Calcutta where charts, models, literature and various appliances may be invited from different centres for exhibition, and the authors of the best contributions publicly acknowledged and rewarded.

We are now only at the threshold of a great movement and it is but a beginning. It has to be carefully and patiently developed and we need the help and co-operation of the best minds and the best hands. The future is one of great promise and great is the possible reward. If a band of educated and trained workers be found, the men, women and children of Bengal may be, within the course of five years, given an enlightened and practical education that would gladden the heart of any lover of this land. Those who can spare some money, will they contribute to our funds which are now depleted, those who have ideas and suggestions, will they give us the benefit of their brains, those who can write, will they help us with their pen, and will the Press lend the invaluable weight of its leaders and space in its columns, and those who can offer their personal services, will they volunteer and come forward?

If thou comest not forth, O friend, to the
healing stream
 And the shady lawns of rest,
 Be of god courage, and have no fear at all
 Before the Tiger of Wrath, as one of old
 Thy soul shall laugh, and thou shalt quietly
 Hold him between thy fingers, and divest
 His flaming fell to be thy silken shawl
 The serpent of deep dishonour thou shalt fold

A high-contrast, black and white photograph showing a dark, textured surface, possibly a book cover or a wall. A bright, rectangular light source or opening is visible in the center, creating a strong contrast with the surrounding dark area. The image has a grainy, high-contrast quality.

have visited this exhibition and evinced the keenest interest, I alone have known of numerous instances where the visit has led to some practical reform in the homes, and no one can possibly gauge the amount or extent of its practical educational value. This exhibition of health and child welfare has indeed met with an amount of success which was beyond our dreams.

Substance of a paper read by Dr D N Maitra in connection with the Calcutta Health and Child Welfare Exhibition. Blocks kindly lent by Dr Maitra.

About thy neck, the burdens of dismay
 Shall be thy jewels, and invincible
 As a swift storm that darts upon the sea
 Thy dance of joy shall waken them that dream
 Of still beatitude, where all is well
 With their own souls, and they shall watch
 thy play
 Of loving deeds, and in them shall discover
 Visions of heaven and the Heavenly Lover
 E E SPEIGHT



H H Sri Ranjitsinhji, Maharaja of Jamnagar,
Who is to represent India in the Olympic Games at Antwerp, Belgium

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Effect of Rise of Price on Rural Prosperity

The Bombay Co-operative Quarterly has printed extracts from a paper by Dr H H Mann and Mr N V Kanitkar on the effect of rise of prices on rural prosperity submitted to the Conference of the Indian Economic Association held in January, 1920, in which the writers observe —

The effect of a rise in prices on the condition of the rural population in India has been a matter of very serious difference of opinion. Some authorities have held that, seeing that the produce of the land was the source of the prosperity of landholders and village people generally, the fact of their being able to obtain a higher price for it would obviously lead to their general economic advantage. Others, equally well-informed, have stated that whatever would happen in theory, in practice every rise in price has meant more difficulty and more poverty in the rural areas. The matter is really of great importance, because among other reasons, in a country of periodic land settlements such as occur in India, changes in price have always been considered a valid factor in determining changes in land assessment.

By a series of very careful village studies carried on, family by family, in two Deccan villages named Pimpal Saudagar and Jategaon Budruk, they have come to the following general conclusion

In general, the evil effects of a rise in prices on the general conditions of the rural population can, in the Deccan, at any rate, hardly be gainsaid. And if this is clear, the question of the maintenance of low prices, by any available means, may be a matter for much more serious concern on the part of those in authority than has hitherto been realised.

For the method of village studies pursued and the detailed conclusions arrived at the original paper deserves to be read

Importance of the Study of Comparative Religion and Sociology

In his foreward to the first number of the

72½—11

Indian Journal of Sociology Mr Manubhai N Mehta, the Dewan of Baroda, writes —

His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar always placed a high value on the study of Comparative Religion and of Sociology as a collective to our lapsing into parochial grooves. A comparative study of different religions and faiths is sure to dissipate ignorance and break the crust of superstition warping the growth of a nation's mind, and a comparative study of the diversity of social conditions is a safe solvent of any insular pride that may be corroding its vital functions. Knowledge and Learning have no political boundaries or geographical frontier: fortunately there is no Customs protective Cordon against the message of Science. Let this Sociological Journal, though started in Baroda, have an undisputed access to every home where knowledge is welcome from all quarters under the sun.

Professor Alban G Widgery, the editor of the Journal, says —

In the realms of industry and commerce there are rapid advances. Education is spreading and progressing in a variety of directions. The beginnings of an increased popular share in the governments of the country may be expected to lead to more widely diffused interest and participation in public affairs. There are a thousand and one signs of a revival, a rejuvenescence of Indian activities, a greater joy in living. But there is a danger of the achievement of the quixotic. There appears much riding on the paper horses of finance, and a tilting at (cotton?) mills. Never was the need for trained sociologists or for more attention to sociological studies on the part of administrators, political leaders, and the educated public generally, so great as at the present time in India. For, if there is to be developed from the new aspirations and hopes in Indian life, from this new energy, a real progressive renaissance, there is a call for men of vision, for reflection on the ideals to be accepted, for knowledge of the facts and the means by which these ideals may be realised.

Higher Commercial Education for Indians.

Principal P L Austey thus begins his lecture on "Higher Commercial Education in India," printed in the *Mysore Economic Journal*

The first thing is to be clear what end a Commercial College should serve. Is it intended mainly to turn out well trained clerks? Then what we want is an institution something like the Pitman's School in London, an institution where shorthand, typewriting, book-keeping, office methods, commercial arithmetic, elementary economics and banking, modern languages, etc., are efficiently taught at hours arranged to suit the convenience of those already in business.

The utility of such institutions requires no discussion.

But, as the lecturer says, education in commerce may mean something different.

Within recent years a number of institutions have sprung up in Europe and America the function of which is to turn out not clerks but young men fitted to rise to positions of responsibility as Managers and Organizers. The idea is to give a liberal education of a university type on the assumption which experience has amply confirmed, that such an education by enlarging the intellectual and moral outlook ultimately pays in the higher spheres of business no less than it does in professional or official life. But the courses of study for a higher commercial education do not consist of the classical languages, philosophy, literature or physical science. They comprise instead economic history and theory, national administration, public finance, statistics, currency, banking, commercial geography, mercantile law, accounting and auditing. To give a liberal commercial education of this type is the aim of the great and brilliant German Colleges of Commerce, of the faculties of commerce at several English Universities, of the graduate school of business administration at Harvard, and to a large extent of the London School of Economics. Most of these institutions was started in the face of considerable doubt and opposition. But where they were wisely planned and managed, they have long since proved their worth especially in Germany and America.

It was formerly supposed that for commercial purposes no very high type of education was required. Under the old conditions this may have been true so far as the success of individual traders was concerned though it never can have been true from the national standpoint. The direction of the nation's policy in respect of trade, industry, commerce and banking has always required a wider outlook than is found in those who have learned their business by rule of thumb. And to-day even the management of private concerns calls for faculties of a far higher order than sufficed when competition had not yet become world-wide and when gigantic combines had not yet overshadowed a small trader.

India's Sugar Supplies and Consumption.

It is a pity that in India the actual cultivator of the soil is almost in every case illiterate, and cannot therefore read what the Agricultural Department may have to teach him. Still information should be supplied to the literate in the hope that some of it may reach the masses. *The Agricultural Journal of India* has reproduced from the *Economist* an article on the world's sugar supplies from which we learn —

The United Kingdom is one of the greatest sugar-consuming countries, and, unlike the majority of others, is entirely dependent upon imports for its supplies. Before the war those imports of cane and beet, refined and unrefined, were rapidly approaching the round figure of two million tons a year. This approximately represents a consumption which was exceeded in bulk only by the United States and British India, with Germany and Russia occupying fourth and fifth positions. The average annual consumption in the five years' period 1908—13 for the world is estimated at 15,850,000 tons, the principal consuming countries being America 3,400,000 tons, British India 2,830,000 tons, United Kingdom 1,800,000 tons, Germany 1,460,000 tons, Russia 1,180,000 tons, Austria-Hungary 680,000 tons, and France 643,000 tons. On the basis of population, the United Kingdom was an easy first in the average consumption per head, with America next. A curious fact is that while the world's supplies averaged nearly 16 million tons a year, the exportable surplus of producing countries averaged only 5½ million tons, of which the United States absorbed 50 per cent, Great Britain 34 per cent, and British India 11 per cent. Notwithstanding that India produced more sugar than any other country, it was not self-supporting, having to import 20 per cent of requirements, principally from Mauritius, Java, and Austria-Hungary. On the other hand, the United States, with great resources, produced only 23 per cent of requirements, and imported very largely from the West Indies. Of European countries, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, France and Holland all produced a varying surplus for export.

With regard to future supplies, the outlook is not altogether unsatisfactory.

In a table printed in the "Commerce Monthly," of New York, for September, the average production of the principal sugar-producing countries in the five years preceding the war, the output of 1917 and 1918, and the estimated yield of the 1919 crop, are given as under in short tons —

| Country | 1909-13 (5-year average) Tons | Per cent of total | 1917 Tons | 1918 Tons | 1919 Estimated Tons |
|-------------------|--|----------------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| British India | 2,520,587 | 14 | 3,955,360 | 3,708,320 | 2,617,000 |
| Germany | 2,385,551 | 14 | 1,796,390 | 1,759,047 | 1,581,000 |
| Cuba | 2,050,843 | 12 | 3,386,566 | 3,859,613 | 4,480,000 |
| Austria Hungary | 1,586,815 | 9 | 1,057,840 | 748,440 | 784,000 |
| Russia | 1,572,136 | 9 | 1,460,192 | 1,152,010 | 784,000 |
| Java | 1,454,540 | 8 | 1,787,715 | 2,005,992 | 1,870,000 |
| United States | 881,734 | 5 | 1,133,626 | 1,010,660 | 1,040,000 |
| France | 751,498 | 4 | 206,294 | 224,297 | 123,000 |
| Hawaii | 554,096 | 3 | 644,571 | 576,839 | 582,000 |
| Porto Rico | 318,456 | 2 | 502,395 | 453,795 | 420,000 |
| Formosa and Japan | 255,249 | 1 | 488,349 | 445,332 | 466,000 |
| Other countries | 3,379,013 | 19 | 3,477,234 | 3,468,565 | 3,565,000 |
| Total | 17,740,518 | 100 | 19,026,532 | 19,412,910 | 18,312,000 |

From the illustrations reproduced in our last issue from an official bulletin the reader has seen how the output in Java per acre has been increased. There is hope for some increase in India, too, if scientific methods are adopted. Some efforts are being made in this direction.

Speaking generally, the sugar industry in India is not in a satisfactory condition. In spite of the enormous area under cultivation, India is obliged to increase its considerable imports of sugar from Java and other countries. To obviate this, urgent steps are being taken to improve the character of the canes and establish varieties adapted to local conditions and the circumstances of the sugar-growers.

In this connection the following articles in the March issue of the *Agricultural Journal of India* should be read—"The Development of Cane Planting by the East India Distilleries and Sugar Factories, Ltd", "Packing Seed Sugarcane for Transport", "The Growth of Sugarcane", "What the Tucuman Experiment Station has done for the Argentine Sugar Industry", "The World's Sugar Supplies".

The increased attention paid by the British Government to sugar production is due to the exclusion of Germany and Austria as possible sources of supply. This increased attention may lead to greater production of sugar in India, but it will also lead to the cultivation of the sugar-

cane and the manufacture of sugar passing largely to the hands of foreigners.

Labour Organisation.

In *Commerce and Industries* M. K. S. Abhyankar describes the origin and functions of labour organisations thus:

Labour organisation is a product of 'the capitalisation of industry'. The need for it arises because the struggle between the capitalist and the labourers is an unequal one, the former can usually afford to wait till his terms are accepted, while the latter has the fear of starvation immediately staring him in the face. Moreover the capitalists can easily combine, and there is usually a sort of tacit understanding which generally prevents them from competing freely for workmen.

The functions of Labour Organisations are both beneficent and militant, and we need not unduly emphasise the latter aspect. Even as regards strikes, the experience has been that it is better to deal with unions than with individual labourers, a fact which was very clearly brought out at the time of the last strike of the Bombay mill-hands.

The factory-owners need not, therefore, take fright at the growth of spirit of organisation among workmen.

The conditions necessary for the creation of strong labour organisations are then described.

To create strong labour organisations there must, in the first place, be perfect freedom of organisation.

In the United Kingdom, which has been called the 'classic home' of Trade Unionism, labour organisations were regarded as 'criminal conspiracies under both common and statute law', in the beginning of the last century. We believe there is no such legal obstacle in the way of labour organisation in this country.

Secondly, there ought not to be 'a great gulf fixed between masters and men'. Under the old indigenous system, the labourer had his status fixed to a certain extent. Moreover, when it was not possible to carry on production on a large scale, there was close contact between the employer and the employed. The labourer could, moreover, look forward to a day when he would be an employer himself after serving his term of apprenticeship. But with the introduction of factories and of large-scale production, the labourers degenerate into mere 'hands' and the personal touch between the employer and the employed is lost.

The third requisite for successful labour organisation is that large numbers of labourers must be massed together in single centres.

Lastly there must be some one to lead and

organise 'Labour in India has not yet had time to evolve a class of its representatives, leaders and agitators who can claim to speak on its behalf, and control in times of industrial peace and war. The majority of the labourers are ignorant and do not understand their position well enough to act effectively. There is before them the example of what has been achieved by labourers in the West by means of organisation, but very few of them are literate enough to understand the significance of the labour movement in the West. The duty of advising and guiding the labourer, therefore, devolves on the educated classes.

The writer observes in conclusion that organisation of labour is essential for healthy industrial growth.

It will, in the long run, mean that labour will be more efficient. It is as proper for labour to organise itself for self-protection, as it is for merchants, traders or artisans to do so for the same purpose. The labour organisations serve also as training grounds for citizenship.

"Factory labour," says Mr N C Mehta of the Indian Civil Service, "is frequently the object of social charity, but its inherent right to live decently is never conceded until it acquires the art of organised agitation and exercises its irresistible strength of numbers," and again, "the contest in the international market has to be won not by the temporary and fortuitous advantage of ignorant, unorganised labour, but by superior capacity for organisation and progress."

On Labour Unrest.

Writing on labour unrest in the *Indian Review*, Mr J D Mathias observes with regard to hours of labour:

As regards short hours of work, it is really very difficult to say what is the minimum number of hours a workman must be made to work without in any way diminishing the total output and increasing the cost of production. Hours of work must differ very much in different trades. A man has only so much work in him each day and this can be done in six hours as efficiently as in twelve. Therefore, this is also a matter of experiment and as such it cannot be decided in a hurry.

For the settlement of labour disputes, he is in favour of the appointment of boards of conciliation and boards of arbitration.

It is a matter for much satisfaction to know that efforts are now being made to settle disputes between employers and workmen by means of Boards of Conciliation first and Boards of Arbitration next. If the Board of Conciliation composed of equal numbers of representatives of

employers and workmen fails to effect a settlement of any dispute arising between them, then the same will be referred to the Board of Arbitration presided over by an impartial outsider. I would suggest the formation of Boards of Conciliation for all departments of labour employing more than twenty workmen.

Some other methods of dealing with labour unrest are mentioned and commented upon.

Attempts are also being made to improve the economic condition of the working classes by means of co-operative societies and by various methods of profit sharing. Payment of labour by results, wherever possible, would also go a great way to secure maximum of production at minimum of cost. Some persons are of opinion that nationalisation of industries would provide a panacea for all the economic ills of the present day. I do not think so and this opinion is daily gaining ground all over the world. It has not yet been shown that people would work harder for the State than for private interests. On the contrary, there is little doubt that production will materially decrease under a system of nationalisation. Therefore the only remedy for the present labour unrest seems to be more production and less consumption.

Worship by "Swakarma".

A disquisition on "Swabhāva and Swadharma" is the instalment of Essays on the Gita by Mr Aurobindo Ghose published in the March issue of the *Arya*. In it he explains the worship by *swakarma*, one's own work, as follows:—

The Gita's injunction is to worship the Divine by our own work, *swakarmaṇā*, the work determined by our own law of being and nature. For from the Divine all movement of creation and impulse to action comes and by him all this universe is extended and for the holding together of the worlds he presides over and shapes through the *Swabhāva* all action. To worship him with our inner and outer activities, to make our whole active life a sacrifice of works to him is to prepare ourselves to become one with him in all our will and being and nature. Our works must be according to the truth of our nature, not an accommodation with outward and artificial standards, but a living and sincere expression of the soul in nature. The living inmost truth of the soul in nature will help us to arrive at the immortal truth of the same soul in the now superconscious supreme nature. There in oneness with God and our true self and all beings we can live and be a means of divine action in the freedom of the immortal Dharma.

The Art of Biography

"A scholar-journalist" on whom Mr Justice V M Coutts-Trotter writes in the April *Everymans Review*, is Sir Edward Cook, one of whose essays is devoted to "The Art of Biography." Sir Edward enumerates what he considers to be the essentials of a good biography

The first is relevancy, that is relevancy to your subject, the man you have elected to give a picture of. All must be subordinated to that however stirring the times in which the hero lived, the temptation to describe the events in which he lived must be overcome, if yielding to it would obscure the primary purpose. The biographer must not lose himself in the historian. The 'Life and Times of X' or the 'Life and Letters of G' almost condemn themselves by their titles.

The necessity for selection and arrangement on which our writer next insists, speaks for itself in writing a life of a public man, you must suppress a great deal of your available material. It is trivial and adds nothing to your portrait. On the other hand, you must not suppress matter that is really characteristic merely because it is personal, and might conceivably give offence. If it is a necessary factor to the understanding of the character you are attempting to portray, it must be stated or you must abandon your task. Froude's 'Life of Carlyle' treated the most intimate topics fully and boldly, and the outcome of the numerous severe criticisms on the work was not that it was badly done, but that it should not have been done at all. The last requirement that Sir Edward lays down is that the biographer should be 'honest.' His succeeding pages expand this dictum into the proposition that the biographer should be in sympathy with his subject, so as to make the best of him, but should not be so blinded by hero-worship as to be incapable of perceiving any blemish. Perhaps one may paraphrase it all by saying that he should be at all times both sympathetic and judicial. The unsympathetic biographer is naturally uncommon. Why should a man sit down to write the biography of a person with whom he is not in sympathy? The other tendency, to exalt the hero at the expense of all truth and proportion, is an outstanding feature of all ephemeral biographies of comparatively insignificant men written by their friends or relations. It is noted by our essayist that this partiality destroys the value of Dowden's 'Life of Shelley' what of Carlyle's 'Frederick the Great'? It is a question whether any book written by a great man has had so disastrous an influence on the destinies of the human race.

A Levy on Capital.

In the course of an article on "A Levy on Capital" in *East and West* Mr H L S Wilkinson urges us to "offer all our advantages and privileges of wealth, caste, lineage and position in willing service in the cause of people of humble birth and poor education, people we despise, working honestly and devotedly in their interests, and asking for naught in return." There lies the way of Salvation, says he. Seeing that "the interest on Government loans is 5½ per cent, and the Government take away again a quarter of that in income tax," he thinks it is not right or fair that private firms or companies should be allowed to make dividends of ten, twenty, or twenty-five per cent. He suggests that profits in excess of, say, ten per cent, should be made an offence against the State, and that all profits in excess of this legal amount should be *impounded* by the State. Apart from the legality or justice of any such action, it is obvious that this ought not to be done in India. For here the State is not identified with the people, and State revenues go to a very large extent to swell the incomes of bureaucrats, exploiters and fighters. The other opinions of the writer, regarding the nationalisation of mines and railways and the impounding of all war-bonds by Government should not be thought of without at the same time stipulating that all revenues must be subject to the full control of the people.

The World's Debt to India

On the occasion of the opening of the Y M C A Students' Hostel for Indians in London, Mr Laurence Binyon, poet, art-critic, author of "Painting in the Far East," spoke thus in part, as reported in the *Young Men of India*

I do feel more and more every day how great is the debt that the whole world owes to India. I always think it is one of the most fascinating moments in the world when Alexander the Great at the height of his genius came pressing on to the meditative world of India. Alexander's march and conquest is usually thought of as a war of aggression, but I would rather think of it as something predestined, as the great march against human ignorance. In India Alexander

met something that he had never met before, something which baffled and overcame him—he met the Indian mind. This is what I should like to emphasize that constant, unswerving attention to the things of the mind, the life of the spirit, which is the eternal character of Indian history and which is a challenge to us in Europe.

The other day I was induced to attempt a version, or rather to put into verse, the famous and beautiful drama "Sakuntala." It was written fifteen hundred years ago, and tells of the reverence paid by kings and those in power to anyone who has the gift of religion, and who leads the contemplative life. With that goes something that also strikes one very much—the great gentleness and the dignity of manners. Another thing is the happiness which is got from the feeling of kinship with non-human life—the love of animals, birds and flowers and trees, and "Sakuntala" is full of that. There goes with that, too, the respect for the lives of others, the respect of one man for another, however different. That is the direction in which we in Europe have yet far to travel. We have had Francis of Assisi, but how isolated a figure he is. From that point of view we are still in a backward state. We think too much of action for its own sake, merely being active and busy. We go to extremes and extravagances in this position for action, this love of always doing something, while India goes sometimes to the other extreme. We can each learn from the other.

Though foreigners acknowledge the world's debt to India, we Indians ought to know and acknowledge that India also is to a very great extent indebted to the world. This is one of the ways in which can be brought about that international and interracial mutual understanding for which Mr. Binyon pleaded.

One of the great problems to day is that each race should try to understand the races which are different from itself. There is the problem of nationality and the national spirit. Many, full of the horrors of the war and recognizing how vile have been the fruits of a strong national feeling, would like to cut it out altogether, but, after all, national character is something too strong to be suppressed. To my mind, it is not suppression of national character which we should aim at, but it is education. Among men the strongest character is not necessarily the most aggressive. Europe has this strong genius for action and India has genius for contemplation. Let us recognize the extreme value and power of thought and the things of the mind. Above all, let us try and understand each other.

Shipbuilding in America and Great Britain.

The Indian and Eastern Engineer writes that,

although a great many people were inclined to consider the American shipbuilding programme as being something of the nature of a bluff, the figures which are now available for the tonnage turned out in the United States prove clearly enough that the Americans have entered whole-heartedly into competition with British builders, and, at any rate for the time being, have placed America at the head of all other countries. So much is this the case that during 1919 the tonnage turned out in American yards was more than twice as much as by all the British shipbuilders.

It will be of interest to give the following figures for the past year. In America, the total number of ships built was 1,337, having a gross tonnage of 4,736,103 tons, the machinery installations totalling 2,591,210 h.p. In the same period, 1,268 ships were built in Great Britain with a gross tonnage of 1,931,769 tons, and a machinery power of 3,209,040 tons. Apart from the disappointment of the fact that the American total is so much in excess of the British, it is somewhat unsatisfactory to record that scarcely any progress was made in 1919 as compared with the previous year. In 1918, British yards turned out 1,244 ships, totalling 1,840,029 tons gross and an indicated horse power of 4,322,200.

Having said so much, it must, however, be remarked that there is a distinct hope for the future. There are actually more ships under construction in Great Britain at the present time than in America, the respective figures being 767 and 647. The gross tonnage of these ships in the two countries is approximately the same, being in both cases a few thousand tons under three million. It may, therefore, reasonably be hoped that unless some unexpected circumstances ensue, or greater difficulties are encountered in the labour world than are anticipated, the amount of shipping built in the United Kingdom in 1920 will be at least equal to, if it does not exceed that constructed in, the United States.

Where is India?

Two Comparative Sociological Studies

In the *Indian Journal of Sociology*, the editor advises the beginner in sociology "to make two studies, carried on more or less independently, of a small village and of a large city, or of a small self-governing State and an empire made up of a number of partially self-governing States."

The results of the separate studies should then be compared. The comparison would reveal distinct gains and losses in the present societies of these kinds. Thence arise practical problems on the one hand. How can the people of the village be given some of the particular advantages which at present accrue only to town life? and, How can the people of the town obtain something of the benefits generally associated with country life? or on the other hand. How can the independent States, through federation, share some of the advantages which have usually been present only in empires? and, How can empires be organised that the parts may preserve the greatest amount of individual liberty, autonomy, and variety? The beginner should actually undertake one or two special investigations in his own social circle *pari passu* with reading on the general principles of sociology

The Story of an Imprisoned Soul.

In *East and West* the Countess de Couson narrates how Sister Marguerite of the convent of Larnay in France educated a girl who was born blind, deaf and dumb.

When she realized that she was alone among strangers, the girl gave way to fits of passion that fairly terrified the Sisters. Being unable to express her feelings by signs, she rolled on the floor, beat the walls and the ground with her clenched fists, shrieked, barked and displayed an amount of nervous energy, that taxed not only the poor nuns' patience, but also their physical strength. Thus, at different times, they took Marie out walking, along country roads,

suddenly, in a fit of anger, the child would throw herself on the ground, sometimes into a ditch, and refuse to move. The Sisters had to carry her back to the Convent, her unearthly screams bringing out an astonished crowd and, more than once, the nuns were reproached for their cruelty towards a helpless being whom they sought to keep a prisoner!!!

Nothing daunted, however, Soeur (Sister) Marguerite began to train her difficult pupil, with the result that fourteen years after the girl's arrival at Larnay, she was thus described by a visitor

With unerring instinct she can state the age of any visitor by rapidly passing her fingers over the latter's features. Her thirst for knowledge has been a great help to her devoted Mistress. She learnt her catechism thoroughly and also the Old and New Testament, with ecclesiastical history and the history of France, she can make additions, subtractions and multiplications, she knows the geography of France and of Europe, having used the maps made expressly for blind students. She writes letters, according to the Braille method, expresses herself simply and clearly and seldom makes a fault in spelling. She is an expert player of dominoes and has learnt to use a type-writing machine where the letters being in relief, are easily felt by her deft fingers. She can sew and knit neatly and rapidly, and is an active and cheerful member of the large household of Larnay. Not only is she on affectionate terms with all the nuns, she can also *talk* by signs to the other deaf mutes who are cared for by the sisters, and who, although they can see, are generally not superior to Marie in intellectual development.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Turkish Question

The Right Hon Saïyed Ameer Ali, P C, writes thus, in part, on the Turkish question in the *Asiatic Review* of London

At the gravest crisis in the war, when doubts and apprehensions had grown up in Moslem minds as to the designs and intentions of the Allies respecting Turkey, Mr Lloyd George, speaking in the name of the British nation and the Empire as a whole, said "Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital nor of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace, which are predominantly Turkish in

race." These words, deliberately and solemnly uttered on January 5, 1918, had the effect of allaying the panic which had arisen among the Moslems, who had lavishly given their wealth and unstinting help to the British cause, their doubts and apprehensions were removed. They accepted the declaration of the Prime Minister as a solemn pledge given by, and on behalf of, the British Empire that Constantinople, Thrace and Turkey Proper would be left intact and uninterfered with. To raise an outcry against the fulfilment of this pledge, after full advantage of it had been taken by Great Britain, would be regarded by the Moslem world as the greatest breach of faith. Moslem soldiers laid down

their lives in the cause of England in the firm belief that the word of England would never be broken, and if at this juncture, at the demand of a section of the press and people of England, the pledge is to be broken, the effect, to my mind, would be disastrous

The charge of cruelty and barbarities brought against the Turks has been thus rebutted by the writer —

The Turks have been called cruel rulers, and they have been accused of committing terrible crimes. On the other hand, the Turkish rulers gave to the Jews, when they fled from the gibbet and the stake of Christian Spain, a generous asylum. They guaranteed to their non-Moslem subjects the fullest toleration, and secured them the freest enjoyment of their communal and religious rights. Muhammad II, who captured Constantinople, granted them a charter which has been renewed time after time. Greeks, Armenians, and Jews have prospered in their dominions, and have enjoyed the rights and privileges from a time when the word toleration was unknown in Europe. Even at the time of Alexander Pope, the poet, the Roman Catholics in England had to pay double land tax. The Turkish capitation tax on non-Moslems was lighter in comparison to the burden of the revenue on the Turkish Moslems. The Turkish rulers have ruthlessly suppressed revolutions and risings fostered almost always from outside but is there any other nation which has not been ruthless in repressing rebellion? What about Russia? Fair-minded people must remember that there are always two sides to every question, and Turkey has not been allowed a hearing up to this time

Japanese Opinion on the Turkish Question

The Asian Review is "the only English monthly in Japan on politics, economy, &c, of Asia, managed and edited by Japanese." As such some of its remarks on the Turkish problem deserve attention.

Our minds are indeed greatly exercised over these ominous reports which, if true, mean the death-knell of the last vestige of Asian domination in Europe. Whether Constantinople is placed under the Anglo-French administration and the Turks are allowed to remain there, or whether they are cleared out of Europe altogether, it makes little difference, so far as the loss of the independence and integrity of Turkey is concerned. It will be within the recollection of our readers that when the Allies were having a hard time during the last war, they made profuse promises of various kinds in regard to Turkey. Mr. Lloyd George, the Premier of Great Britain, promised among other things 'Nor

are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race.' And again, 'We do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homelands of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople.' These statements, coming as they did from the chief spokesman of Britain, created a profound belief in our minds that at the time of the Peace Conference Turkey would at least be given the same treatment as the other small states of Europe. We also entertained the hope that in view of the spiritual relations existing between the eighty million Indian Mahomedan subjects of Britain and the Sultan, Great Britain, out of deference to the feelings of her Moslem subjects and in order not to alienate them from their attachment to the British rule, would use her influence with the Allies for securing Turkey a just and impartial treatment. It is, however, a rude awakening to us to find that Turkey is about to be evicted from Europe once for all.

It has been claimed that Great Britain's policy in the past was all along friendly towards Turkey. This claim is thus commented upon.

It is no use disguising the fact that the British policy towards the Turkish Empire in the past was anything but satisfactory. Great Britain's only interest in the maintenance of the so-called independence and integrity of Turkey was to check the aggressive advance of the Russians on that side. However, it is of little use now to rake up the unpleasant past. What is desired to-day by every Asian is the prevention of the dismemberment of the once glorious Turkish Empire.

The observations of the Japanese editor on the application of the principle of self-determination are worth quoting.

We have already heard how some portions of the Empire have been parcelled out and allotted to Great Britain and France. It passes our comprehension how in the face of the clear and unequivocal promises made by such a responsible authority as the premier of Great Britain, such things can be done. However, not content with grabbing a greater portion of the Empire the Allies are now about to eliminate the Turks altogether from Europe and disintegrate the great Turkish nation, whose legions at one time knocked at the gates of Central and Western Europe. This proposal, if carried out, will be in direct conflict with all canons of political and international morality. Where is the much-vaunted self-determination of President Wilson? If it could be applied to the case of Poles, Czechs, etc., there is no reason why it should not be applied to Turks as well, who are not a whit inferior to the former in any

respect Or are we to understand that there is one standard of justice for Christians and another for Mahomedans? We have heard of one standard of justice for the whites and another for the coloured But now we are going to have the edifying spectacle of one standard of justice for Christians and another for non-Christians

Indeed, what is the world coming to? Can we have any faith in the utterances of those who can so easily eat up their own words? Times without number the British Premier and President Wilson made public declarations 'that the Turkish portions of the Ottoman Empire shall be assured a secure sovereignty' And we now find that these solemn pledges are going to be honoured more in the breach than in the observance

"How Persia Died A Coroner's Inquest"

The above is the title of an article in the *Century Magazine* (U S A) Its opening sentences are quoted below

Persia is dead Its death-certificate is the Anglo Persian Treaty announced by the British Government on August 15, 1919 This treaty completes, for the exclusive benefit of Great Britain, that systematic destruction of Persian sovereignty initiated by the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 Bolshevized Russia having fallen by the wayside, England reaps the full profit Persia henceforth takes her place alongside Egypt, Arabia, and Mesopotamia as a protectorate of the British Empire Of course the thing has been done decently and with due regard for the proprieties, according to the best traditions of British diplomacy But the thing has been done, and it will not be undone Make no mistake about that A handful of British liberals are, it is true, protesting, while French imperialists are weeping crocodile tears by holding Syrian onions to their streaming eyes But we should not deceive ourselves concerning the power of protests to alter accomplished facts Protests availed very little even in pre-war days They avail still less now that the Great War, like all similar conflagrations, has burned out of mankind what little idealism existed, and has left a world run by politics more *real* than anything conceived by the Pan-German pedants of Berlin This paper is therefore in no sense a "plea" for Persia, something that no longer exists

In the opinion of the writer, Mr Lothrop Stoddard, the first act of the Persian tragedy was the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907

By this instrument Russia and England, who had long been extending their influence over

Persia from north and south respectively, composed their former rivalry and agreed upon what amounted to a veiled partition of the country The convention stipulated that Russia should take northern Persia as her "sphere of influence," and that England should similarly take the south, with a "neutral zone," mostly desert, between Of course, at the head of the document, both England and Russia "mutually engaged to respect the integrity and independence of Persia" and "sincerely desired the preservation of order throughout the country and its peaceful development, as well as the permanent establishment of equal advantages for the trade and industry of all other nations," but as every diplomatic grab from Morocco to Korea had contained similar stock phrases, nobody in the world, including most emphatically the Persian people, was in the least deceived as to what was afoot

There was only one hindrance to the Anglo-Russian project the Persian people had awakened to their country's peril and had just started a vigorous house cleaning

How this hindrance was removed or ceased to exist is told in succeeding paragraphs, which we have no space to reproduce

"The Passing of Persia."

The *Asian Review* has an editorial note with the above heading, showing that like the Far West the Far East thinks, that Persian independence is a thing of the past The Japanese editor writes

Amidst the oratorical outbursts and loud declarations championing the cause of democracy and rights of small nations, Persia, the pictureland of Omar Khayam, has at last fallen a prey to the greed of British Imperialism Slowly and silently she has been forced to become a helot in the harem of the Empire In the troubles of Russia and Germany and in the exhaustion of France and Italy, England saw a god-sent opportunity for satisfying her long cherished ambition for securing an octopus hold on the gateway to India, with the result that one fine morning the world awoke to find that Persia had mysteriously disappeared from the map of the world as an independent country

The Anglo-Persian treaty compels Persia to recognise England as the mistress who must guide the financial and military destiny of Persia Senator McCormack of Illinois (U S A) truly said in the Senate on August 18th last "Great Britain made, consummated and ratified a treaty with Persia which establishes what is in substance a protectorate over that country" "Since Persia," writes *Le Temps*, "promises to confide its army only to British

officers, and its finances only to British specialists, it has no longer force or resources to exercise its sovereignty." Moichaver-Al-Memelic, head of the Persian delegation in Paris, said despondently "We can consider only as a master that country which interferes in another country's financial affairs. We were disappointed that President Wilson did not protest against it sooner." "What use is there," he concluded, "in President Wilson defending Article X of the League of Nations, if Egypt, India and Persia are not accorded their independence?"

He expresses the opinion that Persia has been sacrificed ostensibly for the purpose of keeping up the dependence of India on England, for Persia controls the route to India.

As it is not natural for any people to be satisfied with loss of independence, no one need be surprised to read the following:

The following press despatch from the London correspondent of the "Nichi Nichi" is of special significance —

'London, January 10 —Considerable anxiety is being expressed in England regarding the growing unrest in Persia. This is due to the opposition of the Persians to the Anglo-Persian Treaty and riots are taking place everywhere in North Persia where the mechanism of communication is interrupted.

The above at least demonstrates the fact that Persia was forced, against her will, to affix her seal to the fatal document depriving her of the most valuable and prizeable possession she had on earth

Korea.

The New Republic (New York) writes as follows on the Korean problem

Almost a year ago the Koreans arose in rebellion against the rigid military rule of Japan. The uprising was decisively crushed by Japanese armed force. Then by way of pacification Japan promised and partly instituted a civil administration and a program of reforms. Here are all the materials for settlement, but no settlement. There is no peace in Korea now. There is no prospect of peace in the near future. Unrest prevails everywhere, with demonstrations and outbreaks at frequent intervals. And this is only a lull before the greater storm that is almost certain to break over the whole country in the spring. The Koreans are irreconcilable. They are uncompromisingly determined to force the issue on their demand for independence. The outlook, then, is for an unceasing warfare of attrition, with passive resistance on one side and military force on the

other. There is no doubt about that in the mind of any one living in Korea or spending even a fleeting day there.

Why? Why, in the face of the Koreans' apparent success in their uprising, in the face of the reforms that have been promised them, reforms greater than they would have dared to hope for a year ago? And why, especially, when in the nature of things they can have no hope of attaining their end, however great the sacrifices? First, because those reforms have not yet materialized. Second, because the Koreans are unshakably convinced they never will materialize. Third, and most important, because the Koreans have been embittered beyond possibility of reconciliation by the ruthlessness with which the Japanese crushed their revolt, the atrocities of the troops during the demonstrations, the torturing of thousands of prisoners and suspects after the demonstrations—all of which, it should be said, is no longer disputed even by the Japanese. The Koreans are moved now by only one impulse—hate, a hate so universal and intense and unreasoning as to be awesome, race hatred in its most extreme and dangerous form. The question is not whether this is justified in the extreme to which it goes, the question is not whether or not it is wise, taking into account the ultimate good of both peoples. Right or wrong, it exists. It is the pivot on which the whole situation turns, the factor by which the relation of the Korean and Japanese peoples will be modified, at least in this generation.

The Asian Review does not seek to justify the past misdeeds of Japan. In Korea, it urges on the Japanese authorities the duty of carrying out a better policy in the future.

To err is human and we do not hesitate to admit our mistakes of omission and commission in the past. But henceforth we must exert ourselves to remedy the defects of our rule in Korea. We therefore urge upon authorities to bestow their careful attention not only on the material but also on the spiritual need of our Korean fellow-subjects. The chief object of our rule in Korea is to promote common happiness, material as well as spiritual of Japanese and Koreans alike. Hence there should exist no discrimination between Japanese and Koreans in any respect whatsoever. Japanese and Koreans are brothers and they should look upon one another as such. A Korean should be regarded as the equal of a Japanese in every respect. These are the main principles underlying all the Imperial edicts issued from time to time since the reign of His late Majesty Meiji Tenno of blessed memory. In conclusion we hope that our authorities will rise to the height of the occasion, and lose no time in giving effect to the august wishes contained in

edicts and thus bring about peace, contentment and happiness among our Korean brothers

Uncompromising Allegiance to Truth, Conscience, and Free Intelligence.

In a letter addressed to Max Eastman and published in the *Liberator* (U S A), Romain Rolland, the great author of France (Nobel Prize Winner), says,

Truth is not in the service of my passions, my desires, or my hopes. Even should truth be mortal to me, I would not love it the less, nor would I refrain from speaking it.

I love humanity. I wish her to become free and happy. But if it should be at the price of a lie or a compromise, I would not make that lie, I would refuse the compromise. Happiness, social freedom, humanity, are not worth buying at the price of the abdication of the intelligence, even in the name of a so-called "*Salus Publica*." The "common good" is but a word, where the integrity of the individual conscience is not safe. A social community which could only be saved by the renunciation of free intelligence would not be saved in reality, but lost. For it would rest upon rotten bases.

He quotes some words of Gaston Paris, spoken at the beginning of his first lesson at the College de France in 1870, while Paris was being besieged.

"I profess without reserve or limit that science should recognize as her only aim the truth, the truth for itself, taking no account of the consequences, good or bad, dangerous or happy, that this truth might have in practice. He who for patriotic, religious, [social] or even moral reasons, permits himself in the facts which are the object of his research, or in the consequences which he draws from them, the smallest reticence, the slightest alteration, is not worthy to have his place in the great laboratory where loyalty is a title more indispensable than cleverness. If we thus conceive our task, we will form, far beyond the frontiers of the enemy nations [or classes] a great country which no war makes bloody, which no invader threatens and where minds find that refuge and that union which was offered them in other times by the *Civitas Dei*."

Misgivings of a "Mem-Sahib".

"A Mem-Sahib's views" published in *Britain and India* make interesting reading. We will make a few extracts.

I have dwelt long on my vision of the village life of India, for again I would emphasise that 90 per cent of the people live in such villages.

And now that the time has come to introduce these good folk to democratic institutions they must follow their town-dwelling leaders, they cannot stand still whilst the rest of the world moves forward. The leaders of the new India that has come to birth with the passing of the Reforms Act will, it is hoped, secure the allegiance and capture the hearts and minds of the villagers and lead them successfully to a wider view of life. I most sincerely hope it will lead to greater prosperity and less poverty in the villages, fewer who live as day labourers, close to the margin of starvation when hard times come, due to a failure of rains. But we must guard very carefully lest it also lead to the gradual passing of the self-sufficient, friendly village life, with its many home industries, and where every one knows every one else.

Her opinion on woman suffrage is contained in two sentences.

As I hear the demand for Votes for Women, I realise the wisdom of Mr. Montagu's judgment: "That the question goes deep into the social system and susceptibilities of India and it can only be settled in accordance with the wishes of Indians themselves." Personally, I should wish the last clause altered into "the wishes of Indian women themselves."

She concludes with the expression of some misgivings, and dwelling also on their futility.

Sometimes my heart misgives me. Is not the simple life of the village best after all, where wants are few and friendships life-long, and caste-fellow holds out the helping hand to caste-fellow in time of trouble? Is it the right ideal to draw the vast millions of India into the seething vortex of our industrial and economic and now our political life? Have we made such a wonderful success of our own civilisation? Have we not brought about the most appalling human catastrophe in history, a war that cost ten millions of the bravest and best lives of all countries?

However, these misgivings are vain. India cannot retain her old-world isolation, already the American Standard Oil Company's tin is replacing the gracefully-shaped water-pitcher carried on the heads of the village women, the factory cotton-goods are finding their way into the village markets in place of the hand-woven materials, prices are rising, fortunes are being made in cotton and jute, but the even distribution of wealth is no nearer. The economic net is spread. As Mr. Montagu says, we must trust in the goodwill and wise leadership of India's own educated sons to guide their country through the period of political transition. The day of leading strings is over. May India's sons prove worthy of the great task in which they are henceforward to play so important a part, and may Mr. Montagu, or whoever may be the

Secretary of State for India, be guided to remove, with due wisdom, the safeguards against too rapid a transition from bureaucracy to complete self-government !

Extent of High Education of Women in Bengal

Some wiseacres speak solemnly of the "menace" of high education of women in Bengal and the cowardly and vile attacks on educated Bengali women in some Bengali plays, novels, and short stories, and on the Bengali stage are notorious. But, after all, what is the extent of this so-called high education among women in a province containing more than twenty-two and a half million persons of the fair sex ? An article on the education of women in Bengal contributed to the *International Review of Missions* by Miss B. D. Gibson furnishes the answer.

Of the Arts colleges in Bengal two—those under government and Anglican missionary management—are affiliated up to the B. A. standard, and the third (Roman Catholic) only up to the intermediate. In 1917, 126 of the 179 women students were in the intermediate or higher secondary stage, thus only 53 women in all Bengal were doing true university work. The two missionary colleges draw their students largely from Calcutta and are mainly staffed by women, while the students of Bethune College come from every part of Bengal, and of the staff of ten, seven are men.

The Evolution of Religion

The editor of the *Occult Review* writes —

In the course of the history of the human race the world has had many religions, and conjectures as to the origin of these religions have been very diverse. There have been ingenious and able writers who have stated this theory and that, as to how religion came about. The tendency has been rather in such books as I am referring to here, to adopt some special view of the origin of religion and explain all religions as a development of this one root idea. One writer has sought to prove that religion is merely a development of nature worship, another that it is sexual in origin, another that the gods were all originally earthly heroes, whose feats became magnified and surrounded by a halo of mystery with the passage of time. Akin to this worship of heroes is ancestor worship, and the worship of the dead generally. Then again there are others who, attribute the origins of religion to the worship of the planetary

powers, or as in the case of Mithraism, to the Sun in particular. Another school finds in the totemism of savage tribes the germ of what subsequently evolved into a world religion.

He goes on to observe —

The problem of religions is in any case an exceedingly obscure one, owing to the fact that one religion borrowed from another to an almost incredible extent, and the popularizing of innumerable different faiths throughout the length and breadth of one empire in Roman times added not a little to this confusion. We are accustomed to regard the greater religions as having been founded at some specific epoch of history, but historical research proves conclusively that this was not the case. One religion may have been the daughter of another, but most frequently it had an ancestry of a very varied kind.

Shelley's "Atheism."

We read an article in *The Inquirer* by S. Spencer that

Shelley was expelled from Oxford in 1811 for writing a pamphlet on 'The Necessity of Atheism,' which he sent to all the leading men in the University, and to the bishops, with a letter inviting a reply to its arguments. Shelley continued to call himself an atheist to the last. The entry in the visitors' book at Montanvert (in which he described himself in Greek as "a lover of mankind, a democrat, and an atheist") was made in 1816. In 1822, the year of his death, he still adhered to his use of the term. What, then, did he mean by it ?

The writer's reply is —

Shelley certainly never was an atheist in the sense of denying the existence of a great Spiritual Reality at the back of things. Two months before his expulsion from Oxford, he wrote to Hogg "The word God, a vague word, has been and will continue to be, the source of numberless errors until it is eased from the nomenclature of philosophy." But he goes on to say, "I think that the leaf of a tree, the meanest insect on which we trample, are in themselves arguments more conclusive than any which can be advanced, that some vast intellect animates infinity." In 'Queen Mab' (published in 1813) he says explicitly, "There is no God!" but in a note he explains, "This negation must be understood solely to affect a creative deity. The hypothesis of a pervading Spirit, co-eternal with the universe, remains unshaken." This "hypothesis" he expresses in the poem itself —

Throughout these infinite orbs of mingling
light,
Of which yon earth is one, is wide diffused
A Spirit of activity and life,
That knows no term, cessation or decay

Soul of the Universe¹ eternal Spring of life and
death, of happiness and woe "

Again in the preface to 'Laon and Cythna' ('The Revolt of Islam'), Shelley says that in that poem "the erroneous and degrading idea which men have conceived of a Supreme Being is spoken against, but not the Supreme Being itself" Shelley was deeply impressed by the crimes which have been wrought in the name of God The name of God (he says) —

"Has fenced about all crime with holiness
Still serving o'er the war-polluted world
For desolation's watch-word "

He writes in 'Queen Mab' of all the darkness and misery, all the intolerance and persecution and cruelty, which religion has produced

He felt that he must dissociate himself from the traditional religion of the Church, which had been responsible for such wrongs and sufferings, and from the established religion of his own day, which was still a cause of narrowness and bigotry. And so he denied the name of God and called himself an atheist. In the year of his death he told Ireland that he used the word to express his "abhorrence of superstition" "I take up the word [he said] as a knight takes up a gauntlet in defiance of injustice "

The finest expression of Shelley's religious faith is found in his last complete poem, 'Adonais'. It is the vision of the "One Spirit" whose

"plastic stress
Sweeps through the dull dense world, compelling there
All new successions to the forms they wear,
Torturing the unwilling dross that checks its flight
To its own likeness, as each mass they bear,
And bursting in its beauty and its might
From trees and beasts and men into the Heaven's
light

That Light whose smile kindles the Universe
That beauty in which all things work and move,
That benediction which the eclipsing Curse
Of birth can quench not, that sustaining Love
Which through the web of being blindly wove
By man and beast and earth and air and sea,
Burns bright or dim, as each are mirrors of
The fire for which all thirst "

Egypt's Plea for Independence.

The Living Age (Boston) observes —

Egypt's plea for independence is one of the many discordant undertones that mar the harmony of the concord of nations. We have not heard much of the Egyptian side of this question, and the National Movement in that country is probably associated in many American minds with unpleasant street disorders, such as recent European experiences have taught us to distrust. Egypt's case seems to resemble slightly that of the Philippines. Its economic welfare probably will be best consulted by continuing the present government. The opposition to that government is founded on sentiment rather than on self-interest. But some splendid, though forgotten, economic arguments were advanced in their day against our own independence. Probably most of

the Americans who before the war used to drop in for a few days every winter at Shepherd's Hotel, cherish deep doubts of Egypt's ability to govern itself and to maintain its present level of material and social well-being. The Egyptians argue that their material and social well-being is after all their own affair, and insist on their right to political progress and poverty, if they prefer that to political repression and prosperity. Their moral case is clearly strengthened by the promises to withdraw from Egypt at an earlier date, made by former British administrations. These promises add to the long list of examples of the inconvenience of trying to combine the functions of statesmanship and prophecy in the same officials.

Neue Zürcher Zeitung informs its readers that

The London Convention of 1840 was the Magna Charta upon which Egypt to-day based its case before the Allied nations. In several subsequent international negotiations Egypt was recognized as an independent government. For instance, the Suez Canal Treaty of 1869 and the Sudan Treaty of 1877 implied Egyptian autonomy. Then followed the disturbances of 1881, which were due in the first instance to Turkish discrimination against Egyptian officers and the national resentment that followed. England intervened to protect European interests, inviting the assistance of France. The latter country committed the great error of refusing its cooperation. England proceeded very cautiously at first, and adopted the role of the savior of Egyptian civilization from its arch enemies. However, its provisional occupation gradually assumed the form of permanent possession. Innumerable promises by English statesmen might be quoted, assuring Egypt that British troops would be withdrawn as soon as the safety of natives and foreigners in that country permitted. In 1884 Gladstone fixed the date of withdrawal at four years later. Salisbury declared "We desire neither to establish a protectorate over Egypt nor to occupy that country permanently, for this would violate our promises." The war of 1914 had been accompanied by a direct repudiation of this statesman's words.

The writer then relates how the Egyptians loyally helped the Allies during the war with soldiers, labourers and material resources, with the result that "General Allenby stated publicly that Egypt had contributed materially to the success of his campaign."

In the opinion of this writer

To-day the Egyptians will be satisfied with only one thing—*independence*. Their agitation has been misrepresented. Opponents have characterized their movement as hostile to Christianity, as Pan-Islam, and as pro-German. None of these charges is true. The Mohammedans and Christians are a unit. The national banner flies above either the Crescent or the Cross. Coptic priests and Jewish rabbis are preaching the brotherhood of all Egyptians in the mosques, while Muftis declare the common love of country in Christian churches. Egypt entered the war an *autonomist* government. It will emerge from the present crisis *independent*. It trusted in the ideals proclaimed by

the Allies and suffered for those ideals. The day has passed when nations can be disposed of like chattels.

The closing words of the Egyptian orator were received with thunderous applause. 'The Egyptian nation is conscious of its own worth. It is the cradle of civilization. It is the original mother of your culture. The countries of the West respect it for its past. Alexandria was the lighthouse of the Middle Ages. Now, in the age of democracy we shall not appeal in vain for right and justice. We count upon the free nations of France and America. We count, above all, upon liberal England to aid us. There is an old eastern proverb: "A brave man keeps his promises." England has proved during the last five years that it is a brave nation. We expect it to make good the rest of the proverb.'

Prohibition and Woman Suffrage.

The Living Age writes —

In Norway, as in America, granting the franchise to women has turned the tide of ballots in favor of prohibition. The country will not be precisely 'bone dry' as a result of the recent referendum, but it will have covered so much of the road in that direction as to make its eventual arrival at the latter destination probable. It will be recalled that the Scandinavian countries have been, for many years, the scene of experiments to deal with the liquor business by regulation, and that the Gothenburg system was at one time widely advocated in the United States.

This tends to show that the only satisfactory way of dealing with the drink evil is prohibition, for evidently the Gothenburg system like many others has failed.

"The Growing Dislike of Work."

Louis Norquet, in *Revue Bleue*, asserts that

If it is true, as economists and sociologists assure us, that 'a wave of laziness' is sweeping over those European countries that have participated in the war, that may be a phenomenon explained by the law of reaction. We might even assume beforehand the probability of such a result. Nations, like individuals, after over-exerting themselves morally and physically, feel the need of rest before rallying for a new effort. The human organism is a machine of limited capacity. It cannot expend excess effort without a period of recuperation.

This phenomenon may be inevitable, but it does not for that reason constitute a less serious danger for the nations whose wealth and labor power have been most seriously diminished. Industrial production and agricultural production alike have been absorbed entirely in creating the means of warfare. Their permanent capital has been disastrously depreciated. They no longer possess reserves, and it is only by intensified production that they can supply objects of necessary consumption for the people and com-

pensate for the loss of their best workers on the field of battle.

But the question is also asked

whether this growing disinclination to work is not something more than a transient wave of idleness caused by the exhaustion of the war. May it not be due to a transformation in the mental attitude to labor which we have hitherto overlooked, and which the stress of our present situation has suddenly brought into evidence? Is this not, in other words, an evidence of moral and economic disease that presents to our sociologists and economists a problem rendered more complex and delicate by the fact that it manifests itself simultaneously with the imperious demands of labor for shorter hours and higher wages? But it is perfectly clear that if the increase of wages and the shorter hours of labor cause a decline of production, not only will the working people fail to derive any advantage from the change, but they will pay relatively more in proportion even to their higher wages for everything they buy, and the general welfare of society at large will be seriously affected.

The General Federation of Labor evidently realizes this danger, for in its 'minimum programme' it has summarized the demands of the working people in the following formula: 'Maximum production in minimum time for maximum wages.' Let us observe that this formula is precise only in appearance, for 'maximum wages' remains undefined and varies according to the idea of the person who uses it. However, ambiguous though the formula may be, it contains a vital truth—that is, reducing the hours of labor and raising wages must be accompanied by an increase, or at least by no falling off, in production.

"To-day's Morals"

Referring to an article by M. Dauzat, Dean Inge writes in the *Anglo-French Review* —

M. Dauzat partially lifts the curtain for us. He draws a picture of French society which is strikingly similar to the conditions which prevail in England. We are allowed to see a small class of profiteers, who have made fortunes out of the war, and who live in luxury and ostentation. The officials of every grade, he tells us, are clamorous for more pay. The learned professions, which before the war enjoyed a high social prestige, as being a kind of *apostolat*, raised above the greed of gain, have joined in the general scramble for money, and are losing the respect of society in consequence. The workman has been spoiled by the war. He enjoys a prosperity beyond his wildest dreams, and it has made him, not contented, but extravagant, arrogant, and insatiable. He steadily refuses to contribute his due share to the taxes. In all classes M. Dauzat observes a rapid decay in patriotic enthusiasm, and an eagerness, especially among women volunteers, to give up their war work and return to their social amusements.

The Indian reader will note that some classes of men in his own country resemble the corresponding classes in France and England.

The Virus of Imperialism.

Dr Adolf Jurgens notes in *Roter Tag* how

Despite all the plausible talk about a League of Nations and the reconciliation of peoples, of disarmament and eternal peace, a great tide of imperialist sentiment is sweeping over the world. Countries formerly opposed to militarism, like the United States and England, now demand powerful standing armies. Scandinavia, also, has caught the epidemic and is reviving long forgotten colonial projects and buried imperialistic dreams. Norwegian journalists are retelling the tales of the Vikings and their distant voyages. The Danes are recalling the time when Danebrog came down from heaven in the siege of Reval, and the days when Esthonia was Danish. Last of all, Sweden looks, even though hesitatingly, toward the East, though its gaze is reminiscent rather than calculating.

Norway's writers are letting their thoughts rove, as the ancient Vikings roved, to the most distant quarters of the world, seeking new fields of employment and enrichment for their people.

"A common saying in the country is that Norway's future lies in Siberia."

They have succeeded in getting the Paris Conference to allot Spitzbergen to Norway. This was done in spite of the active opposition of the English Spitzbergen Company, which suddenly discovered that there was a vast wealth of marble, gold, and precious stones in the country. Norway, however, must confirm all existing rights of British subjects and not impair them by subsequent legislation. Matter-of-fact criticism reveals that England's generosity amounts in practice to permitting Norway to assume some very unprofitable police and judicial burdens, leaving the economic status of the Archipelago practically what it was before.

Disillusioned in this direction, the territorial expansionists of Norway have cast greedy eyes upon German East Africa. However, cold water has been cast upon their plans by powerful influences in the government, that opposed trying for anything more after Spitzbergen.

England is prompt to take advantage of Norway's greed, as an opportunity to employ its old policy of 'divide and rule,' by encouraging the Norwegian correspondents in England to insist that Iceland and the Faroe Islands, which are now Danish possessions, are ancient Norwegian colonies.

Homage to the Peasant.

We need to take to heart the lesson of honouring peasants contained in the following lines from the *Asian Review*.

There is a curious doll exhibited in the Imperial Museum at Ueno. The curious thing about it is that it is an inexpensive peasant-doll dressed in a straw hat and a straw overcoat, and yet it is labelled thus "Owned by Marquis Tokugawa, former Lord of Mito."

Fearing that his children would grow up without any knowledge of agriculture, and feeling no gratitude to the peasants, the key industry of this country, Mitsukuni, the great lord early in the Tokugawa Shogunate, made them say grace to the peasant dolls which were placed on their own small tables of "ozen." Indeed the young lords were each bade to offer a grain of rice to the dolls, by placing it on their tiny spread palms before beginning to eat. This interesting story shows how the old feudal lords in this country paid attention to the peasants.

NOTES

Suppression of Truth and Suggestion of Falsehood.

The Gazette of India for April 3, 1920, part vi, page 781, contains the following —

The Hon'ble Rai Lalit Mohan Chatterjee Bahadur asked —

47 "(a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the proceedings of a meeting of the Senate of the University of Calcutta which took place in the first week of January last and in the course of which it was alleged that grants had been persistently refused in aid of the University?"

(b) If so, will Government make a statement

regarding the making of grants to the university of Calcutta and the allegations made at the said meeting?"

This question is misleading, in as much as it was not alleged by anybody at the said meeting of the Senate, as the question suggests it was, that grants for any and all purposes in aid of the University had been persistently refused. What was actually alleged at the aforesaid meeting by more than one speaker was that grants in aid of Post-graduate teaching in science had been persistently refused, and that is

an incontrovertible fact. The Rai Bahadur is a member of the Senate and was present at the meeting in question, and, therefore, he cannot plead ignorance.

In the reply which the Hon'ble Mr Shafi gave to the Rai Bahadur's question, he said in part "that the Government of India had in no sense abrogated their functions (in the manner which would naturally be inferred from the speech [of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee] as reported) to a Secretary," and discussed certain correspondence between the University and the Education Department of the Government of India. We presume, therefore, by the bye, that the Government of India are fully responsible for Mr Shafi's answer. As the correspondence files of the University and of the Education Department are not and cannot be available to a journalist, we will not make any remarks on this part of Mr Shafi's answer. We will quote only the concluding paragraph of his answer, which relates to grants.

Third, while the speaker admitted an Imperial grant in 1912 of Rs 65,000, his speech compels the inference that no grants were given by the Government of India during the later years of which he treated, and he said, 'we have repeatedly approached the custodians of the public funds, but we have met with steady and persistent refusal.' The facts are that, during those years, in which it is asserted that the University met with persistent refusal, the Government of India made new grants of 18 lakhs for purposes of the University, that the recurring grants to that University amount at present to Rs 1,28,000 a year, and the non-recurring grants made to it since 1910, when the Education Department of the Government of India was created, have totalled 22 lakhs, that the University have from time to time expressed their gratitude for these grants, and that the claims of this University had to be considered along with those of other Universities and of elementary, industrial and other branches of Education."

As we have said before, the complaint was that grants had been refused in aid of Post-graduate teaching in science. But both the Rai Bahadur, who asked for information, and Mr Shafi, who supplied it, evaded that point.

We will prove what we say.

The special meeting of the Senate referred to took place on the 3rd January,

1920. It was called to consider a letter from Sir Rashbehary Ghose offering to the University a gift of the face value of Rs 11,43,000 "to be applied exclusively for purposes of technological instruction and research." In the letter in which Sir Rashbehary made the offer, he wrote

About six years ago I made over to the University ten lakhs of rupees in aid of the University College of Science for the promotion of Scientific and Technical Education and for the cultivation and advancement of Science, Pure and Applied, amongst my countrymen. I understand that although that sum has enabled the University to arrange for instruction and and research in Pure Science, the University has not been able, from lack of funds, to make a similar advance in Applied Science.

That was why he made a fresh gift.

Thus it is clear that the meeting of the Senate, which was a special meeting, had been convened for considering the acceptance of a proposed endowment for the teaching of applied science. In the course of his opening speech, Sir Nilratan Sircar, the Vice-chancellor, observed "We have been handicapped in many ways and up to the present time we have not had anything from Government in this connection." In his first Convocation Address also, this year, Sir Nilratan said that in the effort of the University to teach science it had received no "aid or subvention" from the State. Can Messrs Shafi and Sharp or the Government of India deny this?

The speech which the Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee made in moving the acceptance of the unanimous recommendation of the Syndicate that the munificent gift of Sir Rashbehary Ghose be gratefully accepted can leave no doubt in the mind of any man of average intelligence that his allegation of refusal of State help and encouragement related to the teaching of science,—an experienced and trained lawyer and judge of his intelligence and standing would not be expected to fling about irrelevant and incorrect charges. Many passages can be quoted from his speech in support of our observation, but we will quote only two. The first runs—

"The true significance of the situation thus disclosed became patent to all, when the Government, though twice approached, failed

to respond in the remotest degree to the request of the University for liberal financial assistance to supplement the munificent gifts of Sir Taraknath Palit and Sir Rashbehari Ghose"

These gifts, as the reader knows, are for the promotion of scientific training and research. In the next extract from the speech of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee which we are going to make, the words italicised by us are those which Mr Shafi quoted in the last paragraph of his answer, which we have printed above. But curiously enough Mr Shafi omitted to quote the four immediately preceding sentences, which would have dispelled all doubt as to what it was exactly that Sir Asutosh complained of. Now for the extract

"What then is the lesson to be learnt from this retrospect? We have struggled for more than seven years to establish a University College of Science and Technology which shall be the pride, not of Bengal alone but of all India. Two of the noblest of my countrymen have been unstinted in their liberality in the furtherance of this cause. With unbounded generosity they have given away their wealth—not their inherited patrimony, not money amassed by the fortunes of speculation—but the savings of life-long toil as members of the legal profession. *We have repeatedly approached the custodians of the public funds, but we have met with steady and persistent refusal*"

As if to leave no doubt as to what purpose of the University Government was charged with not encouraging with any kind of aid, the Rev Dr J Watt said at the special meeting of the Senate in question

"I associate myself with the mover and seconder of the motion before the Senate. The mover of the resolution spoke of some psychological mystery which was at the back of what has been happening during the past years. I am not sure that there is anything mysterious about it. We know only too well from experience in other lands that there are people who are entirely blind to the value of science, especially of such science as is proposed to be advanced by the former and present gifts that have been made to the University. And indeed I am not sure that many of us who had been brought up in some of the older schools of education might not have thought that it was a waste of the best energy on the part of men to toil for such purposes. Is it not possible that this might be at the back of the psychological mystery? But there is one thing certain. The mover has asked us, what is the lesson that ought to be learnt from this. I think he has

partially answered his question. We must see to it that we turn out men from the College of Science who will have power in future Governments and with the men who will manage Governments in the days that are to come in such a way that they shall understand the value of science."

Mr Shafi has said "that the recurring grants to that University amount at present to Rs 1,28,000 a year, and the non-recurring grants made to it since 1920 when the Education Department of the Government of India was created, have totalled 22 lakhs." But what have these grants to do with the teaching of science to post-graduate students? Moreover, our information is that these 22 lakhs were given for the construction of hostels for other than Government colleges. If so, these can scarcely be called grants to the University, though they may have been given *through* it. But even if they were given to the University, that fact would not be an answer to the charge of not helping and encouraging the work of post-graduate teaching in science.

The last clause in Mr Shafi's answer is "that the claims of this University had to be considered along with those of other Universities, and of elementary, industrial and other branches of education." This is really irrelevant. If Mr Shafi had said in a straightforward manner that the Government of India could not give anything for the Calcutta University Science College because of their other heavy educational expenditure, we could understand his answer. But he must know that it is worse than useless to bring in all sorts of irrelevant matter to confuse the issue and evade the point under consideration. That will never do. The Calcutta University is not so foolish and selfish as to ask that other Universities or elementary, industrial and other branches of education should not be encouraged and supported. What it is concerned with is that having itself made some efforts to be worthy of the name of a teaching university, it should receive State aid commensurate with its own endeavours. If other universities have made or in future make equal or greater efforts in the same direction, they must be entitled to a corresponding measure of State aid,

The Bureaucracy must understand that, as they have repeatedly made it a matter for reproach for us that our universities are merely examining bodies, and as the Calcutta University has tried its best to wipe off this reproach, unless they come forward to help it to do so in every direction, they cannot escape the charge of insincerity and hypocrisy.

Incidentally, we may be allowed to point out that the Calcutta University may be misjudged by the public in this and other matters from lack of information. The government gazettes are supplied free to many editors (not, of course, to us, who have to pay for them), and others may purchase them. So what Mr Shafi had to say against the University has reached the public concerned. But the Minutes of the University not being available to the public or to editors, either for cash or for courtesy's sake, ignorance of University affairs is widespread. True, the proceedings of the Senate are reported in the dailies, but these reports are neither complete nor accurate. So we wrote to the Registrar of the Calcutta University to inquire whether we in our editorial capacity could get the Minutes of the University on payment or without payment. The reply, dated the 16th April last, was that "Minutes of the Syndicate and Senate are not supplied to the public. They are intended only for Members of the Senate." A Calcutta editor who is also a Calcutta graduate may be expected to know this. But is there any rule, regulation, bye-law, ordinance, &c, which prevents the University from making a new departure, so that those editors who want to be well informed and not to be unfair or unjust in their comments on University affairs, may be able to buy the Minutes as they are issued month after month? If there be, why cannot a Calcutta University Bulletin or a Calcutta University Gazette be published, containing the Minutes and other information, and sold for a price?

Commercial and Technological Courses in Calcutta University.

As the public may desire to know

when the Calcutta University will begin to teach Technology, for which Sir Rashbehari Ghose has made his princely donation, we may say that in reply to a letter addressed to the Registrar we were informed on the 19th April last that "the proposal for the initiation of the commercial and technological courses in the University is still under consideration of the Government of India."

India to Take Part in Olympic Games

That Indians will be able to compete at the Olympic Games at Antwerp in August next is due to the efforts of the Indian Olympic Association, of which the head office is situated in Poona city and the general secretary is Mr S. R. Bhagwat. H. H. the Maharaja of Jamnagar, the famous cricketer is to represent India. The Association requires two lakhs for its expenses, but up to the first March last it had got only Rs 5456. We suppose Sir Dorabji Tata's donation of Rs 5,000 was given after that date. Indian rajas and noblemen have always patronised athletics. There is no reason why they should not help this movement. But poorer men may also help by becoming members. This costs only a rupee. For membership forms and any information required, letters should be addressed to the general secretary.

In his progress report no 5, the following account is given of the revival of the old Hellenic Olympic Games in Europe —

An International Congress was organised in Paris in 1894 to "discuss and disseminate the true principles of amateur sport" and one of the subjects mentioned in the agenda paper referred to the possibility of reviving the Olympic Games. On January 15, 1894, M. De-Coubertin of France sent round a circular to all the athletic associations containing the following — "And the last subject on the agenda paper is the request that you will sanction, if not the realisation, at any rate the preparation, of an international agreement that will revive the Olympic Games under modern conditions, so that every four years the athletic representatives of the world may be brought together and that the spirit of international comity may be advanced by the celebration of their chivalrous and peaceful contests."

By an unanimous vote, the congress decided

upon the revival of the Olympic Games and the Institution of the International Olympic Committee. The first Olympiad was celebrated at Athens in 1896. The games of 1900 were held in Paris, of 1904 in St. Louis, of 1908 in London, and of 1912 in Stockholm. A fresh series of games, known as "Athenian Games" were decided upon to be arranged every four years at Athens at regular intervals between those of the original series, and it was at the Athenian Games of 1906 that Lord Desborough, who was a distinguished member of the English fencing team that took part in the Tournament, was appointed as the first British Representative by His Majesty's Government for the Games in Athens.

The origin of the Indian Olympic Association is thus described —

The idea that Indian sportsmen ought to take part in the International Olympic Games originated as far back as the year 1910 when the constitution of the Deccan Gymkhana was being considered in detail. The increasing success of the Open Athletic and Wrestling Tournaments annually organised by the Deccan Gymkhana encouraged the officers of that institution to try seriously to secure representation for India at the Olympic Games and early in 1914 the German Consul for India was written to for the prospectus and rules concerning the Games that were to be held in Berlin in 1916. But soon after the receipt of the prospectus and rules in June 1914, the outbreak of war put a stop to further activities in this direction before anything could materialise. The Deccan Gymkhana continued its work of promoting clean sport and the result of this preparatory work showed itself in the unbounded enthusiasm and the unprecedented success of the great Wrestling and Athletic Tournaments that were held at Poona in November last at the instance and under the kind patronage of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, the Governor of Bombay. After the declaration of Peace it was announced that the next Olympic Games would be held in Belgium in 1920 and the authorities of the Deccan Gymkhana decided to take up the question of securing representation for India that had to be abruptly given up in 1914. The Indian Olympic Association was formed on 23rd November 1919, with the object of carrying out this work.

Such games are an indirect reminder of the value of physical fitness. To compete, and yet in case of success not to be arrogant and in case of failure not to harbour hatred and envy, should be an object of the sportsman's *sādhana*.

The following team has been selected to represent India at the next Olympic Games in Belgium.

For the Marathon and long distance races P. D. Coughule from Belgaum, H. D. Kalkadi from Satara, B. V. Datar from Sangli. For athletics P. C. Banerji, Calcutta. For wrestling K. T. Navale of Poona, and D. R. Shinde, Kolhapur.

Mr S. R. Bhagwat, General Secretary of Indian Olympic Association, accompanies the team.

Manifesto of the Congress Democratic party.

We have received the following manifesto of the "Congress Democratic Party" from Mr B. G. Tilak for publication —

The Congress Democratic Party, as the name denotes, is a party animated by feelings of unswerving loyalty to the Congress and faith in Democracy. It believes in the potency of democratic doctrines for the solution of Indian problems, and regards the extension of education and political franchise as two of its best weapons. It advocates the removal of all civic, secular, or social disabilities based on caste or custom. It believes in religious toleration, the sacredness of one's religion to oneself, and the right and duty of the State to protect it against aggression. This party supports the claim of the Mahomedans for the solution of the Khilafat question according to Mahomedan dogmas, beliefs, and the tenets of the Koran.

This party believes in the integration or federation of India in the British Commonwealth for the advancement of the cause of humanity and the brotherhood of mankind, but demands autonomy for India and equal status as a sister state with every other partner in the British Commonwealth including Great Britain. It insists upon equal citizenship for Indians throughout the Commonwealth, and effective retaliation whenever it is denied. It welcomes the League of Nations as an instrument for guaranteeing and enforcing the peace of the world, integrity of states, and freedom and honour of nations and nationalities, and for ending the exploitation of one country by another.

This party emphatically asserts the fitness of India for Representative and Responsible Government, and claims for the people of India, on the principle of self-determination, the exclusive right of fashioning the form of Government and determining the most appropriate Constitution for India. It regards the Montagu Reforms Act as "inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing" and will strive to remedy the defects by introducing, with the aid of the members of the Labour party and other sympathisers in British Parliament, at the earliest opportunity, a New Reforms Bill for establishing full Responsible Government in India, including full Military control, full Fiscal freedom, and an exhaustive Declaration of Rights with constitutional guarantees. To achieve this object, it contemplates and recommends a resolute and energetic campaign in India and in the countries represented on the League of Nations. In this matter the party's watch-word will be "Educate, Agitate and Organise."

This party proposes to work the Montagu Reforms Act for all it is worth, and for accelerating the grant of full responsible government, and for this purpose it will without hesitation offer co-operation or resort to

constitutional opposition, whichever may be expedient and best calculated to give effect to the popular will

Apart from the foregoing aims and principles, the party platform will contain the following planks, but it does not profess to be exhaustive —

IMPERIAL

1 Repeal of all repressive legislation (*e g*, the Rowlatt Act, the Press Act, the Arms Act, etc), the introduction of trial by a jury of one's own countrymen, especially in cases of offences against the State, the abolition of rigorous imprisonment for such offences, and jail reform with the view of placing offenders of all classes on a par with similar offenders in Great Britain

2 Securing for the labouring classes, agricultural and industrial, a fair share of the fruits of labour, a fair minimum wage, reasonable hours of work, decent house accommodation, and adjustment of relationship between capital and labour on equitable basis, and promoting organisations suitable for the purpose

3 Control of the export of foodstuffs and other necessities of life by tariff or by other methods with a view of reducing the prices thereof and conserving supplies

4 Promotion of Swadeshim and development of Indian Industries by all recognised methods, including State subsidies and protective tariff

5 Nationalisation of railways and regulation of railway tariffs by legislation with a view to assist industrial development and to abolish privileges and favouritism in their working

6 Retrenchment first and foremost in every department, especially in the Military expenditure, and taxation when imperative or desirable, but taxation graduated according to the capacity of various classes, corporations or individuals so that the burden may be proportionate to the means or wealth of the taxpayer

7 Creation of a citizen army, officered by Indians, naval, aerial and military education, and Commissions for Indians in all military services without racial discrimination

8 Recruitment of all services by open competitive examinations in India

9 Promotion of national unity by such means as the establishment of a *lingua franca* for all India, betterment of relations between followers of different religions, and especially a Hindu-Moslem Entente

10 Readjustment of provinces on linguistic basis

PROVINCIAL

1 Immediately securing full popular autonomy for the provinces

2 Permanent Rayatwari settlement on the basis of an equitable assessment

3 Village control over reserved and protected forests in regard to pasturage, fuel, dealwood, and use of minor products

4 Absolute prohibition of Veth, Bigai and Sarbarai

5 Education through the vernaculars as high as possible

6 Free and compulsory education without distinction of sex, and special contributions and increased grants-in-aid from State funds to Municipalities and Local Boards to carry out this object immediately

7 Restoration of Village Panchayats with administrative and judicial powers

8, Abolition of drink

9 Extension of the franchise without sex distinction

10 Sanitation upon a systematic basis under a Minister of Health

11 Carrying out of departmental reforms already enunciated and approved by popular opinion, *e g*, Agricultural development, extension of irrigation, co-operative movement, industrial and technical education suitable to the needs of the country, organised medical relief and encouragement to indigenous systems of medicine

We may say generally that this programme has our full support, particularly the object thereof,—though there may be difference of opinion as regards some details, such for example, as the *exact* extent of village control of over reserved and protected forests, &c

We do not understand the connotation and denotation of the name "Congress Democratic Party," and we do not adhere to any party

The manifesto states that the Party will work for "an exhaustive declaration of rights with constitutional guarantees" One of the many objects of a declaration of rights is the safeguarding of the personal liberty of the individual, and one of the most effective weapons for securing it is the independence of the judiciary The programme, therefore, ought to have included the separation of the judicial from the executive service and the making of the former entirely independent of the executive government The omission is, no doubt, not deliberate, the list of planks not being exhaustive, but all the same it is a serious omission

We are in hearty sympathy with the object of reducing the prices of foodstuffs and conserving their supply, but we hope the methods and means to be adopted by the party will be elastic and suited to the conditions prevalent for the time being in the whole of India or parts thereof, for tariffs on exports may in some circumstances defeat the object in view

The Party "advocates the removal of all civic, secular or social disabilities based on caste or custom" We do not find in the manifesto any particular steps to be taken for the removal of any particular social disabilities Something definite in this direction ought to have been included in the manifesto It will not do to leave the removal of social disabilities unattempted till political freedom has been achieved.

One of the planks is "free and compulsory education without distinction of sex" As in Poona Mr Tilak's party did not, in recent months, advocate the *simultaneous* compulsory education of both boys and girls, no matter for what reasons, the manifesto ought to have mentioned whether it is the intention of the Party to give or not to give any priority to any sex Our opinion is that there ought not to be any priority, but that if insurmountable obstacles make it necessary to give priority to any sex, full provision must be made first for the education of all girls, for they have been hitherto greatly neglected

Self-government and Self-determination

There is an article on "Self-government and Self-determination" by Mr Sri Prakasa in the *Hindustan Review* for February which deserves attention He says that, if he has understood the term aright, he prefers self-determination to self-government in India

The Montagu-Chelmsford proposals have committed us to what is called the gradual attainment of responsible government Politicians see in it the pure and certain unfolding of self-government, that is, they feel that an attempt is to be made to put the people *en masse* in power through their elected representatives It is to be taken for granted that the form of self-government existent in some countries is quite the best form of government, and is quite suited for India, that even if it be not, India must be made to suit itself to it gradually, it may be, in the beginning, but ultimately, certainly and inevitably That form, I take it, is regarded as the last word in political wisdom and India must follow suit

Whether I personally like that form or not is not for me to discuss here But the mentality that is behind the proposals, I most fervently protest against Enforced self- or responsible government of that sort—whatever dignified name you give to it—only means a persistent and a most undesirable attempt to drag India bound in intellectual chains behind the triumphal car of European political science and philosophy, and force us, as a partaker in that triumphal progress, to follow suit It is an attempt, if I may say so, to bind India's soul, even if it loses her body.

I, therefore, stand for self-determination I do not want the gradual attainment of self- or responsible government under the aegis or

guidance of the British Indian Government I desire that the people should have a chance to say what they actually want, what their political ideals are, by what methods do they want to be governed, whom do they wish to put in positions of power and authority, etc, etc

He refuses to believe that elections seek to serve this very purpose

There are a few pressing grievances and so far as I can see, the proposed reforms will not eradicate these They may only accentuate them First of all, there is a universal feeling, for instance, that the administration of India is too expensive for the means and resources of the Indian people With our new Governorships—with the endless squabbles about status of one province as compared with that of another, and which, our politicians maintain, can only be secured by over-paying the Governors, never mind what happens to the people, with our executive councillors, ministers and officers of all sorts and sizes with large salaries and large new departments and establishments, I have a great and growing fear that our administration will become more and more expensive The Reformed Government may press more heavily upon the people than the unreformed one, expensive though the other one also is What we want are cheap, local and permanent institutions and not expensive, itinerant, all-India services who follow the letter of the law and not the spirit of equity in conformity with local needs and requirements, in their dealings with the people We want an inexpensive and simplified system of law, and despite the Montagu-Chelmsford Report containing good sentiments on the subject, I fear that more complexity, superfluity and costliness of law and legal procedure would be the resultant, in practice, of the Reformed Councils and Reformed Government

He then proceeds to elaborate his fear that social and economic improvement would be nowhere

Then we want industrial, agricultural, commercial, educational and all other forms of social and economic improvement—so much more important than mere forms of Government—so that we may be able to live lives of men in well-fed and healthy bodies and minds, in sanitary and social uplifting surroundings, and so on All social improvements will, under the Reform proposals, rank after the purely administrative requirements These latter, with their rubber-like capacity for infinite expansion and with the prevalent craze for making these ever more and more omnivorous, will eat up all—and more than all—the available money Further taxation will only be the more harrowing and terror-inspiring We shall, probably,

have a fine form of Government on paper giving endless opportunities for clever and subtle brains to show off their capacity for eloquent debate, brilliant banter and smart repartee round the council table, but I see no improvement—social and economic—vouchsafed for the general mass—higher classes or the humble middle and lower classes—of the dwellers in town and country

He, therefore, pleads for self-determination

Let our people be asked as to what they want. Let the consultation be held sympathetically in mansion and in hamlet. Let us then find out what are the shortcomings of the existing administrative system. And instead of adding to the shortcomings by complicating the machinery of Government, let us meet the requirements of the people and launch on reforms accordingly.

The ultimate well-being of the Indian people does not rest on an enforced system of "self-government," according to notions imported from abroad, but in a genuine system of self-determination and by attuning the form and methods of administration to the real needs of the people and according to their innermost desires and aspirations,

Our cry should, therefore, be "self-determination" and not mere "self-government." These words really do and should mean the same thing but they have deliberately come to mean, rightly or wrongly, different things and, therefore, our "battle-cry" must also be changed accordingly.

Freeman on French Conquests.

Eduard A. Freeman was one of the foremost of English historians in the mid-Victorian age. In his essay on the Franks and the Gauls, 1860, (*Historical Essays*, vol. 1) he has something very caustic to say of the annexations of France. He would not even spell the names of cities by their 'French corruptions,' for, according to him, 'our habit of calling all places by French names greatly softens the ugliness of French aggression. *Alsace* sounds as if it had been a French province from all eternity, the Teutonic *Elsass* suggests ideas altogether different.'

"The truth is that, while all nations have a tendency to annexation, France stands alone in the art of veiling the ugly features of annexation by various ingenious devices. There is always some elaborate reason for it. French ingenuity never lacks a theory for anything while Austria acts as a mere vulgar and brutal highwayman, France better likes the character of an elegant, plausible and ingenious swindler."

Accordingly Freeman rejoiced greatly when eleven years since the above was written, 'Elsass' was recovered from the 'vultures of Paris' and once more became a member of the Germanic Federation. The value of historical opinions based on partisan politics or patriotic bias is well illustrated by the fact that less than half a century after Freeman rejoiced at the restoration of Alsace to Germany, England fought the bloodiest war in her history partly for the restoration of Alsace to France.

We are, however, not so much concerned with 'the long tale of Parisian aggression' as Freeman puts it, as with the fate of the conquered countries. We shall quote the same authority, not very partial to France as we have seen, on the point "We said at the outset that," writes Freeman,

"except for the monstrous deceptions by which they have always been defended, the aggressions of France are in no way more guilty than the aggressions of other powers, in one important respect France has much less to answer for than other conquering states. To be conquered by France has been at all times a less immediate evil than to be conquered by Spain, Austria, or Turkey [Why not England also?—Ed, MR]. A province conquered by France has always been really incorporated with France, no French conquests have ever been kept in the condition of subject dependencies, their inhabitants have at once been admitted to the rights and the wrongs, the good and the evil fortune of Frenchmen, and they have had every career offered by the French monarchy at once opened to them. One must allow that, if conquests are to be made, this is a generous and liberal as well as a prudent way of conquering. But it has its bad side also. The inhabitants of a country conquered by France become Frenchmen, and swell the ranks of the aggressors. The subtle process of denationalisation cuts off that hope of undoing the evil work which always exists when a country is kept down under an avowed foreign tyranny."

There is food for thought in this observation.

Cost per annum of some Services.

In reply to a question put in the Indian Legislative Council by Khan Sahib Shah Nawaz Bhutto, Mr. W. H. Hailey replied:

"The approximate cost per annum of the several services before the increases of pay recently sanctioned was as follows—

| | |
|--------------------------------|-------------|
| Public Works Department, | |
| Provincial and Imperial | 97,00,000 |
| Indian Medical Service | 48,00,000 |
| Provincial Civil Service | 1,15,00,000 |
| Indian Police Service | 58,00,000 |
| Provincial Police Service | 12,00,000 |
| Indian Educational Service | 27,00,000 |
| Provincial Educational Service | 20,00,000 |
| Indian Forest Service | 24,00,000 |

The number of Provincial civil servants is very much larger than that of Indian civil servants. Yet the latter used to get in the aggregate, even before their recent increase of pay, more than double the total salaries of the latter. This remark applies more or less to the other imperial and provincial services. And in comparison with the salaries drawn by the corresponding services in civilised countries outside India, the "Indian" services have hitherto been paid on an extravagantly lavish scale. Nevertheless, when military expenditure has risen to unimagined heights, and the foreign exploiters' clamour has to be met by a very costly railway programme, these overpaid men of the imperial services are the first to get large increments. Prices have no doubt risen high. But these fat-salaried men were never starvelings that it should be thought that they were the hardest hit by high prices. Moreover, in their case, who are mostly Europeans, there have been two recent compensating advantages. Owing to changes in the rate of exchange foreign articles consumed by them are cheaper than before, and they can now send "home" more pounds for fewer rupees than ever before. And, therefore, not only should the exchange compensation allowances be stopped (Do they continue to be paid?), but there ought to be a reduction in their salaries in consideration of the rupee being worth about twice as many pennies as before. But instead of all this, we have had actually a large addition to their salaries!

All government servants have been hitherto looked upon as the employees of a foreign power rather than as the servants of the people. Therefore, seeing that the foreign rulers paid the employees

brought from their own country extravagant salaries, government employees of Indian birth have clamoured for as much as they could extract from the foreign bureaucracy, and this clamour has been supported by the Indian press and the Indian agitators. But now that it has dawned upon our people that the day of self-rule must come and that we must have large sums for social and economic betterment, they must oppose not only the payment of extravagant salaries to foreign officials but also the increase of the salaries of officials of Indian birth whose emoluments are equal to or higher than those of officials of the same or higher class in such countries as Japan, the Philippines, Holland, Denmark, &c., all of which are richer than India. And it is found that the salaries paid to the Provincial Services were, before any recent actual or proposed increase, on this scale. Therefore, while promotions may be accelerated, time scales fixed, and other improvements effected, we are absolutely opposed to the highest grade salaries being still further increased. If in Japan the highest salary *plus* allowance paid to the local Governors (*viz*, to those of Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, Kanagawa, and Hyogo) is 5100 yens or Rs 7650 per annum and the lowest 3700 yens or Rs 4550 per annum, there is no reason why our deputy collectors or extra-assistant-commissioners should clamour for a higher salary than Rs 750 or Rs 800 per mensem for the highest grade. But unfortunately for the poor people of India, the highest salary of these officers has been fixed at Rs 1200 per mensem in some provinces which are particularly illiterate and plague-stricken. Japan is certainly a richer and more expensive country than India. The lowest judicial courts in Japan are the district courts. There the salaries of the Judges range from Rs 3000 to Rs 4550 per annum. The next higher are the appeal courts, in which the salaries of the Judges range from Rs 3750 to Rs 7500 per annum. The highest judicial court is the court of cassation. The President of this court gets Rs 9000 per annum and the other Judges from Rs 3750 to Rs 6300 per annum. All this shows that the

members of the provincial judicial service in India are by no means poorly paid

The men whose pay ought to have been considerably increased, and increased first, are the sweepers, the chowkidars, the police constables, the postal and other peons, the lower grade clerks and other ministerial officers, the primary and middle school teachers, and the teachers in the lower classes of high schools. It is they who have been hardest hit by the high prices. They ought to have had relief first. We do not mean to say that the cost of living of munsifs, sub-judges, deputy collectors, professors in the provincial educational service, &c., has not risen, it has certainly risen. What we do say is that, seeing that most of them and our countrymen are suffering solely from the high prices of the necessities of life, they should make up their minds to suffer a little as well. They are as much interested in the success of self-rule as any other class of Indians, and this success requires that the cost of running the administrative machine should not rise further,—not at any rate until the country has grown richer by the development of agriculture and industries. We would appeal to all Indian public servants to consider themselves as *literally* the servants of the people and their Services as so many branches of Philanthropy in which all servants of the Motherland are to be content with a living wage.

The Khilafat Conference and the Attitude of the Moslems and the Hindus

According to the report published in the weekly edition of the *Hindu*, Maulana Shaukat Ali, president of the recent Madras Presidency Khilafat Conference, said in the course of his presidential address —

As I said there is no room here for Moderates or Extremists. Those who believe as we believe (*sic*) Moslems, those who oppose this sacred cause go out of the pale of Islam. There is no road in between the two roads Islam and heresy. In matters of faith there is no room for sweet compromise to suit the convenience of accommodating people. I would beg our Moderate friends to fully realise the issue before us and then write. If you grant that every Indian has a right to full

freedom of conscience, then you can give no lukewarm support. Such support gives us great pain. If these "friends" had never opened their lips and had left us to deal with the matter, even so much the better. But then give up all talk of "brotherly affection and sympathy." In this grave crisis those who are not with us are against us.

At this Conference the following resolution, among others, was passed —

"In consonance with the spirit of the resolution adopted by the All-India Committee, this Conference, in the event of the present agitation proving futile and ineffective, calls upon all Indians to resort to progressive abstention from co-operation with Government in the following manner — Firstly, to renounce all honorary posts, titles and membership of Legislative Councils, secondly, to give up all remunerative posts under Government service, thirdly, to give up all appointments in the Police and Military forces, and fourthly, to refuse to pay taxes to Government.

Mr S. Kasturiranga Aiyangar in seconding this resolution said that the resolution marked the stage at which words gave place to deeds. They all hoped that that stage would not be reached, and that the present agitation would not prove futile and ineffective. That should be the hope of all who love India and England, for the non-payment of taxes and the other serious steps proposed to be taken in case of failure of the agitation, would bring about a crisis whose magnitude cannot now be foreseen. But it is also to be hoped that no one has given his support to the resolution in the expectation that in reality he would not be called upon to undergo any sacrifice and suffering implied in the resolution, but that the mere menace underlying it would suffice to make the agitation successful.

The resolution is solemn and serious, the president's words, concluding with the pronouncement, "In this grave crisis those who are not with us are against us," are very serious in that they contain within them the possible seeds of future grave misunderstanding, estrangement, and worse, between Indian Moslems and non-Moslems, and Mr S. Kasturiranga Aiyangar's words, reproduced below from the *Hindu*, urging the Hindus, as they practically do, to surrender their judgment to the Moslems, cannot be passed over without serious consideration.

Whatever the Hindu community might feel in this question, they were bound to follow the lead of the Mahomedans. It was for the Mahomedan community to take such steps as were necessary in the attainment of the noble object which they had at heart, and being persons who were their brethren, owning the same motherland, whose interests were bound up in so many ways with those of their Moslem countrymen, the Hindus were bound to follow the lead of the Musalmans. It was not only a matter of self-preservation but one of justice. The chariot of the Indian State may be said to be drawn by two horses—Mahomedan and Hindu. If the Mahomedan horse failed for want of sustenance—in this case spiritual sustenance—it would not do for the Hindu horse to go forward. Was it conceivable if a Mahomedan renounced honorary posts, titles or membership in the Legislative Councils that the Hindu would take them up? He, then speaker, for one, would be ashamed if any Hindu did it. When the Mahomedans threw up all posts under Government, the only reasonable course for the Hindus was to follow suit. If the Hindus were prepared to take that step along with their Moslem countrymen, they would be able to bring moral pressure on those who had got the right of deciding upon this question of the Khilafat so that the fruits of this agitation would at once come into their hands. (Cries of Hindu-Muslim-ki-Jai, Khalifat-ki-Jai)

The reasons stated in the sentence compel me to say what I, in my individual capacity, think and feel in the matter. Were not the welfare of India (of which I am a plain native equally with the most famous Indians) and the permanence of the Hindu-Moslem *entente* (on which more than on any other human factor the welfare of India depends) involved in the matter, I would not have written on a subject in which my views are somewhat different from those of the Moslem and Hindu leaders of the Khilafat Conference movement, for I dislike striking a discordant note unnecessarily. Moreover, Maulana Shaukat Ali has plainly cried "Hands off," to all who do not fully agree with him, and as one who values self-respect, would therefore have kept my lips closed but for the reasons just stated. I shall presently say what those views are. Before doing so, and partly in order to indicate why I write in the first person singular, I should say that I am neither a leader nor a follower, nor do I wish to be either, as I am unfit to be either. I would not surrender

my judgment to anybody, and I could not respect and like anybody who would surrender his judgment to mine. I do not know that I am even a representative man, representative, that is to say, of any section of the people, large or small.

I think and feel that Mr. Lloyd George and, therefore, the British Government and nation whose spokesman he was, are bound in honour and righteousness to adhere to and carry out to the very letter the pledge implied in the following words of his: "Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race," and again, "We do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homelands of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople." These promises reassured the Indian Moslem community and made it possible for the British Government to obtain recruits from it to a larger extent than would otherwise have been the case. And it was with the help of Indian soldiers, among whom Musalmans formed a majority, that England won the war in the Asiatic possessions of the Sultan of Turkey. Having reaped the full advantage of the pledges of Mr. Lloyd George, it would be perfidious, dishonourable and unrighteous for the British people now to back out from the promises in the least on any pretext whatsoever. The argument from "Turkish misrule" and "Turkish atrocities" is quite irrelevant, for, even if we take it for granted that the Turk is as bad as he has been described to be, it cannot be contended that at the time when Mr. Lloyd George made his promises the Turk was believed to be different from what he is believed to be to-day. In fact, Gladstone and other Englishmen had years before the war familiarised the English-reading public with accusations of misrule and cruelty against the Turks. In this Review I have repeatedly said what I think of these accusations. It is curious that Englishmen, with a few exceptions, dwell only on the "massacres of the Armenians by the Turks", but have little to say, even by way of refutation or

contradiction, on "the massacres of the Turks by the Greeks, the Armenians and the Bulgarians" It is strange that in spite of "wholesale" massacres for more than a generation, the Armenians, a small people, continue to exist and to be strong enough numerically and otherwise to resist and even massacre the Turks! One would have thought that they would be extinct by this time, as hundreds of tribes and peoples in North and South America, Africa and Australasia have been extinct on account of the angelic kindness of European Christians!

I shall now try to understand why it is that Indian Moslems and Hindus are called upon to support and act according to the resolution printed above. It is not because England, one of the Allied nations, is a party to injustice to a foreign nation. For, if that alone were the reason, the Shantung question would have been a stronger reason for Indians to give practical support to a resolution of that kind, for China instead of fighting against the Allies helped them, and as a reward she has been dispossessed of a big province, rich in mineral and other resources! And Persia, too, is another friendly foreign nation on which, according to Far Western, Far Eastern and French opinion, England has inflicted wrong by practically depriving it of independence. But Indians have not been called upon to take any action because of that grave act of injustice.

It cannot, again, be that it is because it is feared that England may be a party to the infliction of wrong on a Moslem State that Indians are asked to resolve, if need be, to make sacrifices and endure suffering. For Persia, too, is a Moslem State, though the Persians are for the most part Shi'ahs. And it was, unlike Turkey, a friendly State, in the case of Turkey the final settlement has still to come, but Persia has already been practically annexed, and finally, there are other parties besides England to the Turkish settlement, but in the case of Persia, England alone must bear the blame. Moreover, just as during the war, Indian men and money and materials were used in Asiatic Turkey for England's ad-

vantage, so in Persia, too, though to a lesser extent, Indian men, money and materials have been used for England's advantage. But all these facts have not been considered as sufficient reasons for asking Indians to take any kind of action to prevent the practical annexation of Persia.

What, then, are the facts which make the case of Turkey peculiar? They are mainly two or of two kinds. The Sultan of Turkey is the Khalifa of the Moslems (I will not consider what the Shi'ahs think, that is a matter for the Moslems to settle among themselves), and the holy places of the Moslems have hitherto lain in his Empire and he has protected them. According to the Moslem leaders of the Khilafat movement it is laid down in the Koran, we understand, that, these holy places should be under the protection of a Moslem sovereign, and the Sultan-Khalifa has hitherto been that sovereign.

I have already said that I will not discuss Shi'ah opinion,—I am quite incompetent to do so. Nor will I consider whether the Sunnis are absolutely or largely unanimous in their views. Not being in touch with either sect, nor having studied the Koran, I am incompetent to undertake the task. And even if, I were qualified, I would not, for obvious reasons, being a non-Moslem, have done it.

The general principle underlying the Khilafat agitation is that if there be a conflict between political considerations and religious or spiritual beliefs and considerations, political considerations must give way. Moslems claim that if Mr. Lloyd George's pledges be not fully kept, that would give a rude shock to their spiritual beliefs, and, therefore, they must act according to the terms of the resolution which has been quoted before. In a matter like this, a non-Moslem ought not to say how Moslems ought to act. If they sought the advice of any non-Moslem, that would be another matter. It is as the attitude of non-Moslems, that a man like myself belonging to that class may have his say.

Obviously, non-Moslems do not believe that the Sultan-Khalifa has any spiritual

authority over them, nor do they go on pilgrimage to the Moslem holy places for acquiring religious merit. The Koranic injunction that these holy places must be situated in an independent Moslem State is a *religious* belief which binds Moslems alone. So if non-Moslems are to *act*, not merely to speak, just as the Moslems would act in case the Khilafat agitation failed, that would be not because of spiritual beliefs but because of political considerations and neighbourly sympathy. To take neighbourly sympathy first I think a non-Moslem who would fill a vacancy caused by the resignation of a Moslem, be the post high or humble, must be considered very mean, base and utterly unworthy to associate with. As to whether non-Moslems would themselves act in the same way as the Moslems, as regards the giving up of titles, honorific distinctions and remunerative posts and the non-payment of taxes, that would depend on the strength and intensity of non-Moslem feeling for and with the Indian Moslems. Such feeling cannot and ought not to be forced. Never was feeling stronger and more widespread among the Hindus of Bengal than when Bengal was partitioned. I only note that even then none of the serious steps now proposed were resorted to. I am not sufficiently in touch with any section of the public, particularly outside Bengal, to be able to pronounce on the strength, extent and intensity of genuine sympathy with the Moslems. I can speak only for myself. I do feel for Turkey and the Moslems. I have never sought and never received any titles from Government. I have never sought election to any legislative council, nor would do so in future, though I have been pressed to do so. I have never been an office-seeker. So there is nothing along these lines that I have to give up. As regards non-payment of taxes, I do not intend to go so far if the Khilafat agitation fails. I do not believe in verbal heroism and verbal indirect menace, and, hence, what I will not do, what I think I should not do, I would not seem to be willing or ready to do.

In recent times Indians, in their own

persons and in their collective nationhood, have been subjected to grievous wrongs and humiliations. These have taken place *in* India. It is natural for people to feel their own wrongs and insults in their own country more than for the wrongs and insults inflicted on foreign peoples and in foreign lands. I am speaking purely from my own individual non-Moslem view-point, for I know in the Islamic Brotherhood and spiritual matters it is held that no distinction is to be made between one's own native land and foreign Moslem lands. To resume what I was saying. As the wrongs done to and insults heaped on *my* nation *in* India, and also *outside of* India, have not (most probably they ought to have) moved me to have recourse to the form of passive resistance known as non-payment of taxes, I do not think any grievous wrong done to Turkey, which would be highly resented by and would sorely distress Indian Musalmans, would or should move me to take that step, though it would undoubtedly grieve my heart and embitter my feelings.

Maulana Shaukat Ali has said that whoever is not with him and his co-religionists of his way of thinking is against them. That is a very hard thing to say. I know that I cannot and shall not go the whole length with them. Yet I believe I am with them to the humble extent of my feeling and judgment. Though a non-Moslem, I am a man, an Asian, an Indian, and a neighbour of Indian Musalmans. These facts impose corresponding duties on my shoulders.

As India is a land of many religions, would it be right, would it be expedient, would it be safe, to tacitly lay down the principle that, whenever the men of any particular faith felt sorely aggrieved by anything done, or left undone, or contemplated by the British Government so much so as to resolve to resort to non-payment of taxes if the grievances were not redressed, the followers of all the other faiths should also have recourse to the same expedient, on pain of being considered enemies by the aggrieved sect? I think not. Such a principle might land us in great confusion and

endless inter-sectarian misunderstandings, squabbles, and worse. It would also be a great tyranny. In matters of conscience and spiritual belief, each sect, nay each individual, should listen to the promptings of its or his soul, without demanding that others' consciences or souls must urge them with the same promptings. These others should, of course, help to as great an extent as their judgment and conscience would dictate, and should in no case place any direct or indirect obstacle in the way of the performance by any sect of its legitimate spiritual duties.

Apart from Moslem or non-Moslem considerations, I should now like to say something as to the practicability and expediency of starting a movement for not paying taxes or revenues. In small areas influenced and dominated by a great personality like that of Mr. M. K. Gandhi and where the inhabitants are personally aggrieved, it is practicable and expedient to start such a movement. But in a large country like India where political education has not yet progressed far enough and political feeling developed sufficiently among the bulk of the people, where even a man of Mr. Gandhi's personality is not sufficiently influential in all provinces, and in a matter which is not felt, as far as I am aware, by the bulk of the people with the intensity of a personal or national wrong, the starting of such a movement of passive resistance would at present be impracticable and inexpedient and may take or be made to take a violent turn.

The advice to give up posts in the police and military services has been probably given on the assumption that it would not be necessary to act on the advice, based on the anticipation that full justice would be done to Turkey and the holy places of Islam. But a resolution should take all contingencies into account. If Indian Moslems and non-Moslems are to cease generally to be police men and soldiers, some thought ought to be taken as to how the honour of women, and life and property are to be safeguarded, for an upheaval of feeling which is sure to accompany the steps recommended in the resolution, may probably unhinge the minds of many

Indian and non-Indian persons who are not angelic in character. Has such thought been taken?

27th April, 1920 RAMANANDA CHAITLERJEE

Khilafat Conference and Non-co-operation

A telegram bearing the signature of Maulvi Mohammad Akram Khan has appeared in the papers which gives the unanimous decision of the Council of the All-India Central Khilafat Committee, which met at Bombay on the 11th April last, on the subject of non-co-operation. It runs as follows —

Non-co operation should not be started till peace terms are officially known or until a submission has been made to H. M.'s Government by deputation hereinafter mentioned for declaration of peace terms and the period fixed therein has expired. To expedite matters and remove tension and to explain correct sentiment of the Hindus and Musalmans, subject to Viceregal consent, a deputation consisting of Mr. Gandhi and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad should proceed to England with such company as they desire with instructions not to stay beyond one month in England. During absence of the deputation the principle of non-co operation as the only remedy open to India should be preached and popularised to the utmost extent. Organisation should be formed to enforce non-co-operation where necessary.

According to the proceedings of the meeting further deputation to England has totally been postponed, but Mahatma Gandhi's party will only sail to England to clearly explain the last decisive message to the throne.

It is to be hoped that the Turkish settlement would be such as to make "non-co-operation" unnecessary. It would be useful to habituate the people to calmly think and decide in what circumstance and to what extent what sort of non co-operation may be resorted to.

The Panjab Tragedy.

At the National Week meeting held in Bombay on the 13th April last, the following message from Sriyut Rabindra Nath Tagore was read by Mr. C. F. Andrews —

"A great crime has been done in the name of law in the Panjab. Such terrible eruptions of evil leave their legacy of wreckage of ideals behind them. What happened in Jallianwala

Bagh was itself a monstrous progeny of a monstrous war which for four years had been defiling God's world with fire and poison, physical and moral.

The immenseness of the sin through which humanity has waded across its blood red length of agony has spread callousness in the minds of those who have power in their hands with no check of sympathy within, of fear of resistance without. The cowardliness of the powerful who own no shame in using their machines of frightfulness upon the unarmed and unwarned villagers, and inflicting unspeakable humiliations upon their fellow beings behind the screen of an indecent mockery of justice, and yet not feeling for a moment that it was the meanest form of insult to their own manhood, has become only possible through the opportunity which the late war had given to man for constantly outlying his own higher nature, trampling truth and honour under foot.

This disruption of the basis of civilisation will continue to produce a series of moral earthquakes and men will have to be ready for still further sufferings. That the balance will take a long time to be restored is clearly seen by the suicidal ferocity of vengeance ominously tinged red the atmosphere of the peace deliberations.

But we have no place in these orgies of triumphant powers rending the world into lists according to their own purposes. What most concerns us is to know that moral degradation not only pursues the people inflicting indignities upon the helpless, but also their victims. The dastardliness of cruel injustice confident of its impunity is ugly and mean, but the fear and impotent anger which they are apt to breed upon the minds of the weak are no less abject.

Brothers, when physical force in its arrogant faith in itself tries to crush the spirit of man, then comes the time for him to assert that his soul is indomitable. We shall refuse to be afraid and to own moral defeat, but shall not be cherishing in our hearts foul dreams of retaliation. The time has come for the victims to be the victors in the field of righteousness. When brother spills the blood of his brother and exults in his own sin, giving it a high-sounding name, when he tries to keep the bloodstains fresh on the soil by a memorial of his anger, then God in shame conceals it under his green grass and the sweet purity of his flower. We, who have witnessed the wholesale slaughter of the innocent in our own neighbourhood, let us accept God's own office and cover the bloodstains of injury with our prayer, "With thy graciousness, O Terrible, for ever save us." For the true grace comes from the terrible who can save our soul from fear of suffering and death in the very midst of terror, and from vindictiveness in defiance of injury.

Let us take our lesson from His hand even

when the smart of the pain and insult is still fresh—the lesson that all meanness, cruelty and untruth are for the obscurity of oblivion and only the noble and true are for eternity. Let those who will, try to burden the minds of the future with stones carrying the black memory of wrongs and then angels, but let us bequeath to the generations to come a memorial of that only which we can revere. Let us be grateful to our forefathers who have left us the image of our Buddha who conquered self, preached forgiveness and spread his love wide in time and space.

With the lofty and benignant spirit of the Poet's message I am in reverent sympathy. Some have concluded from the message that the Poet is opposed to the Jalianwala Bagh Memorial project. It does not seem clear to me that he is actually opposed to it. He is indifferent, it appears. But what is clear is that, memorial or no memorial, he is absolutely opposed to Indians harbouring either fear or vengeance.

I do not desire any kind of memorial which will rouse feelings of revenge or anger. But at the same time I do wish that the innocent men, women and children who lost their lives in the Bagh should be remembered by their countrymen. The Bengali pilgrim women who were on board the *St. Lawrence*, and who lost their lives owing to the wrecking of the vessel by a cyclone, have had a memorial tablet placed by their European sisters on the wall of a bathing ghat close to the Howrah Bridge. Those who have lost their lives by the fury, not of the elements, but, of man, deserve a memorial of loving compassion. Among them, too, there were pilgrims on the occasion of the Baisakhi Fair. And they lost their lives in vicarious suffering as it were, though not voluntary, for the misdeeds of some of their infuriated countrymen. Moreover, it would be necessary to commemorate the devotion of a Ratan Devi, and possibly of others like her, who searched out her husband's dead body from among heaps of corpses in that Field of Death and guarded it all night from being mangled and desecrated by dogs and jackals, in defiance of the martial law orders.

Hindus and Musalmans coming together for public purpose and meeting a common

death, may be worthy of commemoration

Perhaps it may not be impossible to impart to the memorial such a character as will excite in the beholders sorrow and pity for both the slayers and the slain, sorrow and pity for the bodily death of the slain, sorrow and pity for the spiritual lifelessness (temporary, it is hoped) of the slayers

I am reminded per force that history has to be truthful, recording both the good and the evil wrought in course of Time. So that though there is no structure to commemorate the massacre of Glencoe, no edifices to commemorate the carnage perpetrated by the orders of a Nadir Shah, a Timur Lang or a Chengis Khan, history does not allow us to forget these bloody deeds. So, should there be no memorial at Jalianwala Bagh, history will not agree to bury the enormities, committed by both Europeans and Indians in oblivion. It is undoubtedly bad to be revengeful. But unless both evil and good are known, how is the evolution of humanity to be understood? Even creative art, as practised by the greatest poets, painters, &c, does not create and record merely that which is good, but much also that is sinister and wicked.

I have said that I do not want any memorial which will rouse anger. But there can be no memorial at Jalianwala Bagh which will not indirectly call to mind the heinous crimes committed during the British period of Panjab history. It is a pity that it should be so. But just as there are many stony structures telling of beneficence and utilitarianism in India during British rule, there may be a stony structure showing a bit of the other side of the shield—all composing together an impartial History in Stone.

27-4-20 Ramananda Chatterjee

Mandates a Lucrative Job.

Reuter's telegram from San Remo, dated April 20 last, contains a sentence stating that "A letter from the League of Nations was read declining mandate for Armenia on the ground that the covenant does not provide powers necessary for it, also pointing out that mandate implies

heavy financial and military burden." This suggests that the mandates which have been accepted by different politically philanthropic nations, have been accepted because they are lucrative jobs.

Since the above was written a San Remo cable dated April 25, has appeared in the papers stating that "The conference has entrusted Britain with mandates for Mesopotamia and Palestine, and France with mandate for Syria." It is certain these mandates do not imply heavy financial and military burdens.

British Sacrifice for Great Purposes

Speaking on the British budget, Mr Asquith "emphasised that since the outbreak of war Britain had devoted thirty-six per cent of the revenue to meet cost of war. This was a unique record among the belligerents and exemplified the willingness of the British to make great sacrifices for great purposes." We do not understand how it is unique. From the Indian financial statement for 1919-20 it is seen that 63 per cent of the revenues of India have been spent for military purposes. In 1918-19 India's military expenditure was 51.5 per cent of her revenues. In 1920-21, it is estimated it would be forty-three per cent.

Development of Ports and Railways a Prime Necessity in India

The following throws a lurid light on British mentality —

(*Reuter's Special Service*)

London, April 19

Lecturing on the "Ports of India" before the Society of Arts, Sir George Buchanan urged that the best solution of the problem of requirements of India's ports would be a department of communications dealing with the railways, inland waterways and ports. The control of ports should be in the shape of guiding the policy in the interest of the Empire rather than interference with the details. But at the same time there should be insistence on execution of the vitally important works. Not only should the existing ports be improved and extended but there should be development of new ports, fairly competing with others.

Mr Montagu, presiding, said that the first need of India was to increase the people's standard of living and wealth, which could only be achieved by the development of ports and

railways The lecturer's suggestion of a central control of the department had already been put forward in connection with the Reform scheme and allocation of powers to local Governments was a matter which was still being considered, but the lecturer had made out a strong case for arrangement

Ports and railways we certainly do require But they are not a prime necessity If agriculture be extended and improved, and if there be more and better products from more cottage and factory industries of our own, then alone can railways and ports as distributing agencies make us wealthier But to produce more, we must have healthier and better nourished bodies and more and better general, agricultural, and technical education That shows where we ought to begin In the absence of greater *Indian* producing capacity, more ports and railways can only make us intrinsically poorer by the flooding of our markets in the remotest villages by foreign products, thereby killing our few remaining industries and also by the carrying off of our food-stocks and raw materials to foreign countries

An Irish Verdict

London, April 18

At the inquest on the Lord Mayor of Cork, the Jury found that the Royal Irish Constabulary had planned the murder with the connivance of the British Government and returned a verdict of wilful murder against Mr Lloyd George Lord French, Mr Macpherson and others — "Reuter"

If the Jalianwala Bagh massacre had taken place in Ireland, whom would an Irish Jury have found guilty of murder?

New Policy in Ireland.

London, April 23

The "Daily Chronicle" states that the Government has decided upon a new policy in Ireland, including cessation of raids on seditious literature, etc Arrests will henceforth be confined to murderers A number of minor irritating restrictions will be removed

London, April 26

At question time in the House of Commons, Mr Bonar Law stated that the Government's Irish policy continued to be to protect the lives and property of the law-abiding citizens (Cheers) All steps necessary for that would be taken The suggestion that Lord French had been invited to resign was unfounded — "Reuter"

The two telegrams printed above show that the British Government have been compelled to recognise that the policy of repression has been a failure in Ireland Even the fear of "what will the Indian revolutionists and extremists think" has not prevented a change of policy in that island

The following condensed report of a debate in the House of Commons makes the seriousness of the situation in Ireland clearer than previous reviews of Irish affairs —

London, April 26

In the House of Commons, to day, Lord Robert Cecil drew attention to the state of Ireland He said, the position was more serious than at any time during the last hundred years Sixteen murders had been committed in the last three weeks and they now averaged one per day There was absolute collapse of the system of civilisation, guaranteeing the lives of the citizens He criticised the withdrawal of the police from the country districts and attributed to that the subsequent lawlessness There was, he said, no co-ordination between soldiers and the police If convictions were at present unobtainable the law should be altered with a view to securing fairness to all parties If necessary, the prisoners should be brought to England for trial Soldiers should be used to protect the police Unless Government proved their capacity to govern, we would drift through anarchy and humiliation to an Irish Republic

Mr Bonar Law regretting the inopportunities of the present debate pointed out that every weapon of law in Ireland had been enforced as far as possible Trials in England would be useless, unless evidence could be secured from Ireland Such trials would be regarded by Irishmen as worse than court-martials As regards arrest without trial, he said that the system of terrorism was widespread and it was impossible to get evidence, although in many cases the offenders were known In such circumstances he defied anyone to say that such persons should be allowed continued liberty to further conspiracies against their fellow-countrymen As regards hunger-striking, the Government were prepared to do anything to prevent their becoming martyrs, so long as they were unable to carry on the offences, under the suspicion of which they were arrested He paid the highest tribute to Lord French who had the Government's full confidence The condition of Ireland was deplorable and utterly lamentable It was the first essential that the conditions should not be allowed to continue It was one of the tragedies in the history of the world that such a state of affairs should have arisen between Ireland and this country The Government was determined to use their utmost power to restore decent conditions He believed that despite the greatest difficulties the Government would succeed He expressed the opinion that success was already beginning He declared that the Government were going to

try to convince reasonable Irishmen and the world that they were dealing justly with Ireland. If the Government failed after a reasonable time (it must be remembered it took a long time during the previous period of unrest) after giving proof that they had done everything to restore order, then the Government ought not to continue to exist. He added that the Government refused no powers asked for by the Irish executive—"Reuter."

Turkish Treaty.

The Khilafat Deputation in England have emphatically protested against the occupation of Constantinople by British military and naval forces in the name of the Allies, thus placing the Khalifa in distress, and also against the arrest and deportation of the Sheikh-ul-Islam as an outrage upon Islam. On the top of these causes of sorrow and resentment come the details of the decision understood to have been arrived at as regards the Turkish empire. They are compiled below from Reuter's telegrams.

It is understood that the Conference has decided to establish two commissions for the control of the Straits—one military, the other administrative. The latter will be charged with regulations for the use of the Straits, dues, details of navigation, etc. A military commission will control the Allied force which guards the Straits to ensure free passage in peace and war. The clause of treaty will declare that the passage of the Straits shall be free. Military forces will be placed on Gallipoli and opposite side of the Dardanelles.

The conference has entrusted Britain with mandates for Mesopotamia and Palestine, and France with mandate for Syria.

The Conference has decided upon the incorporation of the Balfour declaration in the Peace Treaty with Turkey providing for Palestine becoming the national home of the Jews, subject to the rights of Arabs and Jewish nationals in other countries.

Italy will have the mandate over the whole of Albania.

It is understood that the Turkish suzerainty over Smyrna will be indicated by the fact that the population will not be entitled to send delegates to the Greek Parliament but at the end of five years the local Smyrna Parliament will have the right of voting in favour of union with Greece and in such event Turkish suzerainty will cease. Turkish sovereignty in Europe will be confined to the area within the Chatalja lines.

Death of Mr Ramanujam, F.R.S.

By the death of Mr Ramanujam, F.R.S., India and the world lose a pure mathematician of the first rank. His election to be

a Fellow of the Royal Society while still a young man shed a lustre on India and his native province of Madras. His untimely death will be deeply mourned all over India. He was India's first F.R.S.

Death of Pandit Satish Chandra Vidyabhushan

Mahamahopadhyay Pandit Satish Chandra Vidyabhushan M.A., Ph.D., Principal of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, whose death is announced in the papers, was well-known in India and abroad for his scholarly knowledge of Pali, Indian philosophy and ancient Indian history. He was a very good man. He had no malice in his nature. His habits were simple and manners exceedingly gentle. He was the author of several learned works.

In October last when we were in Puri close to a house which he occupied with two of his sons, he seemed to be in greatly depressed spirits and told us many things which only a man who has had premonition of early death broods upon. We did not then imagine that he would pass away so early.

"Hamid Ahmad a Martyr of Conscience"

The Independent says that in the case in which Mr Hamid Ahmad was bound over under Section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code for good behaviour for one year with two securities of Rs 250 each and personal surety of Rs 500, in connection with some speeches of his on the question of the Khilafat, the accused having declined to furnish the sureties went to gaol. That is the only honorable course for a man who thinks that what he has said is true and right.

"Bengalis in Behar."

This is the heading of an editorial note in the *Indian Social Reformer* in which the following sentences occur—

"The Bengalis domiciled in Behar are agitating for separate representation in the provincial council. It is inconceivable to us what special interests the Bengalis may have which are not shared by the native inhabitants of Behar. A claim of this kind emanating from a community which is one of the most politically advanced in the country, is deplorable. People who go

from one part of the country to another, have no right to form a caste by themselves, instead of identifying themselves with the people."

Before commenting on the above extract let us say that our objection to separate representation is so strong and deep-rooted that if the home of our ancestors and of ourselves or our own domicile had been situated in the administrative province of Bihar and Orissa, not only would we not have claimed or agitated for such representation but even if given the right we would not have exercised it.

Our contemporary is mistaken in thinking that the Bengalis living in the administrative province of Bihar and Orissa are all or for the most part people who have gone from Bengal and settled permanently or temporarily in Bihar and Orissa. That is not the case. These Bengalis are for the most part permanent and autochthonous inhabitants of tracts of country which, until recently, have been from olden times integral parts of Bengal and have been Bengali-speaking for the most part. So that the real truth is that some parts of linguistic and natural Bengal have been for administrative purposes included in the province of Bihar and Orissa. In the Census Report of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and Sikkim, part I, p. 386, it is stated that "in Bihar and Orissa it [Bengali] is spoken by 2, 295,000 or 6 per cent of the total population, the border districts of Purnea, the Sonthal Parganas, Manbhum and Singhbhum accounting for over nine-tenths of the total number." Now, in these border districts, most of the Bengali-speaking persons are autochthonous. In the same Census Report, pp. 167-8, it is stated that

"Bengal gains no less than 1,087,000 persons by the balance of migration between it and Bihar and Orissa. *The number of Bengali emigrants present in the latter province at the time of the census was only 165,000, The immigrants to Bengal from Bihar and Orissa were nearly 8 times as many, amounting to 1,252,000, or one-thirtieth of the total population [of Bihar and Orissa], among whom there were 8 males to every female*" (The italics are ours)

This clearly shows that out of nearly

province of Bihar and Orissa only 165,000 can be spoken of as immigrants or settlers.

Whatever our own personal opinion may be, as in Bihar and Orissa separate representation has been given to and accepted by the Mussalmans, Anglo-Indian and Indian Christians also, Bengalis alone cannot be specially blamed. And it is no unnatural and unreasonable for them to think that if they are to have and exercise the right of separate representation it should be proportionate to their number and importance.

As for their 'special interests', the duty of "identifying themselves with the people," &c., our contemporary perhaps does not know that the "domiciled" Bengalis in Bihar and Orissa, as they are called, have not the same claims to educational scholarships and of admission to educational institutions, particularly to medical and engineering institutions, as autochthonous Biharis and Oriyas have. And speaking generally, when a Bengali is appointed to a government post or one already in State service receives some notable charge, a clamour is raised in the Bihar press. It is not our intention to decide who is right or who is wrong, or whether in every case when such clamour is raised the man chosen is a "domiciled" Bengali or one imported direct from Bengal. We only want to say that papers like the *Searchlight* cannot consistently call upon the Bengalis to identify themselves with the Biharis or else to "cross the border," and at the same time raise such outcry every now and then and support the educational discriminations against the Bengalis.

When the other day the *Searchlight* passed a conditional order upon the Bengalis to "cross the border," it forgot that it was not the organ of an independent country like the U. S. A. or even of an autonomous dominion like Canada. The Biharis are as much a slave as the Bengali, and therefore it does not become either to indulge in heroic or insolent language. Neither the Biharis nor the Bengalis can order who shall or shall not dwell in his home province, but

all permanent import and export of "human cargo" between the provinces must cease, many times more Biharis than Bengalis would have to "cross the border." This is our respectful submission to the *Searchlight*

Mr Gandhi Joins All-India Home Rule League

An Associated Press message states that Mr M K Gandhi has joined the All-India Home Rule League and accepted the office of the president of the League. Mr. Gandhi writing to the press in that connection says that he would engage the League, if he can carry the members with him, in activities such as the promotion of Swadeshi, Hindu-Moslem unity with special reference to Khilafat, acceptance of Hinduism as national "Lingua Franca", and linguistic redistribution of provinces. He proposes to treat the Home Rule League as a non-party organisation and considers the Congress, of which the League is an auxiliary, as a national organisation providing platform for all parties. While he will not expect the League to follow him in civil disobedience methods, he expects the principles of uncompromising truth and honesty in political life to be accepted and acted upon by the All-India Home Rule League and the country.

"The Servant"

In the journalistic world a new-comer is apt to be considered a rival by this paper or that or by all similar local papers. Yet in truth no two papers can be exactly alike. Any capable journalist who is prepared to work hard and honestly can give to the world something new or a new combination of old features which no other journalist has given or can give. Besides, Bengal, not to speak of India, certainly requires and can maintain another English daily, without encroaching on the special spheres of the existing ones. For one thing, the existing Indian-owned and Indian edited dailies in Calcutta are run on party lines. It is necessary to have an organ of public opinion which will be non-party in character. And so far as we can gauge the feel-

ing in the province, there is a demand for such a paper. Then there is the need of supplying information and guidance relating to all important fields of human thought and activity throughout India and the civilised countries of the world outside India,—a task of immense magnitude, which it would require not one but at least a dozen dailies adequately to perform.

For these and other reasons we welcome the launching of "The Servant Publishing Company, Limited," which intends to publish an English daily named "The Servant" and also a Bengali daily, under the editorship of Babu Syam Sundar Chakrabarty, who is a well known journalist requiring no introduction to the public of Bengal. Dr Rabindranath Tagore, in consenting to be one of the patrons of "The Servant", expresses the hope that "it will always be able to maintain itself above the din of party contentions and petty self-interest, providing our people with a wide outlook upon all problems of life from the standpoint of humanity."

It is stated in the memorandum of association of the Company that its newspapers are "to be conducted for the purpose of advocating, defending, maintaining, promoting and championing the rights, aspirations and interests of Indians, and the ventilation and discussion of all grievances, questions, matters and things bearing on and conducive to the promotion of such rights and aspirations, and the essential interests, welfare, and general benefits of India and its position and status among the nations of the world, and in particular for the purpose of inculcating, promoting, advancing, establishing and securing the following principles and objects, viz —(i) To secure full life for India (ii) To restore India to her material and spiritual greatness (iii) To realise the true democratic ideal." In the prospectus, in indicating the policy of the papers, it is stated that they "will seek to inform, elevate and guide the popular will. The inauguration of the reforms has invested popular education through the Press with a special importance. These dailies will not only take up this work but will try to make life known

with its millions of interests. Their mission will be to secure for India an all-round greatness, social, political and industrial and to help the civilised world, reeling under the hammer-blows of uninspired materialism, shake down into some sort of order by the wide dissemination of Eastern spiritual lore." This is a high mission indeed. If the papers can even partially fulfil it, all connected with them will have cause to feel blessed.

Among the Directors are Mr Kamini Kumar Chanda, Mr Akhil Chandra Datta, Mr Surendranath Tagore, Mr Rathindranath Tagore, and experienced men of business like Mr A. C. Sen, Mr Jogindranath Mukherjee, and Mr Upendra Nath Sen Kabiraj. Among those whom *The Servant* is likely to have as literary contributors are Dr Rabindranath Tagore, Mr Surendranath Tagore, Rev Dr C. A. Ham of Kalimpong, and the editor of the *Modern Review*.

It should not be difficult to raise the authorised capital of Rs. 3,00,000.

Pandit Muraly Dhar Banerjee's address on Social Reform

Pandit Muraly Dhar Banerjee, M.A., officiating principal of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, does not belong to the class or community of Bengalis known as social reformers. He is an orthodox Brahmin. The address which he delivered as president of the second Bengal Provincial Social Conference, held last month at Midnapore, would have been considered important for this reason alone. But the production has merits of its own. He has treated the subject of social reform in his own way. The views propounded in the address are the results of his own thinking and study. In describing the scope and limits of the problem to be discussed, he observes —

The great European war and the Russian Revolution have ushered in a new epoch after convulsing all the communities of the world. The passing of the Indian Reform Bill is one of its many results. From the moment that this Act will begin to operate, our society, too, will feel the advent of a new era. We have, from this time, to take measures to fit our society to bear the burden of the new responsibilities. It is time, therefore, that we should see if the structure of our society is fit to bear the weight of the new duties brought in upon it with this new era, and that if it

be not fit, what changes and reforms are necessary to make it so.

In order to point out what changes and reforms are necessary, the Pandit begins with our family life and discusses the changes which should be made therein. He finds the root of many evils in the "disparity of condition between the men and the women of our society" and dwells upon "the need of proper education to remove it."

On account of want of harmony of education in the male and female sections of our society, our domestic and social life has become a scene of discord and unhappiness, and this has proved an insurmountable obstacle to our social progress. The instinctive religious feeling of our women, for want of knowledge, has degenerated into blind faith and superstition. In consequence of this they have become slaves of custom, obsessed with fastidious notions of purity, and are opposed to all the efforts of our educated men directed to preserve the health of the family or improve the society. The notions of purity in our women being based solely on blind superstition and expectations of rewards and punishments in the life to come, they are very often inconsistent with the fundamental principles of sanitary science and sociology which bear perceptible fruits in this very life. For this reason Hindu women are not satisfied with smoothening the floor of their mudhouses with cowdung but proceed to besmear with it even cement and marble floors instead of washing them with clear water. Believing filtered pipe water as defiled they drink the water of the Ganges though it may be contaminated with night-soil and other poisonous matter. Sometimes they even swallow cowdung and cow's urine to purge away the sins of their soul. And now a days when in the market of bride grooms the prices are so high they are pressing their husbands to give away their daughters in marriage before they pass the tenth year through fear of violating the sacred injunctions of the Shastra. They do not know that it is also laid down in our Shastras that it is a sin to give away a girl in marriage who does not know how to honour her husband, how to serve him, and has not yet learnt the commandments of the sacred law (Mahamirana Tantra, VIII, 107). Those social reformers who are trying their utmost to introduce widow re-marriage, to raise the marriageable age of girls to make impure castes pure, and to remove other social superstitions, ought to understand that until our women are educated all their efforts at social reform will be of no avail. No one will be able to introduce these reforms in our society in opposition to the will and religious faith of our women. If these reforms are forced upon them there will be serious domestic revolt and breach of peace. For this reason every social reformer should try first of all to spread education among women, for most of the social reforms are to be based on diffusion of knowledge among women. In every scheme of social reform the education of women should receive the foremost place.

The Pandit then examines the social life of the Hindus. The peculiarity of

Hindu society lying in its division into castes he traces the origin of caste and its development up to the present time. This section of the address is elaborate, and has for its subdivisions the following: "First stage origin of caste in the Vedic age exogamous marriage" "The second stage of development of the caste system prohibition of the *pratiloma* form of marriage and of contact with lower castes" "The third stage in the development of the caste system strict endogamy castes break up into an infinite multiplicity of watertight sub-castes" The author supports his conclusions by quoting from various Shastras, whose authority cannot be disputed by orthodox Hindus. Some of his conclusions are quoted below:

We have seen how Hindu society in abandoning intercaste marriage, widow marriage, sea voyage, etc., is not following *Smriti* and *Smriti*, but is blindly following recent local customs, though they are inconsistent with *Smriti* and *Smriti* and are injurious to society. In consequence of this the four castes are now split up into innumerable sub-castes among which intermarriage, interdining and all sorts of social intercourse have been abolished though it is not so enjoined in the Shastras. Even here our social disintegration has not stopped. In every village, in every neighbourhood, we find this process of social disruption at work. Parties are excommunicating and interdicting all social communications with one another. In this way the unity of our social life has been shattered.

In the Vedic age and in the age of the Sutras and the Dharma Samhitas, we have seen that caste distinctions were based not only upon racial differences, but also on differences of occupation. For this reason they were not injurious to the society but in many respects helped its progress. Among the lower castes, even now, caste distinctions are based upon differences of race and occupation. Hence the caste system has still some vitality in the lower strata of our society and may persist until the condition of the depressed classes is improved by education. But among the higher classes it is no longer based on distinctions of occupation or race. The blending of races in the Vedic age has abolished all ethnological grounds for preserving caste distinctions among the upper classes. Among them they now rest upon a fictitious right of birth, and are therefore interfering with the normal and healthful growth of the society. At present the Brahman is not deprived of his social status for pursuing the occupation of a Sudra, as before. A person belonging to a lower caste, though possessed of qualities of a higher caste, is not given a higher social status. In this way our caste system has been reduced to fictitious distinctions of birth based neither on physical or mental characteristics nor on occupations. No progress is possible for a society reduced to this condition.

The pandit distinctly pronounces the

opinion that "our society can be made fit for the exercise of democratic rights, if these fictitious distinctions and inequalities are abolished, and social classification be based upon the worth of the individuals."

Coming to the consideration of the Patel Bill to validate intercaste Hindu marriages, he meets the threefold objections of its opponents. Regarding the conservative Hindus' shastric objections against it, he says:

"We have already seen that intercaste marriage does not at all go against the principles of the Hindu religion as they are laid down in the Vedas and the Dharmasastras. Still if any Hindu has any religious scruple against intercaste marriage on the ground of its being opposed to some passages in the recent Upanishads, the proposed Act is not intended to interfere with the liberty of his conscience."

It only intends to amend the defect of the existing laws and to help the progressive Hindus and "also the Vaishnava, the Shaiva and other Hindu religious sects whose religious books approve of intercaste marriage and among whom it is still in practice."

The second class of objections is based on the ground that social reform by legislation limits individual liberty. "But though such objections may very well stand in the case of coercive legislation, they have no force against permissive [and validating] legislation" like the Patel Bill.

(3) Some are protesting against intercaste marriage in the name of Eugenics. This protest would not have been improper if it had come in the Vedic age. On account of the indiscretion of our ancestors of the Vedic age the stamp of the black races has been so indelibly impressed on our physical structure that it cannot be washed away even by interdicting not only intercaste marriage, but also marriage outside one's *sapindas* and *sagotras*. There is some hope of removing this stamp rather by taking the opposite course. According to the principles of Eugenics itself, not only intercaste marriage, but interracial marriage has become a necessity for the improvement of our race.

In conclusion the author thinks that

Any reform in our domestic or social life must be attempted through religion. Hence for any social reform the revival of that universal, catholic, eternal *Sanatana Dharma* is indispensable. And in the ideal of that comprehensive religion sectarian Hinduism, based on ignorance, superstition and social inequalities, must be dissolved.

The Released Detenus

Even for those whose guilt is established

after a trial in open court and who are released from jail after serving their term, there is a prisoners' aid society. Therefore, if nothing had been done for the released internees and state prisoners who were deprived of liberty without being ever brought to trial, whose moral or even technical offence was never proved and of some of whom at least and probably of most it can be said with exact truth that they loved their country too well to be prudent,—if nothing had been done to start them in life again after their release, it would have been a crying shame. Not that we think enough has yet been done, but what has been and is being done encourages the hope that more may be done by continued organised efforts if the matter is pressed on the attention of the public and not allowed to be buried in oblivion.

Mr B C Chatterjee has written a long letter to the press, giving an account of the work done by the sub-committee of the Indian Association in this connection, of which the first paragraph runs as follows —

The Hostel at Ice Factory Lane has had to be moved to 47, Beniapukur Road, owing to the continuously increasing influx of men wishing to take advantage of the free board and lodging provided therein under the supervision of the Y M C A. The number of inmates at No 47, at present, is over 60. It had risen to as much as 75, but has gone down for the present, as the men getting employment have to leave the place to make room for the next batches seeking admittance. The Y M C A have up to the present paid all the expenses of the establishment with their usual generosity, but as the monthly budget is now approaching the figure 2,000 it has been felt by both the Y M C A and the I A authorities that a joint appeal should issue to the public for contribution to the expenses of this institution, which should be kept up for another period of 6 months at least to complete its usefulness to the great number who are still awaiting assistance. And an appeal has accordingly been issued over the signatures of Mr S N Banerjee, President of the I A Sub Committee, Mr K F Paul, General Secretary to Y M C A, and Mr W R Gourlay, Treasurer of Y M C A.

While cordial thanks are due to the Y M C A, it is discreditable to the general public that the duty of temporarily sheltering and supporting the ex-detenus should have been left to that body.

The Indian Association Sub-committee

have already helped some 90 persons by either finding for them remunerative work or opportunities of training for such work. The Sub-committee have also promised to advance to about 10 competent young men sums of Rs 400 to 500 each to start them on small business enterprises or to enable them to get on with those they have already started, as the case may be.

Demonstrations are also being held by Mr I B Sen and other gentlemen of his party for the collection of funds for released internees and detenus. At one such meeting held in Beadon Square,

Mr I B Sen in a Bengali speech explained the object of these demonstrations, which was to teach the people their elementary right to freedom and to test whether the masses and the average citizen really felt for these young men, who had been told during their internment and in their solitary cells that though they were ready to sacrifice all for their country their country was quite indifferent to them.

In the course of his speech Mr Sen explained that he and his friends would not accept one thousand rupees if the money was offered as charity, but they would accept one pice even from the poorest of the poor who looked upon these young men as their brothers. Mr Sen said that the other day a cobbler, whom he had spoken to in the course of his collecting tour and of whom Mr Sen asked for one pice if the cobbler really felt for these young men, said to Mr Sen "You will have from me eight pice and not one pice only for these young men." It should be borne in mind that the object of these demonstrations and processions was not mere collection of funds.

Mr Sen also said,

he had appealed to Government for assistance to these released internees and detenus but Government had sent no reply. He did not know whether Government would or would not assist these young men in setting up their life anew. But he knew the poor men and women of his country felt for these young men as their brothers and would pay out of their extremely limited resources whether Government or the rich men came forward or not.

The speaker paid a tribute to some of the ex-detenus. He said,

He had come to know intimately some of these young men. They were superior to him spiritually. They were more unselfish. Their patriotism and their self-sacrifice was the object of his admiration. He appealed to his countrymen to realize their rights and to sympathize with these noble young men who had been persecuted.

The party then went singing national songs along Chitpore Road and collecting contributions only from men and women.

eager to help the ex-internees and ex-detenus

"The Call of the Cuckoo"

It is part of the lover's creed in Indian poetry that the call of the cuckoo awakens thoughts of the absent beloved in the minds of lovers when they are away from each other, and increases the pangs of separation. The picture represents a damsel, while passing through a grove, suddenly stopping short, on hearing the call of the cuckoo, to catch the notes again and yet again.

India a Civiliser of Asia in the Past

In his able criticism of Dr Vincent Smith's *Oxford History of India*, in the last, December issue of the *Political Science Quarterly* of America, Professor Benoy Kumar Sarkar seeks to do justice to "the numerous merits" of that "deeply learned work," and says that "the value of the book is great." He shows up its defects, too. One defect pointed out is to be found described in the paragraph quoted below.

One would expect to learn from a general history dealing with all ages what influence the people of India have exerted on the civilization of mankind. But the author does not even hint at the possible or actual contact of India with Babylonian and Pharaonic cultures. Chinese intercourse with the Hindus is, indeed, alluded to, but we do not learn that India gave China and Japan not only religion and mythology but dramaturgy, folklore, painting, logic, algebra and alchemy as well. Students of Chinese culture are well aware that the neo Confucianism of the Sung period (960—1278), which furnishes even today the spiritual food of China's masses, was a direct product of the *Vikramadityan* renaissance which Fa Hien, Hsuen Tsang, I-tsing and other Mahayana monks of medieval China had imported from India into their native land. The influence of Hindu mathematics, medicine and chemistry on the Saracen capitals at Bagdad, Cairo and Cordova, and through them on the universities of medieval Europe, is a legitimate theme for the historian of India, but no aspect of the expansion of India finds a place in Mr Smith's narrative. He does, indeed, say that the influence of New India on "Europe and the United States of America is no longer negligible" (page 737), but the impact of Indian thought on the modern world, which is made manifest in such publications as Victor Cousin's *Histoire de la Philosophie* and exhibited in the influence of Kalidasa on Goethe and the early romanticists and of the *Geeta* on the transcendental movement in Euro-American poetry and fine arts deserves the special attention of the historian. Unfortunately, even the effects of the "discovery" of Sanskrit literature on the "comparative sciences" remain unnoticed in this comprehensive

treatise. Nobody will charge the author with extreme phil-Hellenism, but he is still too greatly obsessed by the idea of "Greek influence on India" to estimate properly the reverse current, except possibly in the case of Gnosticism and neo Platonism (pages 67, 134, 138, 143, 160, 162-163. *Early History*, pp. 237, 241, 306, 337). The authorities cited in the *Oxford History*, *Al-Bai* and the *Early History* are so many and up-to-date that one notes with regret that the significance of Seal's *Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus* (1915) and Mookerji's *History of Indian Shipping* (1910) in re-estimating the influence of Indian culture has been overlooked by Mr Smith.

That in ancient times India was one of the civilisers of Asia is now recognised by many non-Indian scholars, who, needless to say, are not Indian "nationalists." For example, speaking recently under the auspices of the Indian Society of Oriental Art on "The Heritage of India," His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay presiding, the Rev Dr J N Farquhar stated —

India evolved a great civilisation of her own and her culture was carried all over Asia. For many centuries India is a matter of fact was the University of Asia just as Greece was. It was the first important fact which he wished to impress upon his audience.

Some other Defects of the Oxford History of India

Some of the other defects of Dr Vincent Smith's *Oxford History of India* pointed out by Prof Benoy Kumar Sarkar may be noted.

ALL PREVIOUS PERIODS OF INDIAN HISTORY A "PRELUDE" TO THE BRITISH PERIOD!

One defect is that Dr Smith treats the whole of the past history of India previous to British rule as if it was a sort of prelude to the latter!

The sense of historical perspective is as a rule lacking in Mr Smith's writings. In the present volume he has been led, in spite of himself (page xviii), to interpret his entire story with an eye to the "event of 1757", as if the three or four thousand years of Hindu political life and Indo-Saracenic evolution were merely preliminary to Plassey! In this book (pages 67, 74, 332), as in the *Early History of India* (pages 112, 113, 119, 199), the author cannot think of Alexander's failure in India and the expulsion by the Hindus of Seleukos (B.C. 303) and Menander (B.C. 153) without a sigh, which, though subdued, is yet audible. Not until he reaches the capture of Goa by Albuquerque in 1510 does he seem to experience genuine relief. Let the occidental with a sense of humor imagine the naive sentiments of an oriental historian, who, disappointed by the failure of the Persians at Marathon and Salamis and apprehensive for the prospects of a greater Asia, should hold his breath until Islam begins to flourish on

European soil, until south-eastern Europe is Mongolised to the Carpathian Mountains and the Turks are at the gates of Vienna. Mr. Smith's point of view is, however, one that naturally pervades the psychology of every European and American student of oriental culture and politics, sicklied o'er, as it is, with the dogma of the "superior race"

A HANDBOOK OF LOYALTY IN BRITISH INTERESTS

Another defect is that in order to prove the righteousness of British imperialism in India, the author has painted the former rulers of India blacker than they were.

But there is another prejudice in the *Oxford History*, that is born of the political propaganda on behalf of the vested interests and the powers that be, to which Mr. Smith's scholarship happens to be harnessed. The volume is to be memorized as a text-book by the undergraduates of British-Indian colleges, and the facts, therefore, have to be so manipulated that even he who runs may be convinced of the logic of the "white man's burden", and more specifically, of the righteousness of British imperialism in India. The author's treatment of the Mogul monarchy (pages 116-418) is an eminent execution in Rembrandtesque style, calculated to serve as a dismal background for the British regime. The sweeping estimate of Shivaji the Great and the Marathas as shameless robbers, ruffians, tyrants, etc. (pages 436, 637), is a disgrace to British militarism, which should be able, now that a century has rolled away, to be generous to the most formidable enemy it ever encountered in the East. Altogether, in this volume, intended to be a handbook of loyalty, the reader will find the philosophy of Indian history summed up thus: The Hindus are caste-ridden and therefore inefficient as a fighting force, and the Mohammedans are at their best mere fanatics and normally the most unspeakable pests of humanity. This is the two-fold message of the book to western scholars.

Mr. Sarkar then proceeds to criticise the least satisfying section of the book.

The least satisfying section of the book is that dealing with the Sultans of Delhi (1200-1526). The author has exhausted the dictionary of abuse in vilifying the early Mohammedan rulers, who, as he has rightly pointed out, should not be called Pathan or Afghan, since they were all, with the exception of one House, Turks of various denominations. Students of medieval civilization know that the crusading zeal of Islam was felt to their sorrow by the Christian powers of Europe not less than by the people of India, and that for centuries the Mediterranean Sea was no less a Saracen lake than was the so-called Arabian Sea. The fact that they were conquered by Moslems is not more disgraceful to Hindus as a race than to Europeans. If Mr. Smith expects to foster Hindu hostility to the Moslem by raking up stories of religious persecution and wanton slaughter, he will be disappointed, for the oriental student can easily cite plenty of instances of inquisition, torture and pogroms in the annals of Christendom. The one effect that books iv and v of the *Oxford History* are sure to have on the mind of Young India is to increase the general unrest which the

British are trying to allay by a thousand and one means. If there is one Mohammedan youth still left in India who is not anti-British at heart, Mr. Smith's volume is well suited to range him on the side of militant Indian nationalism. Nobody in the Mohammedan world, from Cairo to Morocco, is prepared to swallow the characterization of the pioneers of Indian Islam page after page, as worse than "ferocious beasts". In the name of "truth" our historian has dipped his pen in vitriol.

The author's attitude towards British adventurers and empire builders is entirely different.

Mr. Smith has not forgotten to discuss the comparative merits of Hastings, Wellesley, Dalhousie and Curzon, nor to justify the conduct of every British exponent of *Machtpolitik*. Such phrases as "grave necessities of the situation," "urgent necessities of the time", a time when "everything was at stake, considerations of 'high politics'", "the agonies of millions of helpless peasants" (pages 538, 539, 581, 508) are invoked to whitewash or even defend all the "forward" policies of annexations. Wellesley's "Foreign Office point of view", which expressed itself in the dictum that the "extension of direct British rule was an unquestionable benefit to any region annexed", is a first postulate with the author (pages 568, 604). No language, therefore, is stern enough, in his estimation, to condemn the occasional "pusillanimous policy of non-interference" (pages 581, 608).

Mr. Smith finds fault with Elphinstone for relying too much on the exaggerated reports of the Moslem chroniclers in regard to the events of medieval India (page 223). But he is guilty of a similar error not only in his acceptance of Persian and European material, whenever it suits his purpose to prove his thesis of the innate baseness of the Mohammedans (page 237), but also in his endorsement of every Tom, Dick and Harry who had anything to do with the East India Company's affairs as "a gentleman well qualified for governing", "noble", "polished", etc. (pages 339, 340, 383).

While the efforts of the native rulers, the "country powers", to establish suzerainty and *pax sarva-bhaumica* are reckoned as nothing better than levying blackmail (page 469), every instance of British intrigue with "forgotten potentates" is a "deed of heroism" (page 471). Haidar Ali in the south and Ranjit Singh in the north are "fierce adventurers", Bajirao II in the Deccan "a perjured vicious coward" (pages 544, 631). The author does not categorically uphold Clive's forgery and exactions (pages 492, 494), but, on the other hand, he seeks to explain away too easily the British failings of those "rough days" as inevitable because of the *milieu* of universal corruption among the Indians. The young men of India are invited to be loyal to the author's race by reading in his book that every Hindu and Mohammedan from 1757 to 1857 was an abominable wretch, a "scoundrel" and a "rascal" (pages 487-489, 497, 498, 506, 538-540, 541, 597, 637). In these intemperate expressions the writer has, however, only pandered to the false doctrine that in politics he who fails is an unscrupulous knave and he who succeeds a daring genius. He has therefore failed to see in the so-called Sepoy War of 1857, though abortive, and in the unrest since 1905, howsoever futile in the opinion of

the military world, an expression of that most elemental feeling, the love of national independence, which surges even in oriental breasts. Not the least noticeable feature of the book is the fact that the author has not considered it worth while to mention a single great man of India since 1818. Does he wish the world to understand that *pax Britannica* breeds only Royal Bengal Tigers or rather mere tame cats? There could be no worse impeachment of British rule.

Unbiased scholars in France, Germany, Japan, America and even in Great Britain cannot but feel that Mr. Smith has tried too palpably to create the impression that the British Empire in India is the only empire in the world's history which is not stained with the blood of innocents. The scientific poise of the *Oxford History* would have been obvious to critics if the author had only attempted to indicate that the process of imperial annexation could not have been "roses, roses all the way", and that the English people are "not too bright or good for human nature's daily food".

Proposals for Reconstituting the Bengal Council

The proposals of the Bengal Government, as approved by the India Government, for the constitution of the Bengal Council under the Reforms scheme and the qualifications of the electors, have been published. We have just time and space in this issue to note the excessive representation which has been given to European commerce and again to the European community in general and to Anglo-Indians. No doubt the European merchants and professional men are wealthy and powerful, but they form a very minute proportion of the inhabitants of Bengal. To give them 18 elective seats out of a total of 116 elective seats, that is about one-sixth, is simply preposterous. Anglo-Indians (new style) again, are neither a wealthy, nor cultured, nor numerous and otherwise important community, yet they

get as many as *three* elective seats! That is to say, they get as much representation as Indian commerce, more representation than the two universities combined, more representation than labour, and thrice the representation accorded to the depressed classes and to Indian Christians! The depressed classes are very numerous, and yet they are to be represented by only one *nominated* member, exactly like the Indian Christians, who are far smaller in number.

The total number of elected and nominated members has been increased from 125 to 140, besides two seats for experts. Out of this total increase of 15 seats, Europeans and Anglo-Indians get six, that is, *40 per cent*, European general seats being increased from 2 to 6 and Anglo-Indian seats from 1 to 3, though the Joint Committee did not make any reference with regard to Anglo-Indian representation. This is simply scandalous. The Joint Committee considered the representation of the depressed classes inadequate and wrote that "the Government of India should be instructed to give such classes a larger share of representation by nomination, regard being had to the numbers of depressed classes in each province and after consultation with the Local Governments." But only one *nominated* seat has been given to them. More seats ought to have been given, in any case, this solitary seat should have been made elective. It is also absurd that Calcutta University is to get equal representation with Dacca University. Calcutta should have at least four times as many seats as Dacca.

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TOWARDS THE FUTURE

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

IT is a great pleasure to me that you should have invited me here, for I find it quite easy to take my place among students, not as a teacher from a distance, but near them, as one of themselves. The difficulty is, however, that from an outside point of view, I am mistaken for an old man, so that when young people invite me they do not call me near, but keep a separate seat for me, on a platform.

To save myself from this fate I selected a place, far away from the crowd, where I invited boys to come and be near me. This I did, not so much for their good, as for my own. Let me explain what benefit I gained.

Pride always occupies a large part of man's mind, so when he grows old, he cannot help thinking that there is something to be specially proud of in the increase of his years—the more so, if he happens to be keeping company with other old men. The important fact altogether escapes him that what he takes for an increase is really a decrease. Of what avail is it to him, whose future is growing shorter and shorter, to boast of his lengthening past?

If man had really cause to be proud of old men, the fates would not have been so busy getting rid of them. It is easy enough to see that the standing order for the old men is to get out of the way,—"Make room, Make room," the usher keeps on crying.

Why? Why should we give up this sixty year old seat of ours?

Because Prince Youth comes. God appoints Youth again and again to the throne of the world.

Is there no meaning in this? Of course

there is. It means that God will not have his creation lagging behind, tied to the past. The manifestation of the Infinite will be obstructed, unless, time after time new forces take up the work afresh and build a new beginning upon the foundation of the finished. The Infinite does not grow old. That is why the aged burst and melt away like bubbles, while the young blossom out in the lap of the world like flower buds in the new morning light.

God keeps on calling the young with his flute-notes, and as they sally forth in crowds, the world throws open its gates to them in welcome. So I seat myself amidst youths and little ones, that I also may hear this call of God. The great good which I have derived from such an experience is, that I do not, as other old men often do, hold youth in contempt, nor do I burden their hopes of the future with my fears from the past. I am able to say to them,—“Fear not. Inquire, experiment, reason. If you needs must break up truth, to find out all about it, then boldly and honestly fight against it, till you are conquered by it in the end. But whatever you do, go forward.”

The strain of God's flute, his call to the unbounded unexplored, to the adventures along the unknown, also finds a response in my heart. Then I understand that the reckless inexperience of youth is a truer guide than the hesitating cautiousness of old age, for to the impetuosity of inexperience truth yields itself, over and over again, in ever new forms, with ever new powers. By its very keenness, inexperience can cut its way through obstructions mountain high and achieve the impossible. The truth of life is not to

be sought in the stagnant shallows of safety, but in the depth of danger, in the turbulent seas of trouble. Truth is for the brave, who are ready to woo her with their life, with an unbounded faith in her which claims unmeasured sacrifice.

I am not here to lecture you from the privileged seat of garrulous age, but only to remind you of one great fact, which in India our training and circumstances help you to forget and make it almost penal to remember,—that you are young. You must not forget the task which is yours. You are sent to make a clean sweep of all worn out refuse heaps of deadness, of all dilapidated anachronisms, from off the face of the earth. You have come to this world to find out truth for yourselves, making it your own, and to build this age, into which you are born, with your own life. Those who have become attached and keep clinging to the past are indeed over-age. They are already under orders of dismissal and must soon quit. But you are young. Boldly accept the responsibility of youth and its risks. The duty of serving the world has been newly placed on you. And that duty is to keep the world ever fresh and sweet and guide the movement of life towards the Infinite. Do not allow the current of time which carries the message of eternity, to be blocked with obstructing matter, keep the road clear.

With what provision have you been sent on your way? With boundless aspirations.

You are students, think well what it is you would learn. What do the little birds learn from their parents? To spread their wings and fly. Man must also learn to spread the wings of his mind, to soar high and take flight into the unlimited. It does not cost much effort to learn that one has to earn a living. But it takes all there is in man to keep alive and awake the dauntless determination which is necessary for him to realise that he must achieve fulfilment of life.

In the present age, Europe has secured the teacher's seat. She has humiliated the East and exploited the ancient lands of

the sunrise for her own benefit. We have known how, among alien races, she can exercise ruthless rapacity in her commerce and dishonest diplomacy in her politics, but in spite of this we have been constrained to admit that she has become the teacher of the present day world, and those peoples who will not acknowledge this, through pride or intellectual incapacity, will be left behind in the onward march of humanity. Mere brute force may do many things, but it cannot gain this teacher's seat for man. Merit alone will serve, and merit can only be acquired by him whose aims are never timidly narrow or blindly immediate. Europe is an acknowledged teacher to-day not merely because she has acquired a knowledge of history, geography, or science. No, it is because she is possessed of mighty aims which strongly urge her forward and know no limitations, not even of death.

To glorify the desire for petty interests of life, hedged in by rigid repetitions of daily habits, cannot make man great, to flutter about within rusty bars cannot justify the wings of a bird. But man's yearning for knowledge, his striving to find out truth in himself and in nature, to seek and discover the great gifts God has kept reserved for mankind in the earth and water and sky, and more than all else in his own soul, to wrest fruit from the desert, to conquer disease on behalf of health, to annihilate space in order to gain his freedom of movement, to control his feelings in order to achieve freedom of powers,—all these struggles forward speak of the manhood behind, and prove that the soul which is awake does not believe in defeat, and accounts it an insult to accept sufferings or privation as an unalterable decree of fate. It knows, rather, that its destiny is in its own hands, that it has the birth-right of mastery.

Because Europe thus spread wide the wings of her endeavour, she has achieved to day the right to be the teacher of mankind. If we mistake the lessons she has to teach merely for book-lore, or belittle their importance by putting them down merely as information about things, we shall only be depriving ourselves.

Learning is to be a *man*. To gain the fullness of life is the important thing, all else is subordinate to this, and true manhood consists in the height and breadth of a man's aim in its tireless energy in its indomitable will.

In the populous centres of Europe, the peoples, in their living spirit of adventure, are giving expression to large aims, and carrying them to victorious realisation, and in the process of this struggle, Europe is achieving her education. This living education of ceaseless endeavour and continual questioning and readjustment goes on side by side with her academic education. Moreover, even the learning which is acquired in her colleges is a product of the life of her own peoples,—it is not merely printed matter, it represents national achievement through constant self-sacrifice. That is why the University student in Europe does not merely acquire book learning. He feels, on every side, the masterful presence of the human spirit, from which he receives, as its gift, the fruits of its own creations. By this indeed can man know himself, make this world his own, and learn how to become a man.

But, wherever we see students merely receiving doles of academic learning and gleaning information from the pages of prescribed text-books, wherever there is a complete dependence on what is begged from others, even in regard to the most necessary things of life, wherever man has nothing to offer to his motherland, neither health, nor food, nor knowledge, nor strength, where the fields of work are narrow and endeavours feeble, and man creates no new forms of beauty in the joy of life and soul, where the thoughts and actions of man are alike hampered by the bonds of habit and superstition, where there is not only a lack of independent questioning and reasoning, but these things are forbidden as wrong, where most of the forces are blind forces driving men's minds like dead leaves towards no purpose, there man cannot realise his soul in his society, because of the handcuffs and clogging chains, and because of the heaped up decaying matter of a past age, which can only live in the

present, and be carried into the future, through repeated new incarnations, through changes of forms and additions of life forces. Men doomed to live a passive life in such a society can adapt themselves to the provisions made for them, but they can never meet the living Providence within themselves, or have faith in its existence.

If we try to go to the root of the matter, we shall see that our real poverty is poverty of spirit. The insults which we have heaped on the soul of man, have reacted and lie scattered on every side as privations and indignities. When the water of a river dries up, it is no use lamenting the emptiness of its channel bed. The absence of the moving water is the thing to be deplored. When the soul-life ceases to flow, then comes the emptiness of dry formalism, which is like the forms of the grammar of a language which has vanished.

The truth that sustains creation is a living, moving truth, which constantly reaches higher and higher stages up the ascent of revelation. This is so, because it is the object of truth to realise the limitless. So whenever it is sought to confine truth for all time within artificial limits of any kind, it kills itself, like a flame of light in the grip of a snuffer. Likewise the soul of man, which is on its way to the Infinite, flows on with new creations at every turn. Progressiveness is of the essence of its journey towards light and power. The soul misses the very reason of its being, if shackled, stagnation can only make for its imprisonment, not for its emancipation.

In our country we constantly hear the cry, that what is fixed for ever is truth, and therefore, truth only represents death and not life. We believe in the tombstone as the true symbol of truth. If we were right, if there were a spot in the universe where the manifestation of truth had come to a stop for all time, then they only would have won in this world who would not move, then all progress would be out of harmony with the inner principle of creation and all movements would knock themselves to death against the dead walls of immutability. But the fact is, that the

process of creation is never still for a moment, and if we find that in some part of the earth men's minds remain stationary against the current of time, we must know that this is an affront to the great procession of the all. This immobility must constantly be hurt and if even that does not stir it then it must be worn away into nothingness by the perpetual friction of the moving time.

What does true wisdom tell us? "Ātmānam biddhih" "Know thyself" "Bhumaiva sukham, Bhumātveva vijñāsitavyah" "There is no joy in the small, therefore seek the Great." In order to know and realise the soul and the Great, it will not do to sleep away the working day, keeping our store of hereditary wisdom safe under lock and key. We must move on, we must create afresh. God knows himself by ever new creations, so must man,—not by begging or borrowing from the store of his forefathers, or that of his more fortunate neighbours.

Where, then, is the harbour in the sea of knowledge to which true education should lead us? There, where the words of wisdom "Know thyself" and "Seek the Great" find their meaning. Where man knows his own soul, he finds the Great. Where man gains that power to give up, which enables him to create, he knows that by renunciation he grows. By the same power he transcends death. But what is the harbour to be seen from your academic ferry, which bears crowds across the seas of your University education? It is Government service,—clerkships, police inspectorships, deputy magistrateships. To have embarked on so great a sea, with such pettiness of aspirations, that is a shame, the sense of which our country has lost. We have lost even the faculty to desire great things. In other kinds of poverty there is nothing to be ashamed of, for those are of outside. But alas for the shame of the poverty of aspiration which comes from penury of soul.

So I have come here to exhort you to enlarge the scope of your endeavour to such an extent as to remind you and to prove that you are not merely creatures of

flesh, but that you are of spirit, that you have the power to turn your losses into gains and death into immortality. Some may have more power and capacity, and others less, but let us not insult our soul by ignoring its longing for the freedom of life, of light, of self-revelation. To have immensity of aspirations is to despise comfort and accept tribulation willingly. It is man's privilege to glorify his soul in his sufferings—the sufferings for the cause of truth and freedom. Our Shāstras tell us "Yādṛshī Bhāvanā yasya siddhir bhavati tādīśī,"—"As the thought so the achievement."

What is the achievement? It is not only of outside things, but of the knowledge that we have our right to eternity,—the knowledge expressing itself in work which is for all time.

From our childhood, we deliberately set about curbing our innermost impulses of the soul, which are God's best gift to man,—the gift of his own essential truth. In the storm and stress of worldly life, it is too often seen, all the world over, that high aspirations have their wings stumped and then worldly prudence gains the ascendant. But our special misfortune is, that we are deliberately taught to lighten the burden by not taking sufficient provision for our journey along the higher road,—the provision of idealism, of faith in the soul. I have realised this keenly in the little boys of my school. For the first few years there is no trouble. But as soon as the third class is reached their worldly wisdom—the malady of agedness—begins to assert itself. Then they begin to insist,—“We must no longer learn, we have to pass examinations.” That is as much as to say,—“We must take the road by which it is possible to gain the greatest number of marks with the least amount of knowledge.”

So I say we have got habituated to cheat ourselves, from our childhood. From the very outset we play false to that intellectual rectitude which should have served to take us to the truth. Does not the curse of this fall on our country? Is it not for this reason, that we are beggars waiting for crumbs of knowledge thrown

to us from the feast of the rich? Can head-clerkships make up for this degradation?

Now you will understand why a certain class of our youths are content with saying that what our Rishis of old have said and done leaves no room for further thought over that. We snap the very spring of a clock and then say, with a great gusto of satisfaction, that for us time has come to its perfection and therefore refuses to move. This is cheating ourselves of truth.

Is there any other country in the world where men, who have gone through their full course of education, are capable of saying, that only *that* society is perfect where the dead rules and life is defeated, where thoughts have no place of authority, and originality is an offence to be persecuted with persistency of punishment? It is the ever-active energy of mind, which, accompanied by the aspiring hope of the future, has built all great civilisation, and we are not only ready to sacrifice it, but we blow our trumpets and beat our drums at its ceremony of demolition and congratulate ourselves on being the only people in the world, who have such amazing uniqueness of mentality. But let us not delude ourselves with the hope that by boasting of our misfortunes they will prove any the less unfortunate. It is the same cheating of ourselves—when we think we are clever, because we prefer passing examinations to learning,—as when we keep our aims small, our striving narrow, and only swell our vanity out of all proportion. When we look for results, we are met with university degrees and remunerative posts, but our debt to truth remains unpaid and our heads are bowed in shame before the world.

When we are envious of other peoples who enjoy political freedom we overlook the fact that this freedom springs from a mind that constantly strives for intellectual freedom, whose best energies are not diverted to the endless conformity to customs which have lost their meaning, to the foolishness which tries to drag boats through the dry river-beds, because these were navigated ages ago, when they were

alive with water. We would cut the very roots of our true life and then cast envious glances at the fruits of freedom borne by living branches, we would keep our boat clinging to the moveless bottom of the stream by means of hundreds of small and big anchors and then try to tug it against the current with a tow-rope of charitable concessions into the difficult haven of political freedom.

We must know that freedom and truth are twins, they are closely associated. When there are obstacles for our mind against receiving truth, then those obstacles take shape in our outward world forming barriers against freedom of action. From our infancy we are brought up in unthinking conformity to customs in the smallest details of life. This acts as an accumulating poison deadening our freedom of power to receive truth. Let me give an instance from our own school in Santiniketan. Some time ago I noticed a fresh scar on the foreheads of at least a score of boys who attended my class. Knowing that such a number of coincidences could not be accidental, I made enquiries and found out that one of the students of my school had said to the others, that by scratching a particular spot of the forehead sin could be bled out from us. It took no time for these boys to believe this and act accordingly. We may talk ourselves hoarse in explaining to them scientific laws of sanitation or other matters without producing any result, but because of the training of generations they are ready to accept everything that does not offer any reason for its proof of truth. Ready submission to unreason is the poisonous breeding ground for submissiveness to all authorities however arbitrary they may be.

One of the greatest mischiefs that such a habit of mind produces is the pessimistic belief that all evils are permanent or incorrigible, that they are decreed by fate. The West has never accepted malaria or plague or famine or any tyranny of man or nature as permanent, as inexorable. Its own mind moves and therefore it constantly pushes things away that are obstacles. This movement of mind, this faith in

reason, this perpetual exercise of will power, this ceaseless pushing off of all barriers of life is the only education for gaining freedom,—not writing petitions or organising beggary on a big scale

I have not come here to lecture you from a distance. I want to show you in its true colours our accumulated shame, the shame which we have gilded with our vanity and are trying to pass off as something to be proud of. You are young, you are fresh, it is for you to remove this stain from our country. You must not try to delude others, nor suffer yourselves to be deluded. You must keep your aspirations high, your strivings true. If you keep your vision pure and your steps straight ahead, we may be yet able to fulfil the vow of humanity which has led other great peoples to their greatness. What is the vow? The vow of giving out of our abundance.

When we are unable to give, we may get beggars' doles, but when we are able to give out of our abundance, we are sure to gain our own selves. When we learn how to give, all the world will come out to meet and welcome us. Then we need not be kept pleading with folded hands—"Oh spare us, save us, hurt us not." For then mankind in its own interest will see that we are safe from hurt. Then we shall receive in our own right and not by others' favours.

Now we are saying, in timid deprecation that we do not aspire to the seats of the great, but will be quite content, if we can get a corner for ourselves to cower in. For God's sake do not entertain so mean

a desire nor utter so mean a prayer. "There is no joy in the small, therefore seek thou the Great." If we are oblivious of the Great within and only seek for it without then whatsoever of comfort or pleasure we may succeed in getting by beggary will spell the doom of our country.

Sovereign Truth is out in his chariot of victory. His trumpet call is resounding from sky to sky. Those who are timid of spirit, who are indolent in mind, who are enamoured of their self-deluding false logic, who try to bar the path of truth with dead words of a decaying age, and thus hope to keep him captive at their own gate, will only succeed in forging fetters for their own feet. Sweep away this rubbish heap of ages,—for the King of the travellers is abroad. Every day the question comes from him, "How far have you made progress?" Should we every day repeat the same answer with a foolish swagger year after year and age after age, "Not a single step?" Should we keep our post at the same fixed spot, at the cross-road of the world's pilgrimage,—like a beggar with a castaway coat of the past age worn to tatters,—and raise our impotent aims to the fortunate pilgrims who have their place in the chariot of the King of travellers, and beg from them for our food and help and knowledge and freedom? And when they ask, "Why should you also not come with us for the search of wealth?" should we give them the same answer year after year, age after age, that all movement is forbidden us because we belong to the holy past, and are tied to the dead for all time to come?

INDIAN SETTLERS IN AFRICA

I

IN these articles my desire is to write down as simply and lucidly as I can some of the main thoughts that have been impressed upon my mind, during a long absence from India, while travelling up and down the

continent of Africa and meeting there settlers from Asia and from Europe.

The journey which I undertook was an extensive one. It stretched as far north as the sources of the Nile in Uganda and as far south as Capetown and the Cape Penin-

sula. For nearly two months, at the outset I was in British East Africa and Uganda. Then my journey took me in turn to Zanzibar, the Tanganyika Territory, Portuguese East Africa and Rhodesia. After that, I visited every province of the South African Union, staying for the longest period in Natal.

The only part of Central Africa, where Indians resided, that I was not able to visit, was Nyasaland. But I obtained, in the course of my travels, much important information about the Indians who were settled there.

Throughout the whole length of my journey I remained without any break the guest of Indian settlers and lived in Indian homes receiving their hospitality. The kindness with which I was welcomed by every one, rich and poor alike, was unspeakably touching to me. What moved me, perhaps, more than anything else was the cordial welcome at way-side places, by little groups of Indians who were living hundreds of miles away from their own fellow-countrymen in Africa and thousands of miles away from India itself. Their love for their motherland was so intense and their thirst to hear some news about it so great, that journeys, involving sometimes days of travel, were undertaken by them simply with the hope of hearing a few words from a friend during a halt at a railway station. They would then go back on their long tramp, gladdened with the memory of a brief glimpse of the motherland caught from one who had just come from her shores.

When I reached the very farthest point of my long journey at Jinja, in Uganda, there was an eager group of Indians waiting for me who brought me the news that a small Indian colony of settlers, some fifty miles further on, by road, desired to see me. It was with a very pained heart that I was obliged to refuse this invitation, on account of the necessity of catching a certain steamer on the Lake, which only called once a week.

Very early one morning at Kijabe, in the uplands of British East Africa, a little gathering of Indian ladies, with their children, waited for me at a railway station, where the train halted for a few minutes. They had prepared some Indian food and had made the tiny room in the station bright with flowers. They were all clad in beautiful Indian *saris*, which shone in the morning light making a scene of colour and beauty and

tenderness that touched me to the heart. The love which I saw thus expressed for the motherland will always remain in my mind as one of its most cherished memories.

This intense affection of Indians abroad for their own country, this home-sickness which I met with everywhere, this passionately eager longing to hear news from the motherland, was one of the things that impressed me most of all. As a phenomenon it was in no way strange or new to me, because for many years past I had already met the very same thing in distant parts of the world,—in Fiji and New Zealand, in Java and Malaya and Singapore, and also during my previous visit to Natal, the Transvaal and Cape Colony. I remember how in Fiji one Indian labourer, whose little daughter had been left behind in India, followed me about from place to place asking me when he could get a passage on a ship to take him back home. Every night, so he said to me, he used to dream of his baby daughter, and she was vividly seen by him, in his dream, crying and weeping. He told me that he could not bear it any longer, he *must* get back to India. He followed me to places forty miles distant, in order to ask me the same old unanswerable question about the ships.

It was something of the same intensity of feeling which I met everywhere in Africa. To give an example of what constantly happened,—when I was travelling in Rhodesia, or in other parts of the interior, at station after station, all the night through, lanterns would be brought to my railway carriage window,—even at little halting places which could hardly be called stations,—and Indian men and women with their children would wistfully greet me through the darkness of the night, then, for the very few moments during which the train stayed, there would be an eager torrent of questions, in Hindustani, as to what was taking place at home,—what was the news about the Panjab,—about Amritsar,—about the Congress,—about Mahatma Gandhi and Lokmanya Tilak and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and others. Some of these night-watchers had come twenty or thirty miles by road for such a brief momentary glance into the home life of India as I could give them in so imperfect a manner and in so short a period of waiting.

The conviction that was left upon me by all this was that the Indian people, with hearts so tender with a home-longing and a home-

affection so intimate and so deep, will never emigrate freely. They will always return; they will not settle.

And when I came carefully and systematically to study the facts and figures relating to emigration from India, I found that these very fully corroborated the individual impression that I had received. Indians are, perhaps, more than any other people in the world, a domestic, home-loving nation. Whether it is something in the nature of the Indian climate or something far deeper, approaching to religious worship of India herself,—her sacred rivers and hills and pilgrim places,—whatever be the ultimate impelling motive, the fact remains that every race which has come across the border into India, from prehistoric times, has been drawn with close ties of intimate affection to remain and settle there. So intense has grown this love in their hearts, that, in spite of famine and disaster, they have preferred to live and die in India than to emigrate elsewhere.

To give only one series of facts and figures,—vast areas in Africa have been open for Indian settlement for many generations past and they are still for the most part open today. Yet though the coast-line of India, which faces Africa, is densely populated and subject to a scarcity that often borders upon famine, there has been hardly any Indian migration across the sea. The figures of Indian settlement in Africa are so small, that at first sight they seem to be inaccurate. Yet their general accuracy is vouched for, and they run as follows for Indians resident in the year 1920 —

| | |
|------------------------|--------|
| British East Africa | 12,500 |
| Tanganyika Territory | 3,000 |
| Uganda | 3,500 |
| Zanzibar | 10,000 |
| Portuguese East Africa | 2,000 |
| Nyassaland | 2,000 |
| Rhodesia | 3,200 |
| Transvaal | 12,000 |
| Cape Colony | 6,500 |
| Free State | 106 |

It must be remembered that Indian settlers have been coming to some of these places for more than one hundred years and in certain instances for a much longer period still. Yet, after all this period of settlement, during which no restrictive immigration laws were in force except in the South,—and those of only recent date,—there is at the present

day an Indian population in the whole of Africa, excluding Natal which is well under fifty thousand.

Natal must be treated as an exception. The growth of the Indian population in that province is not due to natural migration. It has been brought about by labour recruiting of the worst possible kind, under the indenture system. Proof has been given, which has never been seriously challenged, that the Indian labourers, who were induced to emigrate by professional recruiters, were in a great measure inveigled into going out. The indenture system lent itself to fraud and corruption in every direction, and for nearly sixty years advantage was taken of it by the sugar planters and the sugar companies in order to keep well supplied their stock of labour. Those Indians, therefore, who went out could not be called willing agents. They were, for the most part, the dupes of professional recruiters. The result of the indenture system has been that there are today one hundred and fifty thousand Indians in Natal,—that is to say, more than three times the number of all the Indians in the rest of Africa put together.

Let me deal, in the concluding portion of this present article, with the problem of Natal only. In all Africa, I saw nothing of so critical nature as the question of the ex-indentured Indians in Natal.

When the £3 poll tax had been abolished in 1914, and every Indian in Natal had been provided at last with opportunity for freedom, I had fondly hoped that an immediate change would ensue, that the Indian labourers would rise in character and status, and would be enabled to improve their own economic position. These were my constant thoughts and hopes on my visit to Natal in 1913-1914.

I can hardly describe how bitter the disappointment has been. The hopes which I had have all been falsified. Not only has there been no real improvement, but on the contrary things have gone still farther backward. Even the wages have not in any degree increased in proportion to the rise in prices. While commodities in Natal are four or five times as dear as before the War, the wages have hardly risen at all. On my previous visit, in 1913-1914, I heard that ex-indentured Indians were being offered from twenty to thirty shillings, with rations, per month. In 1920 a very large proportion of Indians are only receiving thirty-five to forty shillings, with

rations, per month. Some four thousand Indians have put themselves again under indenture, and are still 'indentured Indians', in spite of the strong desire of the Indian community that this should not happen.

What is even more serious is the fact that according to the last figures officially published giving 'wages statistics', the Indian labourer is clearly sinking into a submerged condition. The wages of Indians showed a marked decline, while the African native labourers' wages showed a marked ascent.

The thing that has happened is quite simple. The African native labourer has come into direct competition with the Indian, and the latter,—having been depressed by long periods of semi-ervile labour under indenture and having, in the process, lost all initiative,—is now feeling the pinch of poverty more bitterly than ever before. He is not able to hold his own in the labour market but has become so physically and intellectually depressed that he cannot raise his head above water or get out of the pool of the submerged and sweated labour population.

The problem thus presented is exceptionally grave, for two reasons. First of all, with regard to the Indian labourers themselves and their descendants. They are wretchedly unhappy. Wherever I went they flocked round me, asking and even imploring me to get them sent back to India. It was the most pitiable thing to see their condition and my heart went out to them more than I can explain in words. Secondly, they are degrading, among the other races, the very idea of an 'Indian'. They are making it next to impossible for Indians as a whole to keep their status in Natal. The dead weight of this great mass of submerged Indian population inevitably drags the name of 'Indian' down into the dust.

All this has been caused by our own initial fault, in allowing Indians to be unscrupulously recruited for indentured purposes at all. We have now to make amends for those evils of the past. It has not been enough merely to close down the indenture system. We have still our duty to perform towards those whom we allowed to go out and to become submerged under the indenture system. This *prayaschitta* has yet to be performed.

My own suggested remedy is to give these Indian labourers every opportunity to come back and make a new start in India itself. I do not think that any other consideration should

weigh with us except the good of the Indian labourers themselves. We must judge the problem by itself as a problem of humanity. They came to me with their families and their little children asking me to help them to return and I made them a promise that I would do so. A free passage is already offered by the South African Union Government, and I was told by the officials that it has been impossible to find sufficient ships for those who are ready and eager to go. These ships must be found. There must be no more delay.

It is, I believe, practically certain that the South African Union Government would offer a bonus to each adult, in addition to the free passage, because there is a general desire to decrease, if possible, the number of Indians in South Africa. I should myself, for humanitarian reasons, be quite willing to welcome any such offer and to urge upon the Indian Government that it should deal as liberally as possible with these Indian labourers on their return to India. They should institute an office at Bombay to look after their interests and enable them to settle down in India with some hope of leading a happier life than their sweated life in Natal. After all, labour is very greatly needed in India at the present time and it should not be at all difficult to provide suitable work.

I leave the political problem to others. It is not my own sphere and I have no intention of dealing with it in this instance. I would only state as a fact that Indian opinion in Natal was in favour of the course, which, for humanitarian reasons, appeared to me advisable, i.e., the offer of a free passage and a bonus to any Indian labourer who desired to return to his own motherland.

This problem of Natal raised a further question, which I cannot leave undiscussed. If my experience of the condition of ex-indentured Indians in Natal has been so disappointing,—after ten years without any fresh indentured recruiting from India and after six years of free labour in Natal itself,—then, are we not justified in saying to colonies such as Fiji, "We cannot trust you with any more of our Indian labourers after what has happened in the past. We ask you to show first, in unmistakable ways, that the whole condition of the ex-indentured Indians already in your territory is sound and secure. We put this acid test. How are you treating those labourers whom you already have? By that test we shall judge you!"

Surely, in Fiji, with its bread-riots and military shootings, and sedition trials, and deportations, the answer is already given. We are not going to send out any more of our

own Indian labourers to receive such treatment as that!

(To be continued)

Bolpur

C. F. ANDREWS

A NEPALESE BUDDHIST PAINTING

A NEPALESE Buddhist painting recently presented to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, by Mr. Edward W. Forbes, illustrates the *Pindapātīka* and *Kapisa Avadānas*—two connected tales of edification, illustrating the merit of almsgiving. The central figure represents Gautama Buddha, seated in *bhumi-spaisa mudrā* (the right hand 'calling the earth to witness'), to right and left of him stand two 'aihats', probably Ananda and Mahākāśyapa. Above, along the upper margin, are represented the five Dhyāni Buddhas, viz. Ratnasambhava (gold, on a green horse, hand in varada mudrā, the seal of charity), Aksobhya (blue, on a white elephant, hand in *bhumi-spaisa mudrā*, the seal of 'calling the earth to witness'), Vairocana (white, on a white lion, hands in *dharmacakra mudrā*, the seal of turning the wheel of the law), Amitābha (red, on a blue peacock, hands in *dhyāna mudrā*, the seal of trance), and Amoghasiddha (green, on a white *kinnaṛa*, a hand in *abhaya mudrā*, the seal of 'Do not fear'). In the centre of the lower marginal series is a seated figure of Prajñāpāramitā, the goddess of Transcendent Wisdom, (red, four-armed, holding a book and rosary), with representations of the donors and accessories of ritual worship to right and left.

The stories related in the narrative representations immediately to the left and right of the central seated figure may be summarised as follows:

The *Kapisa Avadāna* relates that the Lord Buddha while in the company of a large audience of his followers, was requested by Sāriputra to expound the virtues of charity, whereupon he related the following story:

"Once on a time Tataṇḍita was born a monkey, Jñānakara by name. In consequence of his sinful character the whole forest was beset with darkness at the time of his birth, and famine raged on all sides. Some time after, Dipankara's presence in the forest restored it to light, and there

was plenty of everything. Jñānakara, wondering at this sudden change, gave a jack-fruit to the worker of the miracle. Dipankara gave him instruction in the philosophy of Buddhism, and promised him transformation into a man. He learned the character of man from a friend, and, dying, was born a merchant's son at Kāmāthi. He was named Dharmasri. When Dharmasri was very young, Dipankara, who was passing by, asked him to give the applicant anything that he could afford with good will. Dharmasri gave a handful of dust, which was instantly changed into gold. He gave another handful of dust, which was changed into dainties for the Saṃgha. Dipankara granted him a boon, saying, "For this good conduct, you are to become Saibhānanda, the king of Dipāvati." Saibhānanda always used to please Dipankara with food, and raiment. The story-telling was concluded with a discourse on morals, diversified with a description of the Satya Yuga and the duties appropriate to that 'Age of Truth'.

The *Pindapātīka Avadāna*, is a tale in praise of giving alms-bowls (*pinda-pālaka*) to Buddhist monks, and continues the thread of the *Kapisa Avadāna* as follows: Sarvānanda, king of the great city of Dipāvati, once visited the great Vihāra of Prasannasīla, and thence brought the Buddha Dipankara to his metropolis, and presented him (with) an almsbowl full of rice, and thereupon the Buddha expatiated on the merits of giving alms"—Mitra, *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, 1882, p. 195.

Turning to the actual scenes, which in most cases are identified by captions in Ranja script, we recognize (1) upper left (proper left of the seated Buddha), Gautama Buddha relating the Avadāna, (2) Dipankara Buddha emerging from a monastery (caption, Prasannasīra Vihāra) and (3) entering a dark forest (caption 'Kīsaka Vana' or Monkey Forest) which (4) is immediately made light, and where he meets the monkey Jñānakara, who presents him with a jack-fruit.

'Kāmārthī nagarā') and next to this (10) making his offering to Dipankara Buddha (caption 'Vārikam tānu—viya'), above this, (11) attending to the discourse of Dipankara (caption 'Varakayār āsivijā') above this, (13) his parents in conversation (caption 'Dipavati nagarā') and again above this, (14) his parents in conversation, without captions. The subsidiary scenes around the outer edge of the whole picture are connected with almsgiving, but the sequence is not apparent in detail.

The inscription below, in Rājā characters (a Nepalese form of Nāgarī) is written in a highly Sanskritic vernacular (Nepalese, or Niwārī) and mentions the reigning King Maharājādhirāja Jaya Mahendia Simha, Vijaya Rājā. This King, who is also known as Mahipatindra and as Jaya Vira Mahindra, reigned from 1694-1722 A.D. his name is recorded in the Buddhist *Vamsāvali* (Sylvain Levi, *Le Nepal*, II, 261. This is an addition to the few known inscriptions of his reign. The donors, residents of Kāthmandu, the capital of Nepal, are then mentioned: they include one Tānvakala and his wife Jasadhara Laksmī, a son and two daughters. Dipankara Bodhisattva and the Pindapātra Avadāna are then mentioned, and the date given as Samvat 837 (equivalent to A.D. 1716), the month of Srāvana, the thirteenth day of the dark fortnight. The inscription concludes with the invocation of a blessing on all the donors.

Edifying stories of almsgiving by monkeys to a Buddha are of considerable antiquity in

Buddhist art. The gift as a rule consists of an alms-bowl containing honey or palm juice. A scene of this kind appears on a Gāndhāra relief from the Siki stūpa (Lahore Museum. Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, I, p. 254) as one of the eight leading events of Gautama Buddha's life on a stele from Sārnāth (Sārnāth Museum. Foucher, *The beginnings of Buddhist art*, Pl. 19—here also the monkey falls down a well), and in a Nepalese MS. of the Prajñāpāramitā, Cam-1643, (Foucher, *L'iconographie bouddhique*, I, Pl. 8 VII 2 and 3, 4). For further discussion of such scenes and other references see Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara* I, pp. 512-515.

The present painting is an important document of Nepalese art, of unusual excellence for so late a period as the eighteenth century, and representing the continuation of a long and uninterrupted tradition. It is remarkable alike in organisation and strong harmonious colour, as well as for its admirable craftsmanship. Amongst the conventions of particular interest may be remarked the ancient method of continuous narration, where the same figure is repeated in the same composition in successive moments of the story: the distinction of darkness from light, comparable with the differentiation of day and night scenes in the early Rājasthāni Rāgmālā paintings and the indication of a city by means of a house and persons within it.

ANANDA COOMARASWAMY

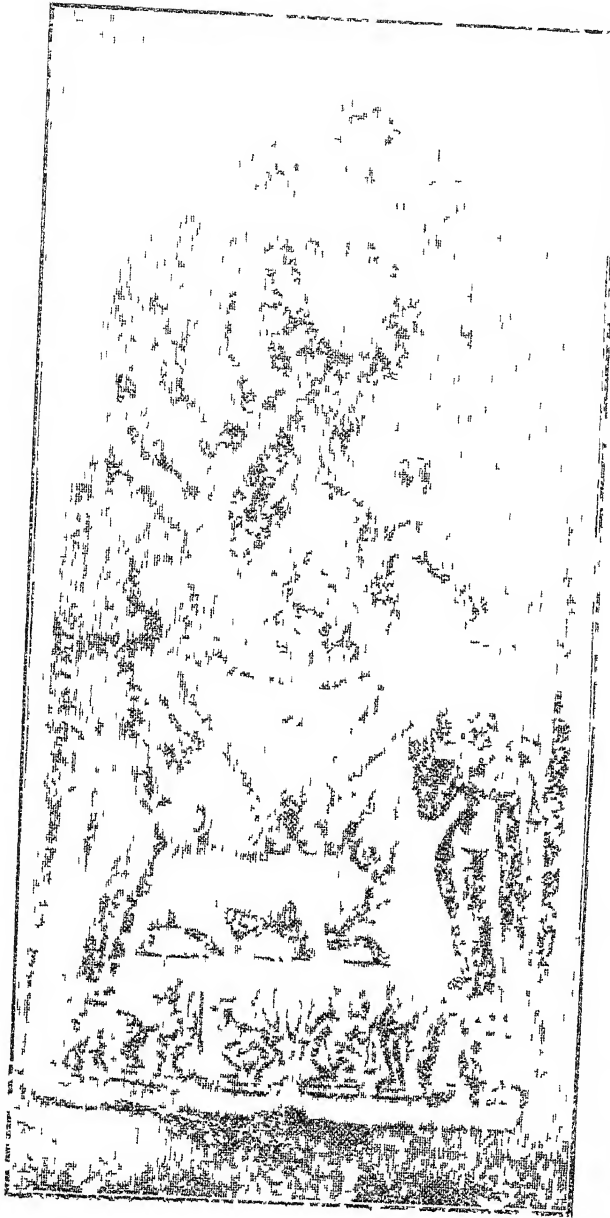
IMAGES OF THE DANCING SIVA

BY N. K. BHATTASALI, M.A., CURATOR, DACCA MUSEUM

IMAGES of the Natarāja Siva or Siva as the supreme dancer are extremely interesting productions of the Indian art. In these images, Siva is represented dancing the Tānava dance. The way in which the grace and the rhythm of the dance are expressed in some of the images is quite striking, and has won deserved admiration from the lovers of art. Southern India is particularly rich in the images of Dancing Siva. In north India, these images are scarcely to be met with.

Many images of the dancing Siva have, however, been discovered in the South-eastern districts of Bengal. How Bengal, especially the present Dacca and Tippera districts, came to share this peculiarity with Southern India is an interesting problem of history.

Natarāja, Natesha, Nartteswara,—all mean the same thing and refer to the same image. The name Nartteswara was found inscribed on the pedestal of an image of the dancing Siva, found in the



Nataraja Siva—with ten hands

Tippera district The dancing Siva has also left his stamp on the country. A village in the suburbs of ancient Rāmpāl, the capital of the Senas, is still called by the name of Nateswar and contains the ruins of a big temple. A village in the Brahmanbaria subdivision of the Tippera district is still called Natghāi, where an image of the dancing Siva, found about 80 years ago, is still worshipped. It appears from these that Natarāja was a fairly popular deity in ancient Samatata



Natarāja Siva—with sixteen hands

and Vanga, now roughly represented by Sylhet-Tippcia-Noakhali and the present Dacca Division, respectively.

In Matsya Purāna, (Chapter 259, Vangabasi Edition) we find a detailed description of how images of Natarāja Siva should be made. The text and the translation of the Vangabasi edition, however, are extremely confused and one regrets to find, how carelessly these Vangabasi editions of the Hindu religious books have been edited and translated.

The following details, however, may be gathered with some amount of precision. The god may have four, eight, ten or sixteen arms. The right hands should carry Sword, Lance, Staff, Trident and the Boon-bestowing pose, and the left hands,—Shield, Skull-cup, Snake, Death's Head (Khatwanga) and Rosary, when the god is to have ten arms. When the god is to have sixteen arms, the additional hands will have the following weapons in addition to the weapons of the ten-armed image—Chank, Discus, Club, Bell, Vishnu's Bow and Vishnu's Arrow. All the gods and other creatures should be represented as praying fervently around Natarāja and prostrating themselves before the august manifestation. The skeleton Rishi Bhringi with other ghosts should be dancing in unison.

Images of Natarāja Siva, hitherto found in the Dacca and Tippera districts may be divided into two classes. One class has ten arms with weapons corresponding to those that are given to the ten-armed god in the Matsya Purāna. The two normal arms express the rhythm of the dance, but we cannot be sure whether they held the Boon and the Rosary, as the hands are damaged on both of the only two samples hitherto discovered. Images of the other class have twelve arms,

prominent among which are the three pairs. These (i) play on a Vina held across the breast, (the are the two normal hands), (ii) hold the serpent Shesa (the eternal snake) by its two ends like a canopy over the head, and (iii) are folded in the Anjali pose over the matted crest of the god. The rest of the hands hold different Saiva weapons. Both the classes have the Bull beneath the feet of the god, dancing in unison in ecstatic joy.

This last feature distinguishes the North Indian images of Natarāja from those of Southern India, where the place of the Bull is taken by the Apasmāna Purusha, a demon. The majority of the South Indian images, it may also be noted, have only four arms. The Bull, however, may be seen lurking behind the god in a sixteen armed image of Natarāja at the entrance of Cave No. 1 at Badami (6th century A.D.) in the Bombay Presidency and the serpent lifted over the head is also to be seen in this image (See *Modern Review* for January, 1913, p. 16). But nowhere does the sculptor portray with such admirable skill the ecstasy of the Bull beneath the feet of the god as in the images of the Dacca and Tippera districts. Two images representing the two classes enumerated above are reproduced in this article from photographs.

THE TOUCHSTONE

BY SEETA DEVI, B.A.

PHULABALA was in a great hurry. She left her mid-day meal unfinished and began to mount the stairs with light and quick steps. But some sudden thought brought her to a standstill, while she was but halfway up. "There now, I have left that kitchen door open. Whenever I try to do things in a hurry, I am sure to make a muddle," she muttered.

Greatly vexed with herself, she came down again and shut the door with unnecessary violence. It seemed to relieve

her and she went up to her room quite cheerfully. The room was very tidy and clean, as rooms belonging to childless young women generally are. Sea-shells, toys of marble and other bric-a-bracs were prettily arranged within a glass case. Two or three coloured sarees and a pink satin bodice were in evidence. The bed was smooth and white, though the pillows bore some faint oil stains. There was a dressing-table in a corner, and all sorts of toilette requirements upon it.

Phulabālā took up two pāns^{*} from a silver box standing near by, then laid herself down on the bed, chewing them. But a midday siesta was not probably her object, as she showed by getting up again after five minutes. She stood before the hanging mirror for a while, admiring her reddened lips, then came out of her room.

The door of the next room was open. She came and stood before it with one hand upon her cheek and cried out in a tone of shocked amazement, "Is this the way you are getting ready? Was it for this that I hurried myself till I was fit to drop down?"

Four of the inmates of the room were playing cards, one was having a good nap with an open novel lying on her breast, one elderly lady was busy sewing and in a corner a girl was seated with her back against the wall.

The angry tone of Phulabālā suspended all business for a moment. The card-players threw down the cards and scrambled up. A fair girl of about fourteen summers made an impatient gesture and remarked, "I never saw any one so fond of huiying as aunt. It is only one now, and Sejdā† won't come before half past two. Surely you will be able to finish your dressing before that? A toilette requiring more time would be an amazing one."

Phulabālā was nettled and said cuttingly, "Yes my dear, that it would. But it was not I, who made the carriage wait nearly three quarters of an hour the last time we went out. You were tying your ribbons in a new-fangled knot, I think. But the blame can easily be laid upon my devoted shoulders, I seem to be born for that."

The girl was about to answer when another young woman intervened, "Now Chāru, please stop, what's the use of quarrelling about nothing? Your temper does not seem to improve with your school education. But come now and dress up my hair in that pretty style you showed

me that day," with that she hurried off chāru.

The loud tones of the company were enough to rouse up the sleeper, who at this juncture cried out shrilly and angrily, "Can't you have your gossip anywhere else, except in this room, you hussies? Now you have finished my sleep for me. Get out of here. And you Thākurhji, may I ask what you have been doing that you could not tell those fools not to awaken me with their screams?"

The sister-in-law raised her face from her sewings and said in a profoundly grave tone, "Why should I do that *Bou*? One is the keeper of one's own dignity. Do you think they would have listened for a second to poor me, who is but a dependant? So, why should I lower myself by speaking to them? You of course can do so, as you are the mistress."

The mistress seemed a bit pleased at this and turned over on her mat to resume her broken slumber. The other lady collected her things and left the room. Only the girl in the corner, remained there with her back against the wall.

Voices were heard again near the door, not in loud conversation this time, but very low. Phulabālā was saying, "This is nothing but wilful unkindness. She never goes to see her aunt in the day-time, but to-day her love for that old woman seems to know no bounds. Now, who is to open the door for the maid-servant and who is to give out the things to the cook? There never was one born as unlucky as myself. It is not as if I went out every day, but once in a year even seems to be too good for me."

Chāru was now all sympathy. "It is really too bad of her, she did it intentionally to prevent our going to the theatre. She was grumbling the whole morning, after she had heard that we were to go. Shall I go and rouse up the mistress?"

The others nearly collapsed at this atrocious proposal. "Don't you dare to do it," cried Phulabālā in dismay, "that

* Betel-leaves with spices wrapped up in them.

† Third elder brother.

* Husband's sister.

† Brother's wife.

would be paying too dear for one evening at the theatre. I shall never hear the last of it then, even if I live to be a hundred, to say nothing of the abuse which would be served out to my ancestors."

The youthful faces began to look gloomy. One must stay for household purposes, as the widowed aunt of the family had made herself scarce. But who was she to be? All of them were dressed in their fineries for going out and looking to enjoying the play and meeting their friends. And now to talk of staying at home, it was heart-rending.

Suddenly a plan originated in Chāru's fertile brain. "Let us do one thing," she suggested, "let us bring down Niree and place her in the kitchen. We can leave the front door open then without fear. You can leave the keys of the store room in her charge too. The cook knows very well what things are needed, she will take them out herself."

The faces of the company present cleared up all at once. There was none equal to Chāru for suggesting ways out of difficulties. Chāru, too, seemed quite conscious of the fact and with a pleased air got into the room. Niree was sitting there in the corner, just as they had left her. Chāru whispered something in her ear and pulled her out of the room.

It was difficult to make out Niree's age, her face gave her out to be a young woman, but her stunted figure told another tale. She was a niece of the master of the house. When a child she had once fallen down from a great height, which resulted in her becoming paralysed on the left side of the body. She could walk with difficulty on a level surface, but for getting up or down stairs she had to be carried. Her power of speech too was impaired to a great extent, her articulation being feeble, indistinct and slow.

The gulls surrounded her and began to talk all at the same time in their eagerness to make Niree understand what was wanted of her. Phulabālā thrust a bunch of keys in her hand and specially selecting one out tried to make her understand that that was the key of the store room. The result was not hopeful. Niree only stared

at them with puzzled and uncomprehending eyes.

Somebody knocked at the street door and shouted from there, "Chāru, be ready all of you, I am going to fetch the carriage. But if you are not ready by the time I come back, I tell you, I would not at all mind leaving you behind."

Chāru leaned over the railings as she replied in her shrill voice, "No fear of that, my dear cousin, delay, if there is any, will not be of our making."

They again clustered round Niece Chāru grew impatient and taking her by the shoulders, gave her a good shake, crying, "Can't you get it into your head, you silly, good-for-nothing? This is the key of the store room, give it to the cook, when she comes. Now let us take her down, and place her in the kitchen. Don't you fear, she has understood all, she is not so silly as she poses to be."

They had just taken the poor thing down when the rumbling of the carriage wheels were heard outside and a young man sprang into sight. The sight that presented itself before him seemed to give him an unpleasant surprise, and he cried out sharply, "Why Chāru, you are never taking your cousin Niree with you! That won't do, I tell you."

Chāru was busy helping Niree to a convenient seat as she replied "Now, please, don't get angry about nothing, and give us credit for some sense. Take her with us indeed! I hope I know better. We are leaving her here to keep watch. Niree, here is a picture-book for you," and tossing a large book into her lap, she ran and sprang into the hired carriage. The others too followed her talking all the while.

Niree sat alone, with the picture-book on her lap. She had gone over this very book a hundred times, as such books were not abundant in the house and as nobody cared to think of any other way of amusing her except by tossing one of these books to her. Chāru alone of all the inmates of the house, some times sat down to tell her a story. Placing Niree before her she would go on and on about the King and the Two Queens and the terrible man-eating demons. Another day she would

leave folklore alone and begin to tell her a story gleaned from some English novel, which she had surreptitiously read. It was possible that Niree understood only a part of all these, but whenever Chāru seemed to see any such sign on the face of her afflicted companion, she would shut up at once and leave her alone, with some stinging remark about her uselessness. The imperious young lady never could tolerate her kindness being thrown away.

Niree was sitting alone and her mind was wandering about somewhere among those charming people of whom she had heard in Chāru's stories. She had not understood much that Chāru had told, but she filled up these gaps with the help of her imagination, and she had succeeded in building up a world of enchantment. The people of this world were not useless dummies like herself, they laughed, they played and they loved. The women there charmed the hearts of men, and the men too, the brave strong men, attracted the women. The women were flowerlike in appearance but they became streaks of lightning when called upon to act for their beloved, and the men, strong and sturdy as granite crags, seemed to bend low as the grass before love. The sky there was always clear, except for one or two fleecy autumnal clouds, and sometimes you saw a rainbow flash into sight.

The chain on the outer door suddenly jingled. The cook or the maid-servant perhaps. Niree looked up expectantly. But what she saw, seemed to turn her into stone with fear and amazement. A young man was standing before her, his face was red with exertion and the sweat was pouring off his brow in streams. His legs were covered with dust up to the knees, and blood was trickling down from one of them. His dress too was torn and stained. He stood in the middle of the court-yard and looked about him with startled and frightened eyes like a deer brought to bay. An involuntary cry burst from her lips.

No sooner had he caught the sound than he sprang into the kitchen and threw himself down at her feet. He raised his piteous eyes to her face and cried out, "Save me, Oh save me, none but you can

do it. I am in great danger, the police are hot at my heels. Do you hear them shouting? I don't want you to do much, but I am going to conceal myself behind that large chest, please don't give me away if they come here."

Niree could not utter a single word and the young man crept behind the chest. A great turmoil was heard outside. Niree was nearly dead with fright. If the police should enter the house, how could she save the young man? But he had begged her to save him. She was nothing but an useless lump of clay, but he had come to her and to none else. Something seemed to try to struggle out of her breast and to choke her and two large tear-drops rolled down her cheek. She must and she would save him, otherwise why should God send him to her of all persons in the world? And why on this day, when she was alone in the house? She rose trembling and tottering to her feet and shut the kitchen door exerting all her strength to do so.

The noise outside was gradually subsiding and it ceased after a time. The young man came out from his place of concealment and opened the kitchen door. Then he turned to Niree and said, "You have done me the greatest service on earth. But do a bit more, give me some money, so that I may get away from this city. I have nothing with me. Lend me the money and I swear in the name of God that I will return it to you as soon as I can."

But where could she find money? She had none of her own, but it was not in her power to refuse him anything. It was not only to help this young man in danger, it was to justify to herself her own hitherto worthless existence. But how to get the money and where? Her mind struggled furiously against the impediment of her feeble body. It seemed to rush over the whole house seeking for a bit of money. Only a very little bit, he had asked for. But, O you unfortunate man, you have come to beg of a person who had no greater pauper than herself.

Suddenly she rose up clutching the wall for a support and tottered out of the kitchen. But she had to stop at the foot

of the stairs, she could not go up without assistance. The young man followed her closely. After a while Niree took the bunch of keys which Phulabālā had given her and gave it to the young man, excitedly pointing upstairs. The young man seemed to understand, but hesitated to go up. But Niree again urged him with gestures. He looked around, then quickly ran up the stairs and entered the first door he found open. It happened to be Phulabālā's. He ran to the dressing table and fitted one of the keys to the drawer. It opened easily. Among a thousand knick knacks there was a little purse. He quickly took out two rupees, then closing the drawer, ran down again.

Niree was still standing at the foot of the stairs gazing upwards anxiously. The man came up to her and showing her the money said, "I have taken no more. I don't know how to thank you. I will return it as soon as ever I can. Keep this ring of mine, it will serve to remind you that you have given life to a poor helpless wretch."

He thrust a ring into her trembling hand, then casting another sharp look around, ran out of the house.

Niree came back to the kitchen again and sat down, with the ring in her hand. She was at a loss to find out a hiding place for the ring. She daunt not keep it on her finger for fear of her relations.

At this time the cook and the maid-servant entered the house together talking volubly. Niree started and thrust the ring in the breast of her dress. The maid-servant began to collect together the scattered pots and pans and remarked, "So they have all gone out to the theatre putting you here? Such goings on! The front door is standing wide open, have they no fear in their hearts?"

The cook leisurely divested herself of her not over-clean wrapper and placing it on the window sill, answered, "Don't talk of these modern girls, they are just amazing. We too were girls once, but nobody ever heard our voices. We worked from morning to night and never even dreamt of going out for pleasure. But things are changed. Now give me the

keys please. So even that old aunt of yours has gone out leaving you alone? Are they human beings at all, I wonder!" These two women were rather fond of Niree, because they never had to put any restraint upon themselves while in her presence, and could give vent to their opinions about the inmates of the house, quite freely, as Niree was incapable of reporting anything they said.

Niree sat up late that night till the young ladies returned from the theatre. "See there, Niree is still sitting up," exclaimed Chāru. "I never saw one so greedy for stories though Heaven knows what she understands of them."

They were just then busy with their own affairs and had not much attention to spare for Niree. Everyone described her own impression of the acting and as all talked at the same time none heard what another said, which was just as well. When Phulabālā entered her room Niree's manners became so excited that Chāru cried out, "Now what is the matter with you? Why do you fidget like that? Are you ill?"

Niree shook her head in denial. But she did not quiet down before all the members of the family had their suppers and retired for the night. Even after that she once rose up shivering on her bed as she heard a noise in Phulabālā's room.

The days passed on in their usual manner. None noticed the theft, not even Phulabālā. She seldom troubled with the purse. Sometimes two or three months passed by without her once touching it.

But the thief had left his traces not upon the purse alone. A poor timid heart treasured his memory day and night. To her the world became a vast background, against which stood only one fair young face. The world too was changed. Formerly it was just like herself, ugly, dumb and inanimate. But now it had taken on colours of entrancing beauty, and sang out every now and then through the voice of the sweet singing bird. "Speak, bride, speak!" The air too became living, and rocked the poor girl gently in its arms,

and whispered tales of mystery in her ears. The touchstone, which she carried about on her heart, had turned this earth to gold.

But the stolen money was not returned. Niree began to feel exceedingly ill at ease because she could not return the money to Phulabālā. A shadow seemed gradually to gather over the bright young face which she saw day and night and this picked her like a thorn. Why did he not return the money? Had he again fallen into any danger? Was it all a pretence then? No, no, it could not be. God would never mock his afflicted creature so horribly. One so fair can never be a liar. She used to take out his ring and touch her forehead with it thus dispelling all doubts and fears. It was the key to her world of enchantment.

On that morning the mistress of the house was just beginning to wake up, indulging in jaw-cracking yawns, when her eldest sister-in-law entered the room with a preternaturally solemn face and said, "*Boo*, Niree has got very high fever. She passed a very unquiet night. I never had a wink of sleep with her groans. Call a doctor, or do whatever you like now, I have done my part."

The news was not of a kind to make the recipient overjoyed with it. "Am I responsible for all the idiots of the family?" shrieked the mistress of the house. "Why don't the troublesome women take their children with them when they die? I am going to tell him to take charge of his niece. I wash my hands of the whole affair. I do not know whether I ought to remove that boy of mine, fevers now have become so contagious."

The whole family was soon in an uproar, not because they were anxious for the sick girl but because they wanted to secure themselves against infection. The children of the house were kept as far off from the sickroom as possible. The elders too never went near it if they could help it. The doctor came, prescribed, then went away after cautioning everybody against infection.

The eldest uncle of Niree, who was the master of the house, for reasons known to himself, had a sort of love for that poor

afflicted thing, though he had seldom the opportunity of showing it under the strict discipline of his wife. After his return from office, he sat with her for an hour or so. But she did not know him, she kept on tossing from side to side and muttering something indistinctly to herself. He bent down to catch her words. "The money, the money, where is the money?" she was murmuring. Her uncle took out four or five rupees from his pocket and put it into her hand, saying, "Here is the money, child." Niree grasped the rupees at once and was calmer afterwards, she even slept for a while.

Phulabālā went to give her a cup of milk at night. Niree suddenly sat up on her bed, and drawing the hand which held the cup toward herself, thrust the money into it. Phulabālā took it wondering while Charu who was standing behind said, "There now, she is getting charitable. You are in luck aunt, she never gave me anything though I have come often enough to feed her."

Niree was not destined to suffer long. Ten days sufficed for the trivial drama of her life to be played out, then the dark curtain dropped.

A large three-storied building stood by the side of this house. It was a boarding-house for college students. The sound of loud weeping and the repeated cry of "Haribol!" brought a number of young men out to the verandah. They bent over the railings to see what was going on. One of them informed the others, "Do you know fellows, that paralysed girl next door has just died. But it is better for such persons to be dead."

A fair young man suddenly pushed his way to the front and cried out, "Is it so? I am sorry. She once helped me to win a bet. Every day I thought of sending back the money, but somehow I never did. I shall send it to their house this very day."

All of them at once closed round him with eager shouts, "What bet, how did you win, how did she help?" The young man laughed and explained. "Oh it is nothing much. Jiten was one day saying,

"Chant God's name"

'What an amount of rubbish our novelists can give out. You always read of the fortunate hero rushing to a beautiful heroine whenever he is pursued by the police, and the lady is always ready to sacrifice her life to save him. But what is the reality? Just you try the game and you will find a broomstick or the frying pan thrown at your head by the fan hand or be treated to such a shriek as will bring down the whole police force of Lalbazar. If any of you can prove that it is possible to get out of any difficulty with the help of any heroine, I will give him ten rupees and stand treat for two shows at the Bijou Theatre.' 'I accept the challenge,' said I, 'I shall make the next house my field of operations.' From then I began to take sharp note of our neighbours and soon had a pretty good knowledge about them. I knew how many men there were and how many women, when the gentlemen went out and when the maid-servants, and whether the street door was always

locked. One day I saw that the gentlemen were out and the young ladies were starting for some sort of festivity. The servants had not yet come. I saw my opportunity and slipped in. I won the bet in no time. Jiten and Nasu helped me a little by counterfeiting the police and uttering two or three horrible shrieks. The heroine of course was not quite up to the mark as regards personal appearance but still she was a heroine. And I gave her a brass ring too as a keepsake, which was worth three annas. But I got near twenty rupees in return."

But to the poor afflicted girl that brass ring had somehow become the most valuable thing on earth. The secret of the miracle was hidden in that breast which had just then become still for ever.

The procession for the cremation ground, started with a loud shout of "Haribol." The band of young men looked round once, the next moment they were deep in their conversation again.

LABOUR UNREST IN INDIA

"India stands for living Humanity as against inert matter, for more equitable distribution of wealth, for less luxury and more brotherhood, for less industrial conflict and more co-operation, for wealth as a means as against wealth as an end, and for finding happiness not in restless self-serving but in the consecration of life to the welfare of Society and Humanity."

THIS is the message of India to the West. But in the light of the increasing number of industrial conflicts—sometimes reaching a stage when military help is thought indispensable—one is tempted to remark that the message needs her own careful consideration at the present time. Strikes have been on the increase since January last. Labour unions have been growing up day after day. Indian labour on the whole seems to have awakened. Things have changed so quickly since the War began that we can

now clearly describe the industrial policy of India. It is decidedly western in every aspect. Corporations and factory mode of production have considerably replaced the old systems, but not without the attendant evils.

Strikes, lock-outs, picketting and conflicts with the military or the police have been the features of the recent troubles. Since strikes are as epidemic as some of the worst diseases, they have spread all over India with their evil results in many cases. The following table, worked out from the details of the labour unrest in India between January 2nd and about March 3rd shows how the strike-fever spread out from Bombay.

| Nature of businesses where strikes occurred | No of strikes | No of strikers in each |
|---|---------------|------------------------|
| 1 Cotton and Jute mills | 110 | 2500 |

| | | | |
|---|---|----|------|
| 2 | Engineering and other Work-shops | 10 | 4170 |
| 3 | Mistries, Municipal labourers, Tailors, etc | 4 | 6000 |

During a period of about 62 days 124 strikes had occurred in Bombay, Calcutta and all other places over India. The Jute and Cotton mill industry have suffered most, Bombay itself being responsible for as many as about 85 strikes. Bombay again shows the largest number of strikes in the Engineering and the allied trades. In the last item some 240,000 men seem to have taken part from Bombay, Calcutta and Madras. Most of these strikes are for increase of wages due to increased cost of living, and employers would do well to find out the real amount of such increment and raise their wages in proportion.

Some people are of opinion that these strikes are due to the increasing number of labour unions. Such people always associate the two together and think that with the abolition of labour unions, strikes would be at an end. But it is far from being so. When a number of workmen are united by quite similar feelings they will be determined to take necessary actions even if they had not formed unions. An attempt to prevent their formation will only make the strike a more violent one, because the men are moved solely by feelings in their minds. Reasons do not mould their decisions when they are denied the advantage of discussion. It will not be a surprise if the men even take to undesirable and reckless ways in attacking their opponents. On the other hand, open fight is made a necessity in the actions of the unions, since each action on behalf of a union has to be the result of public discussion amongst the members. Their existence, if properly guided, is a preventive measure against strikes. As for the workman, they afford him opportunities for self-development, education and right thinking. The decisions of the unions carry a greater weight than the requests of individual labourers.

The experience of many American states in these subjects establishes the above statements. It is therefore to be hoped that when labour unions in India

become more educated and more efficiently managed they would show similar good results. The employer in his anxiety over the increasing troubles with his workmen, should not discourage the formation of labour unions. He should try his best to understand the real grievances of his men. The complaint raised in Bombay that the workman has been strictly kept away from all access to his employer seems to be a real cause for troubles. They should both move in a closer relationship than at present, if ill-will between them is to be avoided.

The most effective way in which labour disputes are dealt with in the West is by bringing the two parties into close touch with each other. The organizations adopted for the purpose are called arbitration and conciliation boards. The latter contains elected representatives of labour and capital. They elect their own President and a Vice-president of whom one will be from the representatives of labour and the other from those of capital. A secretary is elected from the labour members. Then again a standing committee is formed in which the President and the Vice-president will be *ex-officio* members. The committee meets at regular intervals and whenever necessary. It discusses all questions brought before it and lays down the further procedure of the parties concerned. But it has no power to discuss questions of wages and arbitration. The board alone will deal with them either at the committee's request or in its annual meetings. It also considers all the questions which the committee failed to decide. If the board also fails to settle the dispute the matter will be finally placed before an arbitrator.

Conciliation is infinitely better than arbitration in that the decision in the former is arrived at by purely informal and friendly discussions and so there are more chances of the decision being observed faithfully by both the parties in the former case than in the latter.

Arbitration will prove successful only if there is an understanding between the two parties that the award will be given effect to by each of them. The arbitrator hears

the arguments of both sides and bases his award on the equities of the case. A section of the public feel that the award should have legal force behind it. Compulsory arbitration may sometimes do an injustice to one of the parties while the other may postpone settlement to an indefinite period. Both have their evils, and there are great differences of opinion on the subject.

For example, many of the American States adopt voluntary arbitration while Australia adopts the compulsory system. In any case the history of these organiza-

tions have clearly shown that they considerably lessen the number of labour troubles and economists hope that industrial peace may be secured through these agencies. It is therefore highly necessary that such organizations should be established in India. We should continue to give India's message to the West and practise it ourselves. It is hoped that labour and capital each in its own as well as in each other's interest will make use of these methods as early as possible.

K. N. PARAMESWARAN

INDIAN CURRENCY AND FOREIGN EXCHANGE

By PROF. UPENDRANATH BALL, M. A.

THE problem of Exchange is very hard to follow and in fact very few people in India understand what is meant by Exchange. Ordinary people do not care much whether the exchange rate rises or falls. We are all concerned with the prices of the commodities of everyday use. Prices are determined by the equation of supply and demand. The extent of the market however depends upon the nature of the commodities. Perishable commodities have a local market. But imperishable goods, which do not suffer by long transportation and which do not depend upon individual caprices, have generally very extensive markets. Cotton, wheat, tea, and such other articles have big markets, and these articles are carried from one part of the globe to another. In the international market comparative cost is the chief factor. If the comparative cost of production of an article, say cotton piece goods, is greater in India than in England, it will be profitable for Indians to import this article. Besides there are other articles which partake of the nature of monopolies, say jute in India, silver in America. Such things are not produced in other places, so the industrial countries must purchase these commodities from the countries which produce them. In this way international trade arises.

The imports and exports are generally paid by bills of exchange. This mechanism

avoids the movement of specie. But in case imports exceed exports, then specie has to be exported to pay for the excess of imports, or if the exports exceed imports then specie will flow into the country. This is the fundamental principle of international trade. In order to avoid the cost of transporting specie the exporters may be willing to pay an extra amount up to the point of the cost, or the importers may be induced to accept less than the full value of the Bill up to the point. But in special circumstances this point may be exceeded as in the case of tightness in money or war. Besides these general principles of supply and demand there is the question of the system of currency. The currency system is different in different countries. Some countries use gold, some silver, and again some paper, some use them all simultaneously. Paper currency does not go beyond the borders of the country using it. So it has no importance in the international market. But when paper currency is inconvertible, and it is not properly regulated according to the needs of the market, it has the tendency to inflate the prices, and indirectly to affect trade. Gold and silver coins are of varying denominations, and are not of equal fineness. Consequently their relative value have to be determined. It is not a difficult task to ascertain the relative value when the fineness of the different coins is known.

But when the coins are of two different metals of fluctuating prices, the exchange rate has to be adjusted according to the oscillations of the market. In such circumstances trade suffers considerably. The matter becomes more complicated when the state intervenes, and fixes an artificial price for its currency, and determines the exchange rate irrespective of the price of bullion.

This is the situation in India. The currency system in India is a managed system. The currency for internal trade is silver, and nickel and bronze for smaller coins. This is supplemented by a large amount of paper. But the value of the coins does not depend upon their intrinsic worth. In order to suit the convenience of international trade and to meet the liabilities of India in England the exchange rate is fixed by the Government. The Indian currency system is known therefore as the gold exchange standard or gold standard system. Whatever be the price of silver, the silver coins of India must bear a fixed relation to the gold coins of England. This policy has been adopted with a view to establish a stability in exchange, and to save the Government's constant trouble in calculating liabilities and payments. In other countries the rate is fixed by the Banks and the clearing houses and generally the exchange rate follows the relative prices of bullion. The Government of India also takes a large interest in the money market as it offers for sale a large amount of council drafts on India in England or Revenue Bills on the Secretary of State in India.

The exchange therefore is connected not only with trade but also with state finance. Variation in exchange rate not only affects the people in the prices of the commodities, but also affects the people terribly when the rate is adverse, and Government proposes to levy fresh taxes to meet the Home charges. The importance of the subject will be realised when we know that in the course of the last 27 years four Royal Commissions were engaged in enquiring into this subject of Indian Exchange and Currency.

In 1835 the Government introduced a uniform standard of silver currency in India. The fineness of the silver rupee was fixed at 165 grains of pure silver and 15 grains of alloy, i.e., $\frac{11}{12}$ pure. Since then there has been no change in the fineness of the silver coins of India. But the exchange rate has fluctuated mostly according to the gold price of silver.

Since the introduction of the standard silver rupees there has been a steady attempt to discourage the circulation of gold coins. By the Currency Act of 1835 gold coins ceased to be legal tender. There were spasmodic efforts now and then to circulate gold coins. But the discoveries in California and Australia brought about a decline in the value of gold and Government declined to receive gold coins in payment of its dues from January 1, 1853. The value of gold however did not depreciate much as it was anticipated, and it was urged on behalf of India that the gold currency should be re-introduced. By a notification in 1864 Government agreed to accept sovereigns at the rate of Rs. 10 per sovereign but did not make gold legal tender, and declined to take any further step. In 1868 the rate was changed from Rs. 10 to Rs. 10-8.

At the time when India was denied the right to use gold currency the International Monetary Conference at Paris declared gold to be the only standard suited to International money, in 1867. It was further resolved by the Conference that the countries using silver standard or double standard should not find the relation between the value of gold and silver such that they may conveniently adopt the gold standard. European countries one by one adopted the gold standard and employed gold in currency. Silver was used only for subsidiary coins. This led to a fall in the price of silver. The depreciation in the value of silver brought about a dislocation in the exchange rate. Up to 1872 the price of silver per ounce was in the neighbourhood of 60 d. But it fell off in quick succession. The Government of India was in distress in meeting the Home charges. The year 1872 marks the beginning of the period of disturbance.

The falling exchange rate increased the liabilities of India, as our revenue was entirely collected on the rupee basis. The heavy burden upon the Government can be gauged from the figures of one year. The sterling value of bills paid in 1894-5 was £15,770,533. The rupee equivalent was 289 crores, which at the rate of 1872-3 would have amounted to 166 crores only. That is to say the Indian exchequer had to bear a loss of 123 crores in one year's transactions. For twenty years India suffered under this falling rate. An attempt was made to rehabilitate the International Bime-

tallic system. The International Conference at Brussels however failed to restore the old position of silver. So in 1803 on the recommendation of the Herschell Committee the free coinage of silver in India was discontinued, and the Gold Standard was introduced. The rupee was to be exchanged for 1s 4d. The rate was established after slight oscillations for some years. The fact that India has generally a balance of trade in her favour, even after paying the Home charges, helped to steady the rate, inspite of the fall in the price of silver still further. The real test of the soundness of the system began when the reverse process commenced.

During the financial crisis in America in 1907-8 and the failure of crops in India, the exports fell off, the exchange rate was maintained by selling Reverse Bills. The Gold Standard Reserve came to the rescue.

The war in Europe and the internal disturbances in Mexico have created a dislocation in the exchange rate of the world in an extraordinary manner. On account of the war the European countries had to conserve their gold resources. England gave up the gold currency and adopted the inconvertible paper. The heavy war expenditure compelled the European countries to borrow largely from America. This has disturbed the relations in the money market. The pivot of exchange is no longer the sovereign but the American dollar. The exchange rate has gone against England and other European countries. From 4 87 dollars per sovereign the English-American exchange came to 3 36½ (23rd February, 1920). There has been an improvement lately on England and France sending a large quantity of gold to America. But it will take a considerable time for the exchange to come to par. America therefore for some time to come will remain the pivot of the exchange market.

So far as India is concerned she is affected in more than one way. The currency of the country is silver, and so long as Government will persist in keeping silver as currency, and so long as people will not appreciate the utility of paper money, the exchange rate of India will depend upon the price of silver. The price of silver has tremendously increased this year. In 1915 the price of silver per ounce was about 24d, in 1916 it rose to 31½d, in 1917 40½, and in 1918 47½. But this year it has beaten all

record. It rose to 88d. Consequently the exchange rate of rupee rose to the neighbourhood of 35d. The fall in the price of silver has brought the exchange down to 28 3¼d.

Besides this silver difficulty the great disturbing factor is the increasing balance of trade in favour of India. In the beginning of the war there was a dislocation of trade and for a short time the exchange went against India. But since 1915 the exports have outdistanced the imports. We did not receive a sufficient quantity of goods from Europe on account of the fact that the State controlled the factories to produce war materials. The difficulty of transport was an additional handicap. India also spent a large amount of money on behalf of the United Kingdom in the eastern zones of war. The money which was required in purchasing the raw materials within the country did not therefore return to pay for the imports. The result has been a great tightness of money. The Bank Rate has increased. The Government of India had also to provide a large amount of money to finance trade. They have considerably added to the currency of the country by coinage of silver and the issue of paper currency. The silver hunger of India has helped to increase the price of the metal, and the paper currency has lost its anchor of metallic reserve. The fiduciary portion of the Paper Currency Reserve has been increased to such an extent that the currency notes were received at discount. According to the Report of the Controller of Currency the coinage of silver alone reached the unprecedented figure of Rs 107 crores in the last three years. The net circulation of notes in 1914-15 was Rs 5,565 lakhs, and on the 31st March, 1919, it was Rs 15,006 lakhs, that is to say, in the last four years it has been increased by Rs 9,431 lakhs. The result of the currency process during the war period has been thus summarised by Mr Findley Shirras, in his book on Indian Finance and Banking—"The actual rupee and note circulation taken together moved in harmony with the growth of business upto 1916. *Since that date the active rupee and note circulation has outstripped the growth of business*". It is no wonder therefore that the general level of prices has gone up.

The entire question of exchange and currency was referred by the Secretary of State to a committee of experts under the chairman-

ship of Sir Henry Babington Smith. The Report of the Committee has recently been published, and it has been received by the Government and the European merchants with approval. The only Indian member of the committee, Mr D. M. Dalal, could not agree to the findings of the majority and has added a Note of Dissent. The Indian merchants of Bombay are in agreement with Mr Dalal, but the Indian public has not expressed its opinion as yet.

GOLD AND SILVER

The recommendations of the committee are mainly that (1) the exchange value of the rupee should be fixed in terms of gold, rather than in terms of sterling, (2) that the relation between gold and silver should be at the rate of Rs 10 to one sovereign, or one rupee for 1130016 grains of gold both for foreign exchange and for internal circulation, (3) the import and export of gold to and from India should be free from Government control, (4) that it would not be to India's advantage to encourage the increased use of gold in the internal circulation, but for the present gold may be used in moderate quantities to meet the demands for currency, (5) that the Bombay branch of the Royal mint should be re-opened for the coinage of sovereigns and half-sovereigns and facilities should be given to the public for the coinage of gold bullion and for the refining of gold, (6) that the obligation of the Government to give rupees for sovereigns should be withdrawn, (7) that opportunities should be given to the present holders of the gold coins to exchange at the rate of Rs 15 for a sovereign, (8) that the prohibition of the import of silver should be removed as soon as convenient, but that on the export should be retained for the present.

PAPER CURRENCY

These recommendations have been made with a view to stabilise exchange. There are further recommendations with reference to the Paper Currency, the Gold Standard Reserve, and the sale of Council Bills. The metallic portion of the Paper Currency Reserve has been recommended not to fall below 40 per cent of the gross circulation, but not more than 20 crores of the fiduciary portion should be in Government of India securities, the balance should be held in securities of other Governments within the British Empire. There should be short period securities, not

more than 10 crores should have more than one year's maturity. In order to avoid sudden disturbance the existing permissive maximum of 120 crores should be retained for a limited period. The metallic portion of the reserve should be held in India, except for transitory purposes.

GOLD STANDARD RESERVE

The committee recommends the maintenance of the Gold Standard Reserve out of the profits of coinage. For the present the Paper Currency Reserve should be strengthened by fresh gold rather than the Gold Standard Reserve, the Gold Standard Reserve should when practicable contain a considerable proportion of gold, but at present the Reserve should be held in liquid securities of Governments within the British Empire other than that of India, having a fixed date of maturity of not more than 12 months. A portion of the gold not exceeding one-half should be held in India, the sterling investments should continue to be held in London.

COUNCIL DRAFTS AND REVERSE BILLS

The recommendations with regard to the sale of Council Drafts and Reverse Bills are important. The committee holds that Council Drafts are primarily sold not for the convenience of trade, but to provide for the Home charges in the widest sense of the term. There is no obligation to sell drafts to meet all trade demands. But if the reserves are sufficiently strong then there is no objection to the Secretary of State selling drafts in excess of his immediate needs. The process of sale is by open competition, a minimum rate being fixed from time to time on the basis of the sterling cost of shipping gold to India. The Government of India should be authorised to announce, without previous reference to the Secretary of State on each occasion, their readiness to sell weekly a stated amount of Reverse Councils (including telegraphic transfers) during periods of exchange weakness at a price based upon the cost of shipping gold from India to the United Kingdom.

Let us see how far these remedies will remove the evils of the present economic situation. The fixing of the exchange rate between gold and rupee is most sound. It no doubt presumes that of all metals gold is the least liable to fluctuations. Gold is used by all the civilised countries as their money metal, and for the purpose of ornaments too.

it is highly valued. Moreover, it contains great value in small bulk, and it satisfies all the requirements of a money metal. In spite of the increased output of gold in the world from the middle of the last century its price has not deviated very much. Since it is used in almost all the civilised countries, and we have to carry on trade mainly with the gold-using countries, and lastly because of our direct relations with the United Kingdom where gold currency prevails, it is absolutely necessary that the relation between the rupee and gold should be fixed. As a matter of fact the intention of the Government in 1893 was to fix this relation. There was no difference in value between the sterling and the gold coin until the last war. During the war the United Kingdom has practically adopted the inconvertible paper system. The paper currency has depreciated in terms of gold, and it is difficult to say when the sterling paper will be restored to gold value, that is to say, when the face value and the market value will be the same. It was therefore no use to fix the relations between the two fluctuating things, viz., silver rupee and sterling.

While people do not object to the principle they have received with some misgivings the exact proportions fixed. The main object of the Committee in recommending the proportion is to retain the character of the rupee as a token currency, that is to say, the bullion value of the silver it contains will not exceed its exchange value. The Herschell Commission and the Fowler Commission fixed the ratio at 15:1, as at that ratio it would keep close to the bullion value of the silver rupee. This ratio has been in force since 1893, and it has worked very well except during the war and in the aftermath. India has bought silver beyond her requirements, and on account of this heavy demand and the shortage of supply in Mexico the price of silver is not likely to fall. The United States Government is bound by law to purchase silver at the rate of one dollar per five ounces till the amount withdrawn from the Reserve has been replaced. The demand for silver throughout the world is increasing. On these assumptions the Babington-Smith Committee came to the conclusion that the exchange rate should be fixed at 2s per rupee. An enquiry was made in America on the silver situation. Professors Cullis and Carpenter, who were entrusted with the enquiry, were of opinion that on the restoration of order in Mexico

the pre-war figures of production will again be reached, and that there were other signs towards an increase in supply. The Committee, however, was under the apprehension that the demand for silver will grow rather than fall. Subsequent events have fully disproved the fears entertained by the Committee. China has ceased to purchase. France has remitted a large quantity of gold to America, and this has resulted in heavy falls in the price of silver. This precipitation can be further helped if India abstains from buying for a few years.

"The war has been a first rate professor of economics," says Mr. Shriias. The Indians have learnt the utility of paper money in the course of these last few years. No amount of education would have taught people this lesson. People no longer look upon the paper currency as a form of deception. They would have acquiesced in an arrangement which aimed at the restoration of the exchange to the pre-war rate. The price of silver is sure to fall and it will come in the near future to the neighbourhood of 43d per ounce, which is the price to enable the rate to be settled at 1s 4d per rupee. The most important factor which the Committee ignored was the ratio accepted in other countries, such as America and France. The Committee could have very well deferred its judgment till the temporary disturbances have sufficiently worked themselves out. On the other hand, they have expatiated on the good effects of a high rate of exchange. The two main advantages to India from a high rate of exchange would be the depreciation in the value of imports, and secondly a saving in the Home charges in the terms of the rupee. It has been argued that the export trade of India will not suffer, because she has a practical monopoly in her export goods, such as jute, rice, tea, wheat, etc. The international trade is more affected by the comparative cost in production and not by the levelling up of the exchange rate. That comparative cost plays an important part cannot be denied, but that high exchange rate will affect Indian industries considerably is beyond dispute. An economic expert writes in the *Daily Telegraph*: "But in the last 40 years the exchanges with silver-using Asia have fallen, not 15 per cent, but 60 per cent. This fall went far to annihilate British exports to a thousand million Asiatics, while, just as far as favouring exchange would do it, this fall

stimulated all that Asia exports to us. Now in the past 4 years the tael exchange, which was at eight to the sovereign has recovered to three taels, while the rupee is again near its old rating, and grievous though the convulsion must be for the great organised industrial structures, such as the cotton mills of Bombay and the jute mills of Calcutta which had been built up on a rotten foundation—the foundation of temporary, accidental, artificial rates of silver exchange—I cannot doubt that not merely the white man's world but the entire world will be greatly aggrandised by the swing back of the silver to what economists call "the par of exchange" with gold which that metal had occupied for 2,000 years before 1873. With the newly created exchange value of silver—the tael, the Mexican dollar, and the rupee—the export trade of the minority of mankind living in Europe and America to the majority living in Asia should expand during an outburst of great industrial activity. Let me conclude with the revolution which has overtaken the export trade of Lancashire to India and China. I have not the latest statistics of this trade, but, roughly, Manchester exports to India about 25 millions sterling of clothes and 10 to China. At 18s 8d a lb for United States cotton, an 8½ lb parcel of grey shirting costs in Manchester 29s. If this parcel sells in India with the rupee at 2s instead of 1s 4d (the rate from 1893 to 1915) Manchester gets per parcel 42s 4d—Moreton Frewen—in the Daily Telegraph.

This is the candid opinion of an unbiassed economist. The high exchange rate will greatly expand the exports of the industrially organised countries of Europe and America to India, and consequently the nascent industries of India will suffer in their turn. The cheapening in the price of commodities of everyday use cannot help people long if thereby their own industries are ruined. Mere agriculture cannot advance India very far, specially when there are strong competitors in the shape of America, Russia, and Egypt. The new exchange rate may bring back the "par of exchange" which existed before 1873, but the fluctuations since then were brought about by the European countries. They stubbornly refused to maintain international bimetallism, demonetised silver, and depreciated its value in terms of gold. For about 20 years India suffered under this falling rate, and in almost helpless condition

closed the mints for free and open coinage of silver. Since then India has followed the Gold Exchange Standard. The natural corollary of this position was to adopt the gold standard as in France and to reduce silver to a pure subsidiary position. Too much has been made of the tradition and habits of the people. The paper currency has been expanded beyond expectation and that it was depreciated in some places should not have been considered as an excuse for purchasing silver beyond our requirements. Paper currency has not only depreciated in India but also in the United Kingdom and other countries as well. This is the inevitable result of an inflated currency. When currency is increased not in response to the demands of trade but to fixed money for financing war then inflation generally follows as a consequence. The argument of the suspicion of the people towards paper currency should not have been seriously considered. It is very dangerous to prophesy in such matters, but the signs of the times seem to indicate that the price of silver is sure to fall below 40d per ounce. In such circumstances there was no urgency in fixing the rate at 2s per rupee. It is feared that this rate will keep up the price of silver by artificial means. One of such things is the Pittman Act in America.

If India adopts the gold currency and gold standard, if she does not go to the market to purchase silver, then no artificial method will be able to prevent the fall in the price of silver. To maintain the exchange rate the Government has to manipulate the Council Bills, to maintain an unnecessary Gold Standard Reserve, and to regulate the Paper Currency Reserve. The only solution and the most scientific solution would be to bring India on the lines of France and other European countries. Silver and Paper should be adopted for internal currency and gold should be kept in sufficient quantity in the Reserves of Banks and in the Paper Currency Reserve for international payment. Indian trade and Indian Revenue should not be allowed to suffer on account of a mere standard and medium of payment.

The Secretary of State and the Government of India should withdraw from purely commercial business, which should be left to be managed by financial experts. The proposed Imperial Bank should manage these things on behalf of the Government.

The change in the rate of exchange has reduced the rupee value of the sterling securities held by the Government. On the other hand to help trade, Government is selling Reverse Bills on the Secretary of State, at a rate above the market rate of exchange. In addition to this Government is selling gold in large quantities. As against the fall in the price of the securities it has been pointed out that there would be a saving in the Home charges which would be employed in replenishing the Reserves. The sales of Reverse Bills and gold are meant to reduce the large balance held in London in favour of India, and to facilitate the remittance of war saving

in India. It has, however, never been denied that these measures have affected Indian finance. These evils could never have occurred if there were a natural system of currency based upon gold, and sufficient banking facilities in India. The Chamberlain Commission recommended that the currency system in India should be as the people would desire it to be. No sensible man has said that India has imported gold more than her requirements. The policy of the International Monetary Conference at Paris still lingers in the management of our currency affairs. The verdict of the Babington-Smith Committee cannot therefore be final.

THE THEORY OF THE MARATHA CONSTITUTION

BY PROF. SURENDRANATH SEN, M A , P R S

IN the Maratha constitution, theory was divorced from practice. The hard-headed practical sense of the Maratha statesmen found it more convenient to leave the time-honoured theory undisturbed, while the constitution was gradually but surely metamorphosed. Theoretical perfection was not their ideal. Like the English statesmen, they cared more for the needs of the time and helped evolution without being conscious of it. So the chief authority of the state was silently transferred from the house of Shivaji to the family of Balaji Vishwanath, not, as it is commonly believed, by Brahman fraud, but by Brahman ability, and the phantom head of the once great Mughals at Delhi was still regarded as the theoretical suzerain of the Marathas. The Marathas did not hesitate to invade, burn and pillage his territories, levy *khandani* (contribution) on him, depose him if necessary, but they were too shrewd to forget the almost hypnotic influence that the name of the Delhi monarchs still had over popular imagination.

Here however the Peshwas differed from the founder of the Maratha greatness. Shivaji tried to organise a genuine national movement, and, as the national leader of the regenerated Hindus of the South, he could not even in theory acknowledge the suzerain claims of the great Mughal. Consequently when he had to submit to the terms imposed on him by Raja Jai Singh, he got the stipulated mansab for his son Sambhaji then a boy of 5 years, but did not degrade himself to the position of a Mughal mansabdar. This distinction will appear as too subtle to the modern mind,

but it succeeded in soothing the easy scruples of a time when conscience was by no means so rigorous and exacting. After his coronation he tried his utmost to wipe off all traces of Muhammadan influence from his government, and his old officers got new Sanskrit designations. Sambhaji cared only for pleasure and during the stormy days succeeding his death, the Marathas were too busy to care for these comparatively minor things—they had to fight for their existence.

Shahu, however, was brought up by the grand Mughal in the Mughal court. He had witnessed the splendour of that court in its palmy days and he had seen the Mughal sun, the great Alamgir, face to face and he was dazzled, hypnotised, almost blinded. When he returned to occupy his ancestral throne, he was not in a position to realise the true significance of the great movement organised by his celebrated grand-father. In his childhood he must have heard from his Mughal teachers that the mountain rat was nothing but a powerful bandit. He could understand Shivaji the empire builder, but Shivaji the national leader was to him an enigma, a mystery not even vaguely understood, and he did not hesitate to accept a mansab of 10,000 from the feeble hands of Ferozkshere. Shahu promised to pay to the imperial treasury—for the Sardeshmukhi or 10 p c of the whole revenue, he bound himself to protect the country, to suppress every species of depredation, to bring thieves to punishment or restore the amount stolen, and to pay the usual pay of 5 per cent on the annual income for the hereditary right

of Sardeshmukhi—for the grant of the Chauth, he agreed to maintain a body of 15,000 horse in the Emperor's service, to be placed at the disposal of the Subahdars, Farnavis and officers in the different districts, but upon the grant of the Chauth, no fee was to be paid. The Carnatic and the Scobhas of Bencpooi and Hyderabad which were then overrun by the partizans of Sambhaje, the Raja of Kolhapoor promised to clear off plunders and to make good every loss sustained by the inhabitants of those provinces from the date of the final settlement of the treaty (Grant-Duff, Vol 1, page 364). This arrangement was no doubt convenient to him in more than one way, but it was not merely expediency that led Shahu to make a formal acknowledgment of the Mughal supremacy when he was in a position to defy it most effectually. He was sincere in his belief in the legitimacy of the Mughal claim and it is said that Shahu protested when the Delhi Darwaja gate of Poona was built by the Peshwa, that gate facing the north would mean defiance and insult to the Badshah. What Shahu sincerely believed, the Peshwas found most convenient to continue. No, they actually tried to derive what advantage they could from that policy. When Malwa was conquered by Maratha arms, they did not hesitate to have their claims strengthened by an Imperial grant. The celebrated Mahadajee Sindhia simply followed this traditional policy when he obtained for his master the Peshwa—the firman of Wakil-i-mutluq. The great Balaji Janardan, better known as Nana Farnavis, in his autobiography referred to the Emperor as Prithvipati—master of the world. In a letter from Ganesh Krishna dated 1676 the Emperor is called Sarababhaum and the unknown author of the ballad of the battle of Kharda thought that the Emperor was still in a position to order Daulat Rao Sindhia when he sang "the Shinde came from Hindustan and Gujrat to the South, the Badshah ordered him."

Next to the Emperor in status came the Raja of Satara, the lineal descendant of Shivaji and the ostensible head of the Maratha Empire. It was he who appointed the Peshwa and the other hereditary officers of State like the Pratinidhi, Sachib, Sumanta, &c. This appointment or grant of clothes resembles in spirit the ceremony of Papal coronation that the Emperors had to undergo at Rome and was, like it, nothing but a time-honoured form. This form however was strictly observed so long as the Maratha Empire lasted. Even the second Bajirao—careless as he was of his Saidars' rights—could not or did not venture to do away with this formal ceremony. In his Daftar has been found a document, an account of State expenses, which begins as follows, in translation

Abaji Krishna Shelkar went to Satara to bring from Shrimant Maharaj Rajashri Chhatrapati Swami

the clothes of Peshwaship for Rajashri Bajirao Raghunath Rao and brought clothes on the 3rd Jumadil Khar.

It should be noted here that unlike the Pope, the Chatrapati Maharaj raised no trouble about granting his sanction to the authority already seized, even if the grantees were usurpers. Thus Raghunath Rao, Chinnaji Raghunath transformed by Parasram Bhuu Patwardhan into Chinnaji Madhava, and Anayak Rao, son of Amrit Rao Raghunath, had no difficulty in getting the clothes of Peshwaship, although they could not retain the authority which they assumed to, or as in the case of Chinnaji which was thrust on a unwilling victim of state conspiracy. In the case of the other chiefs, the hereditary successors of the members of Shivaji's Ashtapradhan Council, the sarajnam or jahgir was invariably granted by the Peshwas, but they were either referred to the State-prisoners at Satara for grant of clothes of their office or this mark of royal sanction was procured for them by the Peshwa's agent. Thus Madhava Rao I writes to Achyut Rao Ganesh (1762—63) that "the Pratinidhip as before has been granted to Shrinivas Pandit and he has been accordingly sent to the Raja to receive clothes of honour."

Similarly when Parashram Shrinivas succeeded his father, a similar letter was written by the second Madhava Rao to Babu Rao Krishna (1777—78).

"The command of God has reached Shrinivas Pandit Pratinidhi (i.e., he is dead), the clothes of the post have to be given to his son, clothes of honour, a head-dress and arms have therefore been sent with Sadashiva Anant Request Shrimant Maharaj Rajashri Swami to give to the aforesaid personage the Pratinidhi's dress of honour." And with his recommendation were also sent a dress of honour, a head-dress and arms to be given to the nominee perhaps in consideration of the poverty of the Raja. The same Peshwa had again to write three letters to Krishna Rao Anant, Babu Rao Krishna and Nilkantha Rao at Satara in connection with the appointment of Jiwan Rao Vithal to the office of Sumant (1785—86).

"In the year Tisa Sabam—Jiwan Rao Vithal got the watan and sarajnam of the office of Sumant with the customary dress of honor. Then a letter was written to you to request Shrimant Maharaj Rajashri Chhatrapati to give the Sumanta's dress of honor to Jiwan Rao and to get the sanad of the watan and sarajnam of that office in his name—upon that a dress of honor was given to him. Sanad was to be taken, but that was not done, therefore this letter is sent at present—given him the sanad for the sarajnam and watan he is enjoying."

In this letter he requested them to procure a dress of honor and a sanad for this watan and sarajnam, although the newly appointed officer had already got both sanad and dress of honor from the Peshwa. But Madhava Rao II apparently did not consult the Raja's pleasure

when Ramchandra Raghunath was appointed Pandit Rao Baji Rao II however did not omit to procure a dress of honor for the new incumbent to the Sachib's post when the old Sachib Shankar Rao Pandit died in 1799—1800 and was succeeded by his adopted son Chinnaji Shankar

A letter to Krishna Rao Narayan to the effect that

"The command of God reached Shankar Rao Pandit Sachib, father of Chinnaji Shankar, in the year Tisa Tisen. The latter was adopted by the Sachib in his life-time. Therefore the Surmis dress of honor is to be given to him according to old custom. A separate list of dress of honor is sent. Accordingly you should request the Maharaj and deliver the dress of honor to Krishnaji Bhagwant, a Karkun, sent from the Sarkar. The latter will hand it over to Chinnaji Shankar."

Two letters of the younger Madhava Rao addressed to the Bhonsle of Nagpur clearly show that, independent as that chief was, he also did not think of dispensing with the royal sanction of his succession to the hereditary dominions.

A letter to Shivaji Bhonsle Sena Sahib Subha—

(1774—75) "Shrimant Maharaj Rajashri Chhatrapati Swami being kindly disposed towards you has appointed you Sena Sahib Subha and has given the dress of honor and jewels of that office with a shield, a sword, a seal, and an elephant. These presents have been sent to you—accept them on an auspicious day."

To Raghunaji Bhonsle Sena Sahib Subha—

(1779—80) "You have been appointed Sena Sahib Subha by the order of the Shrimant Maharaj Rajashri Chhatrapati Swami—you should therefore serve the government with devotion and make good management for your army and your province."

Although the vanity of being addressed by the Peshwa for sanads and dress of honor was still left to him, the position of the Raja of Satara was worse than miserable. Perhaps the meanest of the Maratha Saidars would not have liked to change places with him. As an organic part of the State, he had not the ordinary right of an ordinary man of dismissing and appointing his own servants. He had the mortification of seeing his household controlled by an officer of the Peshwa. Even his Khimmatgars were appointed and sent from Poona. (Five Khimmatgars were sent to fort Satara for service with the Maharaja by Madhava Rao I in 1767-68, &c.) His personal attendants applied for promotion or increase in remuneration not to him but to the Peshwa. Sometimes, when in blissful forgetfulness of his position, he issued orders of arrest or imprisonment, he ran the risk of undergoing the humiliation of seeing them countermanded. In the year 1797-98, Ganesh Anant and Babu Rao Krishna were arrested in connection with some disturbance

that took place in the fort of Satara. The former was fined, the latter was imprisoned with his family and his property was attached. On an appeal to the Peshwa, the order was countermanded and they were restored to their former office.

"Krishnaji Anant, Kaikun, fort Satara, informs the Huzur that some disturbance took place in the aforesaid fort last year. Then some people misrepresented facts to Shrimant Maharaj Rajashri Chhatrapati Swami and his brother Ganesh Anant, an employee in the fort, was imprisoned and money was taken from him."

"Therefore do not take money from him and no dunning should be made for payment. He has not got his salary for the year Samantisen, pay that. Formerly two men from the Shibandi (force) or the fort did work under him. Therefore appoint two men to work under him and obtain as before the work from his hand and give him his salary, &c."

"Last year disturbance took place in the fort of Satara, then Shrimant Maharaj Rajashri Chhatrapati imprisoned Babu Rao Krishna and his family and attached his house and Inam village. Detailed items about the removal of the attachment (then follows)."

The humiliating subordination was not compensated by plenty and to the unfortunate puppet was not granted even the mean satisfaction of forgetting his imprisonment in the midst of luxury and pomp. The account of his household was checked with more scrutiny perhaps than that of any department of the Peshwa's government. Strict regulations were framed even about such minute details as the grain required for the Raja's stables.

"Venkaji Mankeshwar and Vishnu Narhai are informed—a requisition for the grain required for the horses in the Raja's stable should be made every day—in making the requisition the number of horses newly arrived and that of horses sent away should be taken into consideration. The Huzur has come to know that instead of doing that you get from the Pratimdhgi grain for eight days at a time."

The Chhatrapati lacked even the very necessities of a middleclass Maratha slender of income. We learn from a document of the Elder Madhava Rao that the Maharaja had not even a garden for growing green vegetables, and that excellent prince ordered that a garden suitable for vegetables should be given him. The same paper goes on to say that the Maharaja had no pasture ground for his horses either. Madhava Rao I also sanctioned an allowance of Rs 80 per month for two dancing girls, Hine and Achhi by name, for the singing establishment of his so-called master and an allowance was made for the fattening diet of a pet leopard.

The younger Madhava Rao was however not so indulgent. Although he appointed Nimbaji Pawar on a salary of Rs 12, every two months, for training the Raja's son in the art of

fencing and granted sarajams to each of the two wives and to each of their two daughters, he refused to grant a sum adequate for the repair of an aqueduct which conveyed water to the palace of Satara. It was represented that two to three thousand rupees would be necessary for the work, but the Peshwa did not grant more than Rs 800. It may be objected that perhaps the agent at Satara overestimated the necessary cost and the Peshwa had naturally reduced it to a more reasonable amount, but we do not observe the same attitude so far as his other grants and expenses were concerned.

(1777-78) "To Krishna Rao Anant—a pipe conveys water to the palace of Satara from Vateshwar—it is damaged at different places, two to three thousand rupees will be necessary for repairing it, you have written to Sadashiva Anant to request for the grant of the above sum from the Sarkar. He accordingly prayed for the grants, but it will not be convenient to give so much. But as it is urgent, a grant of Rs 800 is made for repairing the pipe."

But the poor Maharaja, however, could not do without praying to the Peshwa—so poor and helpless was he, that although about 4 years had elapsed since his marriage, he could not make the customary present of land to his sister until a grant of 60 Bighas had been for that purpose made by the Peshwa in 1782-83.

"Maharaja Rajashri Chhatrapati Swami married twice, but his sister Saubhagyabai Santubai Mahadik did not get on those occasions the customary present of Karbalipan. Therefore a new Inam of 60 Bighas in all ($\frac{1}{2}$ Chavar each of 1st, 2nd and 3rd class land) is made to her with all dues and rights assigned to it."

In fact the weakness of the Satara Raja had become so public that one Sadashiva Dadaji Mavlangkar actually encroached upon the royal grounds at Sangamveshwari and built a house on the foundation of a palace belonging to the Raja's ancestor Sambhaji Maharaj, in spite of the opposition of the Joshis of that place.

Poor and powerless as he was the Raja of Satara was a political factor of no mean importance. Though slighted in private he was honoured in public. The Peshwas and other chiefs paid nazai to him and to his relatives whenever they went to pay their respects to the Chhatrapati or when the king was pleased to honour them with a royal visit in their camp. Large sums were spent on occasions likely to attract public notice. When a son was born to queen Anandi Bai, the eldest wife of the reigning Raja, (1792-93) Madhava Rao II ordered Rs 1000 to be spent for distribution of sugar and other ceremonies. In 1807-8 the Peshwa granted Rs 25,000 for the funeral obsequies of Raja Shahu. In the same year more than Rs 8000 were spent at the time of the new king's coronation and the Peshwa Bajirao II ordered 100 shots to be fired from a cannon

to celebrate that occasion. In 1809-10 more than Rs 17,000 were spent on the occasion of the royal marriage and some other ceremonies of minor importance. The servants and relatives of the king were exempted from taxes and custom duties, and sometimes a small pension in the form of land or cash was granted to his near relatives.

"For the family of Narsingh Rao Guzar brother-in-law of Shumant Rajashri Chhatrapati Swami, an annual pension of Rs 1000 has been granted. Out of that, a village of an income of Rs 500 has to be given. The remaining Rs 500 are to be paid from Satara (1783-84)."

'Shumant Kshatriyakulavatsana Maharaj Rajashri Chhatrapati Swami's relatives and servants are enjoying Inam land and sarajam. Pressure has been put on them for cesses owing to parat from the Sarkar. This letter is written to you exempting them from the cess now. Therefore do not press them for payment."

To keep up appearance in the public, Satara was allowed to enjoy comparative security in the midst of military depredation and public plunder. William Henry Tone, an English officer in the service of Bajirao Raghunath, observes in his pamphlet on the Maratha institutions (published 1799)

"The country circumjacent to Satara enjoys an exemption from military depredations of all kinds and whenever any chief enters this district all the ensigns of royalty are laid aside and the Nagara or the great drum of the empire ceases to beat."

Twice had Nana Farnavis attempted to bring the peculiar political position of the Raja of Satara into use and twice he failed. When Mahadaji Sindhia, jealous of Nana's influence at the Peshwa's court and perhaps with an ulterior object of putting himself at the head of the Maratha confederacy with the Peshwa as a useful and convenient puppet in his hands, had procured for Madhava Rao II, the high-sounding and lengthy title of "Vakeel Mutlak Amirul-Umra Mutkharul Mumalik Madarulmahan Maslatlajat Umedaia Kinkhus Fut Far Bafadar Shirdsakar Sadat Mand Bajya De Bam Faijand Khasul Khas Makjaa Maharajadhiraj Rao Pandit Pradhan Bahadur" Nana pointed out that the Peshwa could not as a servant of the Raja of Satara assume the title of Maharajadhiraj. The problem was however easily solved as it was not very difficult for the Sindhia to procure the gracious consent of their royal master. Again after the suicide of Savaji Madhava Rao, Nana had for a moment indulged himself in the idea of reestablishing the authority of the House of Shivaji, but the impracticability of the scheme was apparent. However the claims of the Raja were recognised by the English government after the fall of the Peshwa, and while the last Peshwa was pensioned off, the descendant of Shivaji was re-installed as a ruling chief. We may now leave him in the

temporary enjoyment of power and plenty and turn to the cruel head of the Maratha confederacy—the Peshwa

Here again theory and practice did not agree. Originally the Peshwa was only a member of the Rajmandal Council of Shivaji, he was one of the eight Pradhans or ministers of State. The post was not even hereditary, in fact in Shivaji's time officers were frequently transferred from one post to another. Balaji Vishwanath Bhat was the 7th Peshwa—a glance at the list of his predecessors in that post will at once show that only in one case a father (Moro Trimbak Pingle) was succeeded by his son (Nilkanth Moreshwar). In theory therefore the other Pradhans had every reason to regard the Peshwa as their equal. Nay, as Justice Ranade points out, he was even inferior in rank to at least one of them. 'In the official order of precedence,' says Ranade, "the Peshwa was a smaller functionary than the Pant Pratimdh, whose office was created by Rajaram at Junj, and Pralhad Nujaji was made vicegerent of the Raja. The fixed salary of the Pratimdh was 15000 Hons, while for the Peshwa the salary was fixed at 13000 Hons." Balaji Vishwanath by his ability and statesmanship not only succeeded in making the Peshwaship hereditary in his family but he and his more famous son Bajji Rao I made the Peshwa's position superior to the other seven and actually became what the Pratimdh ought to have been—the vicegerent of the king. Bajji Rao's position was further strengthened when his policy of expansion towards the north was accepted by Chhatrapati Shahu in preference to the opposite policy of southern conquest championed by the Pratimdh. The Peshwa became the head of the Maratha Empire in name as well as in reality, when Shahu transferred by a Sanad the right of exercising sovereign authority to Balaji Bajji Rao on condition that everything should be done in the name of Chhatrapati Maharaj. Tarabai helped to put the finishing touch to the Peshwa's work by imprisoning Ram Raja in the fort of Satara and thus preparing a perpetual prison for her own dynasty. This transfer of authority from the master to the servant was so gradually, silently and carefully accomplished, that the successive steps, important as they are in relation to the whole move, escaped all contemporary notice. Scott-Waring very pertinently remarks that "the usurpation of the Peshwas neither attracted observation, nor excited surprise. Indeed the transition was easy, natural and progressive."

This however does not signify that Shahu Chhatrapati was a mere puppet in the hands of his powerful ministers and unconsciously left his successor a victim to the ambitious intrigues of a Konkanastha Brahman. Shahu was by no means a weakling. His ability like that of Charles II of England has been consi-

derably under estimated by the posterity. A state prisoner while still an infant, and brought up in the midst of luxury and corruption of a Mughal Court, we cannot expect from Shahu, the hardihood and untiring activity of his famous grand-father, or the careless bravery which marked his licentious father even to the last moment. But he had inherited to a considerable extent the administrative qualities of the great Shivaji and he ruled as well as he reigned. Here again we may profitably quote that great Maratha savant, Mahadev Govind Ranade

'In the forty years of rule enjoyed by Shahu, he was not merely a titular head of the Mahratta government, but he directed all operations, ordered and recalled commanders, and he exercised a great controlling power on the chiefs, though he led no armies in the field. It was due to his efforts that Gujrat was divided between the Peshwas and the Dabhades or Galkwads in equal halves after the battle of Dabhoi. When Balaji Bajji Rao wanted to invade Bengal, Raghujji Bhonsle protested at Satara and Shahu was strong enough to enforce moderation even over the towering ambition of Balaji and forced him to leave the eastern provinces free for the development of the Bhonsles power. Bajji Rao was only a general under Shahu and the Pratimdhis, Bhonsles, Nimbalkus, Dabhades, Galkwads, Kadambandes, Angress, Ghorpodes, all respected his orders."

The letter written by Shahu in reply to a representation of Balaji Bajji Rao will sufficiently illustrate the relation between Shahu and his officer and confirm the statement of the great Maratha Historian in the all above quotations.

"A reply to Balaji Pandit Pradhan—(A.D. 1751-52) Your letter shows that you suspect that Yashwant Rao Dabhade Senapati Sena Khaskhel, who has fled from Poona, may have come to Satara, and that he may, by a personal interview, so far interest us (the Raja) in his behalf as to induce us (the Raja) to withdraw from you the grant of half the Gujrat which has been already made, or to interfere with the terms of any agreement that he may have entered with you. We wish to inform you that the Senapati has not come to the Huzur, and that even if he had, the fact would in no way have proved prejudicial to your interest. With a view to remove your suspicions, we formerly sent you, as a token of good faith, a quantity of turmeric and it is therefore unbecoming on your part that you should still continue to be suspicious. Rest assured that you stand in our good graces, and that we shall never fail to do what is necessary in your interest. Orders have already been sent and messengers have been despatched to the Sardars of the kingdom to

* The first six Peshwas were (1) Shamraj Nilkanth Rozekur (2) Moro Trimbak (3) Nilkanth Moreshwar Pingle (4) Parashram Trimbak Pratimdh (5) Bahiro Moreshwar Pingle (6) Balkrishna Wasudev

assist you in putting down the enemies of Government" (Parasnis's translation)

Why Shahu made the Peshwa his real successor, it is very difficult to guess. He had no issue of his own. Shambhaji of Kolhapur was the probable successor. Shahu had no reason to be favourably disposed towards his Kolhapur rival. Eventually a young prince of the Kolhapur branch was discovered whose boyhood, to say the least, was obscure and who was rightly or wrongly regarded as an imposter by the enemies of the Peshwa. It is quite natural that Shahu did not feel the same zeal for transmitting the royal prerogatives undiminished to an unknown boy about whose identity sinister whispers were made, as he would feel for keeping untarnished all the divine rights of royalty for an heir of his body. On the other hand he knew the ability of his minister. He had known them for long. The family had served him for three generations, and constant association must have produced natural attachment and Shahu might have bequeathed the chief magistracy to the Peshwa as a reward for good service, knowing fully well that the reward was well-deserved and the power was vested in able hands. In any case it secured the continuity of the royal line. Shahu's successors were all weaklings and but for this transfer of authority, a revolution was bound to follow sooner or later, resulting in the deposition of the family in name as well in reality. It is to be noted that the dynasty of the Mikados was also preserved from the possible consequences of misrule by weak rulers, by the rise of the Shogunate, an institution quite analogous to the Peshwaship.

Here it should be noted that the Chhatrapati Maharaj was not only the political but also the ecclesiastical head (if we are allowed to use that term) of the State. This has to be remembered because we shall afterwards find the Peshwas frequently regulating social and religious affairs. Because the Peshwas happened to be Brahmans, it may be erroneously supposed that they derived this authority from their Brahman birth. This was not the case. The rise of Shivaji was preceded by a revival of Hinduism in the South, and according to Hindu notions, the king is not only the chief magistrate of the State, but the principal regulator of social custom and religion also. Cases regarding social customs and religion were generally referred to the Pandit Rao for direction by the Chhatrapatis, but it seems that the Brahman officers had, for the sake of legal completion, to procure the Non-Brahman Raja's sanction for the order passed in his name. A document dated March the 16th, 1686, relates how when one Gangadhar Raghunath Kulkarni a Brahman, who had been converted into Muhammadanism and who had, though involuntarily and for a very short time, to do with the Muhammadans, applied for re-admission into his caste after the performance of a Prayaschitta

the Chhândogamatya had to acquaint Shambhu Bai with the circumstances of the case and take the royal permission for a Prayaschitta.* So the Peshwas exercised this authority as the authorised deputies of the Chhatrapati and had inherited it with other royal prerogatives from Shahu. It is important to remember it because when we shall enter into the details of the administrative system, we shall find the Peshwas in the administration of criminal justice often prescribing Prayaschitta with fine or corporal punishment. Within the territories under their direct rule, the Peshwas were like the Chhatrapatis before them, the sole depository of the sovereign authority of the State in all its modern significance.

The rise of the Peshwa affected the Maratha history in two ways. It destroyed the solidarity of the constitution and it at once created two distinct classes of Sardars in the Maratha Empire. To understand the first consequence we shall have to discuss the motive by which Shivaji was actuated in organising the famous council. Shivaji became a leader of a national movement when there was no clear conception of national ideas in India and even in Europe. The keen political insight of Shivaji had detected from the very first the greatest weakness in the Maratha character—a tendency to disruption and strong, even selfish individualism. To counteract against the baleful influences of this tendency, Shivaji created his Ashta Pradhan Council—an institution which considerably strengthened the king's power. The Peshwas could, if they liked, suffer this useful institution to exist and preside over its deliberations as the deputy of the Chhatrapatis. But their ambition led them to establish an autocratic government, removing at the same time the only bond of union, the only check against selfish individualism and setting the ominous example of independence which henceforth became the only ambition of old Sardars like the Angrias, Bhonsles and Gaikwads to imitate. The result was that the Maratha Empire ultimately became like the Holy Roman Empire, a loose confederacy of ambitious federal chiefs, and the Peshwa like the Emperor gradually descended to the position of the head of a confederacy whose command was met with scant respect and whose authority was confined within the territories under his direct personal rule.

Some distinction between the old and new aristocracy in question of precedence was bound to arise after the promotion of the Peshwa.

The old nobility regarded the Peshwa as their equal. They obeyed him only as the deputy of the king. While the new nobility, the Shinde, the Holkar, the Rastias were the Peshwa's servants. They regarded the Peshwa as the master whose bread they ate and whom they were bound to serve. Their sentiment was voiced by Nana Farnavis when he says in his autobiography,

"we have long eaten his bread and he has favoured us as his children" and again "this body is grown on his bread" These Sardars therefore were at first more amenable to discipline and obeyed the Peshwa without much grumbling. The old Sardars however expected the Peshwa to remember that any respect that might be shown to him was a matter of courtesy and not of right and that he in his turn should in courtesy return it. The Angria for example expected the Peshwa to come two miles from Poona to receive him on his visit to that city. It was also expected that the Peshwa should dismount on his approach and receive him on a gasha (an embroidered cloth) and then accompany him to his (Peshwa's) residence, always keeping on the left side of the visitor and after he has taken the betel leaves at his place, send him to the residence appointed for his use and send a dinner also. And in the Hall of Public Audience the Angria expected the Peshwa to rise to receive him and then sit on the same galicha. The Jadhava Raos also claimed similar privilege and the Peshwa found it convenient to gratify their vanity by celebrating the occasion of the Jadhava Rao's visit to the Peshwa's place by releasing prisoners. "Shrimant Nana Sahib Peshwa (i.e., Balaji Baji Rao) addressed Pilaji Jadhava Rao as Kaka and the prisoners in the government prison were released in honour of his visit to the government house." As a logical consequence of this idea the old Sardars claimed precedence over the new Sardars in the field of battle. If both Bhonsle Nagpurkar and the Shinde were present in the battle-field, the Bhonsle would demand the chief command as a matter of right.

During the Peshwa period the feudal Barons, both new and old, exercised sovereign authority within their fiefs, although the Peshwa had the prerogative of appointing their chief officers.

Dewans of the Gaikwad, the Holkar and the Shandia were always appointed by the Peshwa,

but all of them claimed uncontrolled exercise of sovereign rights. Thus says Jadhava Rao "The management of Malegaon where we live has been always with us, the Sirkar has no authority over it." The Supekar Pawars also claim the same right of managing their saranjam without any interference from the Peshwa.

Numerous other instances could be cited of similar claims. The villages over which these Sardars were autonomous republics, and their democratic institutions remained unaffected and undisturbed till the lax supervision of the Peshwa's government was replaced by the more centralised and more efficient administration of the English. The description of the village institution we should postpone for the present and try to understand the general structure of the Maratha constitution. At the head of constitution was the Peshwa who had power to act as the deputy of the Sataia Raja. He was therefore the head of the feudal nobles and one of them at the same time. The feudal nobles did military service in return of their fiefs or saranjams and were independent rulers in everything but name. The villages in Maharashtra proper were however autonomous republics, managed by their own officers under the supervision of the saranjam's officers. Thus the whole constitution was a curious combination of Democracy and feudal Autocracy. In fact no single term of political philosophy can be applied to it. Unable to call it a Monarchy, Aristocracy or Democracy, Tone calls it a Military Republic. This is true only in one sense that the meanest soldier, if he had ability, could logically expect to be a Sardar of the confederacy. The confederacy itself, as Tone points out, was based not upon confidence but jealousy, and incapable of a comprehensive policy of national patriotism which had been the aim of Shivaji, fell to pieces when it came into conflict with a nation which combined individual self-sacrifice with national ambition.

THE NEW NATIONAL CREED OF INDIA—EDUCATION

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"TELL A HORSE'S POINTS"

AT the time Abraham Lincoln was the President of the United States a Congressional Committee was appointed to investigate and report upon a new gun. The report turned out to be

an unusually voluminous affair. And when the great President saw it, he sighed pathetically. "I should want a new lease of life to read this through. Why cannot an investigating committee occasionally exhibit a grain of common sense? If I send

a man to buy a horse for me, I expect to have him tell me his points, and not how many hairs he has on his tail "

As I look at the bulky report of the over-praised Calcutta University Commission, I am almost driven to say, "I should want a new lease of life to read this through " I gladly concede that the Sadler report is not without merit in spots, and unlike other official documents, it is not altogether *couleur de rose*. The report, for instance, makes little attempt to fortify all the mistakes and fallacies of the Indian government of the viceroy. On the contrary, it does tend to prove on occasions that the Indian bureaucracy, at least on matters educational, has been neither faultless nor infallible. An unprejudiced critic, however, cannot help feeling that the report is nothing unusual, nothing miraculous, nothing that a group of capable Indian-born educationists could not produce. The chances are that a report of an Indian educational commission, made up of Indian educators, though lacking in the artistry of English literary expression, would be marked by an independence of judgment and a sense of the real needs of India—far too rare among the members of the ruling race. After all India was not made for foreigners, but for Indians. No doubt the report purports to foreshadow a great educational renaissance. Nevertheless, it is open to honest doubt if the resultant practical value will ever be commensurate with the thousands and thousands of public money lavished upon the imported commission.

SOME EDUCATIONAL COMMONPLACES

Judging by the American standard of education, which is among the very highest the world affords, the report of the Calcutta University Commission is reactionary. Consider, if you will, the creation of the Intermediate College. It will tend to retard, rather than hasten, the spread of higher education in the country. For upwards of a dozen years there has been a steady movement in American universities to shorten the period of graduation from four to three years.

As a matter of fact, in most of the leading American universities, including Harvard, Columbia, and nearly all the higher State institutions of learning, a student by attending summer sessions can secure his B A degree in three years after his matriculation from the high school. The Sadler Commission's proposal that the stage of admission to the university should be the present Intermediate, instead of the present Matriculation, is not in line with the advanced educational thought; it will lengthen rather than shorten the period of graduation, and thereby put a man off that much longer before entering upon his life work.

The report states with a good deal of gusto that a primary aim of the proposed Intermediate College is to give the "Bengali boy" a "liberal education," to train him to the very easy and simple task of "exact and clear thinking." Besides, he "must"—yes, "must"—know how to write English with "clarity and precision," and he "must"—always "must"—speak English "easily and correctly." It seems to me that college as an establishment to polish up English is not worth three or four years of any one's time. A university diploma, largely based upon the ability of the recipient to use English, is not worth the vellum on which it is engrossed. In this connection one would like to know how many of the English and American university graduates, whose mother-tongue is English, can handle the English language with "clarity and precision." From what I have seen of them during all the years I have been abroad, I do not hesitate to say that they number very few indeed. That Indian students should learn to speak and write English, even though it is a foreign tongue, no one will deny, but there should positively be no attempt to make a fetish of it. In the American universities, where students are required to study some European languages, the number of those who can use them "easily and correctly" with "clarity and precision" is mighty small. More than that, Americans—unlike Indians—do not import annually an army of native European teachers to instruct American youths in European languages.

America does not regard the exact intonation and peculiar accents of European languages as absolutely indispensable to acquiring a "liberal education." And although the United States employs "home-grown" foreign-language teachers in her educational institutions, she seems to find no difficulty in holding her own as a foremost world power.

Some may think that I am prejudiced in favor of America, but I am not. I wish to say, however, that whatever may be the shortcomings of American professors, they have the saving grace of common horse-sense. I was told the other day by one of my colleagues in the English Department that he permitted a French girl student to write an English test in French. "All I wanted to find out was," said my learned friend, who is a recognized authority in his field, "how much the student had absorbed of the fundamental ideas of the English authors she had been studying. It mattered little whether she expressed her thoughts in English or French."

The Calcutta University Commission has declared itself in favor of small classes. It believes that even a class of fifty students is "too large." On the other hand, some of the expert school administrators in America maintain that large classes have no peculiar relation to inefficiency. Speaking of the relative advantages of small and large classes in secondary schools, Professor Charles L. Harlan writes in a recent issue of *Educational Administration and Supervision*:

"Small classes are expensive, since they increase the cost per pupil. This added expense does not seem justified when it is known that the difference in achievement of small over the large classes is small. If one wishes to secure higher promotion rates, higher scores in arithmetic, better attention and wider participation in class work, more efficient class management and better study habits, these things can undoubtedly be secured through improved means of instruction and more efficient supervision of the larger classes rather than through a reduction in the size of classes."

No American university has any iron-clad rule limiting the size of its classes. In the State University of Iowa, which is one of the "big nine" State universities of the Republic, we have found that a large class, under a competent professor, is not inconsistent with good teaching. The Head of our Political Science Department, who enjoys the distinction of being a keen student of government, has a class this year of 120 students. The Dean of our Graduate College, Dr. Carl E. Seashole, a man known the world over for his original contribution in experimental psychology, has now charge of two classes which have over 200 students in each. "The increased enrolment in all our American universities and the pressing necessity of observing strictest economy in these days of financial stringency," said the renowned educator to me this morning, "are the compelling reasons for larger classes everywhere. Then, too, from the pedagogical point of view, small classes are undesirable. Personally, large classes are to me very inspirational, very much indeed." Now along comes a Calcutta University Commission—chiefly made up of obscure men—and babbles about classes of what it conceives to be of "reasonable size!"

The problems of examination in Indian universities are difficult, and as an Indian educator has observed, are "a great deterrent factor in the way of true learning." Let no one, however, put all the blame on the shoulders of the much-abused Indian students. Having for years rubbed shoulders with students from practically every quarter of the globe, I am prepared to go on record that as a whole Indian students in their intellectual calibre are surpassed by none; they are capable of noble impulses and exalted ideals; they have good brains, clear minds, snappy ambition, and a voracious appetite for hard work. What more do you want? And yet the American publicist, Mr. Price Collier, makes himself responsible for the statement that at the Indian examinations "it takes 24,000 candidates for matriculation to secure 11,000 passes, and of these 11,000 only 1,900 survive to

take the B A degree" Surely, surely there is something radically wrong with the whole examination system I am inclined to believe that examinations in India are unnecessarily stiff, that they are more difficult in India than most other countries, and certainly more difficult than in England "At Oxford for example, and as a means of comparison," says Mr Collier, "the number of those who fail to matriculate is negligible, and of nine hundred who annually matriculate, about 650 proceed to their degree"

While I have no statistics on hand just now to prove my contention, I am sure the number of those students in American universities who fail in their final examinations is very small The low percentage of failures in examinations is due, for one thing, to careful personal interest taken in each student by some officers especially appointed for that purpose Should the student prove to be an incorrigible delinquent in his studies, he is told to withdraw himself from the college, of course In America the relation between the college and the student is not, however, that of a jail and a convict Here the student, even when he fails in some of his quarterly or semester examinations, is helped and guided until it is thoroughly clear that he is beyond all redemption A few weeks ago one of the Deans of our University sent me an informal note relative to a student who failed last quarter, but has been admitted to registration for the present session on probation The work of the delinquent student during the past term, according to the Dean's letter, "was not at all satisfactory, but he has expressed an earnest desire to be permitted to make another effort, and has given assurance that certain conditions present during the last quarter will not interfere with his work this quarter, therefore the Committee on Admission is giving him this opportunity of continuing his registration for the present quarter"

"We ask your co-operation in getting a line on this young man, as to his ability to do college work, his attitude toward his Classes, his industry and attendance, to the end that at the close of the term

you may aid this committee by a report, in determining whether or not it would be for the best interests of the student and of the University that he be permitted to continue, or whether his registration should be cancelled

"It is of course understood that if at any time during the present quarter you become convinced that it is useless for this man to continue your course, you will so recommend"

Tests and examinations are an evil—perhaps a necessary evil, but under no circumstances should they be made so hard as to become a great "deterrent factor in the way of true learning"

MILITARY TRAINING

The Sadler's commission has done well in calling pointed attention to the poor physical condition of the Indian students I thoroughly agree with the commissioners that something should be done at once to improve the health of the student population They have recommended Indian and English games as a solution of the problem That is good enough so far as it goes, but it does not go far enough If Indian universities really wish to develop a practical program of physical education, they should introduce compulsory military training as a part of the university curriculum Such a training is desirable for at least three good reasons *First*, it will produce a better type of Indian manhood *Second*, it will make it possible to reduce the huge standing army and at the same time furnish the country with stronger, better and less expensive defenders against foreign encroachment *Third*, it is bound to make for loyal citizens teaching them patriotism, obedience, and respect for law and order

In most of the American universities there is a well-equipped Military Department which gives, in co-operation with the government, instruction in military science and tactics The military training in these institutions is compulsory for all first year and second year students Of course in a country like India where people are forbidden "by law" to carry arms, there are not many possibilities for military

education That is clear enough Still, students could be taught to march, conduct field manoeuvres, respond to commands, drill and learn the manual of arms Such a training, however elementary, will go far toward making Indian youths physically and intellectually more sound

POLITICAL EDUCATION

Since the last European war, American universities have witnessed a new era in the teaching of political science—"an era that is being characterized by a new emphasis upon American Government and Citizenship, by a re-valuation of the importance of Administration in both teaching and research, and by the apparent paradox of an intense interest in self-government accompanied by a widespread enthusiasm for world politics" Since the signing of the armistice, the number of students in the Department of Political Science at Iowa has increased from 472 to 904, and the instructional staff has been enlarged from the equivalent of four full-time positions to six full-time positions, and the annual Department budget has grown from thirty-three thousand rupees to forty-thousand rupees In other words, the percentage of increase in student enrolment is 91½ per cent, instructional staff 50 per cent, and in budget a little over 27 per cent. The rapid development in the study of the science of government at Iowa is typical of similar growth in other American universities Nor is the increased interest in political education confined to the continental America In the Insular Possessions of the United States is to be noticed the same tendency It was my pleasure last month to meet Professor Maximo M Kalaw, Chief of the Department of Political Science in the University of the Philippines (Manila) Professor Kalaw, who is now on a political mission to the United States, informed me that his Department has an instructional staff of two professors on full-time and two lecturers on part-time, and that his Department is now offering the following courses

1 Elements of Political Science

- 2 Constitutional History
- 3 Philippine Government
- 4 American Government
- 5 Theory and Practice of Legislature
- 6 Municipal Government
- 7 International Law
- 8 Administrative Law
- 9 European Governments
- 10 Oriental Governments

The Calcutta University Commission seemed to be somewhat nervous because of the liberal political and social ideals which have gripped the imagination of the Indian student community In fact, the commission did discover "a real danger" in "the historical studies in the university system of Bengal" It would, therefore, train students to "examine difficult issues of politics and economics with just discrimination, to accustom them to thoroughness of critical examination, to give them a distaste for shallow rhetoric and to furnish them with the materials for a sober and independent judgment" Fine words they are! But how is the result to be attained? The commission has suggested that a student in Intermediate stage should have—"if at all possible"—some knowledge of history, and also—"if at all possible"—"a discipline in at least in one of the reasoning subjects—logic, economics, or mathematics" Then when the student has passed his Intermediate examination and is preparing for an arts degree, he may study either history or economics, but mind you, not both Of course not a syllable is to be taught directly about political science The books on that subject, so far as the commission is concerned, are in an *Index Expurgatorius* To study the organs and functions of government would be wicked, all wicked, don't ye know! And this, the training in politics and economics if you please! Thereupon our budding university graduate rushes out with his great equipment of a smattering of history or economics, and lo, the trick is done In an instant he solves the various "difficult issues of politics and economics with just discrimination" Perfectly wonderful! The "thoroughness of critical examination" which the "sober and independent"

commissioners have given the subject is marvellous

PRACTICAL EDUCATION

India has been more or less a student of the abstract, at least since she lost her independence. Time has now come to partly withdraw the Indian mind from the literary imagination and speculative philosophy. This is pre-eminently the age of machinery and science. The days when education was expected only to provide culture and amusement for the dilettante leisured class have gone and passed. India need not, for some time, worry much about sending young men to universities that will devote themselves exclusively to philosophy and belles-lettres, and become exquisite highbrows. The country cannot be run by impractical dreamers and visionaries. The whole trend of the Western educational effort is toward training for practical work rather than encouragement of ornamental and literary interests. In India, too, literati, lawyers and government clerks must make way for the new army of workers—merchants, manufacturers, engineers, financiers, and scientific farmers. Education must be connected with everyday life. Education should mean economic freedom—freedom which classical education may not secure, but practical education always does and will.

One gathers from the report of the commission that with the negligent exception of half a dozen wilful witnesses, all who appeared before that body made a vigorous plea for wholesale introduction of technological training. But nearly all of the wisest counsels are kicked aside by the commission. It favors the introduction of commercial education only in the secondary schools, and none at all in colleges. At a time when the whole world is recognizing the urgent need of a thorough preparation for a business career, India is to have as little of it as possible. This cannot but strengthen the suspicion that the present masters of India are panicky about well-trained Indians who may be successful competitors of their foreign economic exploiters. If that be the case,

why not have the honesty to throw off the camouflage and say so frankly? Here in the United States, I find that industrial and commercial education is being encouraged by the government in every conceivable way. At the beginning of the last century there were in this country only three schools offering day training in industrial vocations, and all of them were supported by private foundations. "But at present," writes Professor Graves of the University of Pennsylvania, "industrial education at public expense in the day, as well as in the night, is widespread. The school system of all progressive cities affords vocational instruction in elementary schools and technical high schools." The course given in high schools of commerce is of the strongest and covers four or five years. "Furthermore," continues the same authority, "within the past decade higher education in commerce has been started at the universities—especially the state universities, and all these institutions of any standing have established colleges of commerce."

There can be no two opinions that if the Calcutta University Commission had been duly appreciative of its high responsibility, it would have come out flat-footedly—without ifs and but's—advocating a thorough-going program of establishing a network of schools and colleges where all branches of industrial art could be taught. As it is, the commission has blithely gone on, for the most part, with its twaddle of literary studies. In short, the commission has neglected to meet the issue of industrial education squarely, and thereby has shown its bankruptcy of practical wisdom, of far-sighted educational statesmanship.

Again, what of agricultural education? A glance at *The All-India Agricultural Statistics*, compiled a couple of years ago by Findlay Shirras, should convince one of the utter necessity of trained workers in this field. It appears from this *Statistics* that there are in India 112,308,000 acres of tillable waste land waiting to be reclaimed. If five acres are sufficient to support a family—as frequently they are in India—22,461,600 families could easily be provided.

ed for in this land. But how could these broad acres be brought under the plow? Where are the men with requisite knowledge of scientific agriculture to convert this immense idle area into a source of national wealth? At present they do not practically exist. Hence it is the clear duty of the government to introduce a comprehensive scheme of agricultural education, beginning with the primary schools and secondary schools, and up through colleges. Now, the Calcutta University Commission professes a good deal of lip sympathy with this view, but—there is always one little “but”—it insists that “direct agricultural teaching at an early school age is inadvisable.” Why? Is the commission ignorant of the experienced judgment of educational experts in America—the country that leads all other nations in agricultural education? There are now in the United States over one hundred agricultural high schools, and “direct agricultural training,” as a regular part of the course, is given in several thousand high and elementary school systems. What has the commission to say about this? The plain truth is that the commission was simply obsessed with the imaginary need of “great caution” “in regard to the number of students to be trained” in agriculture, “so that the market may not be flooded.” There you have it! These few words reveal, as Mr Putnam Weale said in discussing the outrageous Japanese demands upon China, “a peculiar and very illuminating chemistry of the soul.” They let us, unconsciously perhaps, into the very secret recesses of the commissioner’s brains. Wise men, these commissioners are!

EDUCATION OF WOMEN

Facts about women’s education are appalling. After one hundred and fifty years of English rule in India one learns that among adults only ten women in a thousand can read and write. Is not that a frightful condition? What is to be done now? Indian girls of to-day will become the mothers of Indian men, the builders of the Indian nation of to-morrow. Who dares to neglect the edu-

cation of Indian girls? In referring to the working class of England, Mr Lloyd George made the statement that it is impossible to build an A-one nation from A-three material. This is true as emphatically of England as of India. No one can hope to build a powerful nation of men whose future mothers are laboring under the darkness of ignorance.

The section of the commission’s report dealing with the injurious effect of higher education on the health and physique of the girl students seemed to me very significant. In the United States girls who go through college seldom suffer from breakdown in ill health. Recently an inquiry was made to Bryn Mawr College, a leading woman’s college in America, as to the health of its students. The answer furnished by Miss Constance M K Applebee, the physical director of Bryn Mawr, indicates that college education is an aid to a girl’s health. She says:

“The only time our girls are sick to any noticeably extent is when they halt the regularity of their life here to go home. They come back with colds, too much plum pudding, and are below par for a week. Then, as soon as they get back into their normal, healthy way of life, sleeping, eating, playing and working at regular times, they regain their vigor and pink cheeks.”

The records of Bryn Mawr for the past seven years show that hardly any girls left because of illness, that half to three-fourths of them continued in the same state of health, and that the balance were improved through the close supervision exercised by the physical director.

The health of women students in an American university compares favorably with those of men. Much, of course, is due to the physical exercise which the students are required to take, up to certain classes. But on the whole, as was reported in the University of Wisconsin, “the health of young women is improved and their physical strength increased while in attendance at the university.” That women do not suffer in health under the strain of competitive intellectual work is further evidenced from the fact that an

ever-increasing number of them is taking advantage of higher educational opportunities "In 1901," according to Monroe's *Cyclopedia of Education*, "31 per cent of the graduate students in the United States were women, in 1911, 30 per cent Of those receiving the master's degree in 1901, 21 per cent were women, in 1911, 28 per cent Of those receiving the doctor's degree in 1901, 9 per cent were women, in 1911, 10 per cent "

MOFUSSIL COLLEGES

A favorite pastime with some of the "superior" Anglo-Indians is to pick flaws and hurl invidious thrusts at Indian colleges Even the Calcutta University Commission did not seem to be able to rise above this practice For, it professed to be "painfully struck by the morally" "unhealthy conditions" of the colleges in mofussil Bengal In the present stage of Indian national temper it will not do for a foreigner, not even for Sir Michael Sadler, to slander Indian colleges The country will not simply tolerate such foreign-made criticism However well qualified Sir M Sadler may be thought to be for vice-chancellorship of Leeds University, he is a very poor judge of Indian social conditions From the actual experience in some of the mofussil colleges of Bengal, the writer considers it a criminal libel to brand these educational institutions as morally unhealthy He cannot help thinking what would have happened to a university commission—especially if it was largely foreign in its personnel—which would calumniate the colleges of a State in America In all probability the students of those colleges would demand that their traducers be tared and feathered Some of the hotheads may even ask that their maligners be proceeded against more seriously

The Commission has brought forward against mofussil colleges another charge, unsupported by any circumstantial evidence It has stated that "with the exception of Dacca," and "with one other possible exception" there is "no independent centre of intellectual life" in the mofussil Supposing it were true—which it is not—

a detached observer would like to ask, What has that got to do with teaching in college? There are dozens and dozens of colleges scattered through villages and hamlets of North America that can boast of no "independent centre of intellectual life" And yet who ever heard of a word against them for that reason? A college community stimulated by high ideals of integrity, morality and learning, as mofussil colleges are, is bound to be a centre of intellectual life But then there is little use getting hot at the commission As "pigs is pigs," so a Commission is a Commission That's all

STATE AID

India is fed to the full with too many Commissions, crammed to bursting with too many promises It is time to give her something more worthwhile than a mere mouthful of sonorous phrases and glittering words, which cost very little The cool indifference of Indian bureaucracy toward education reminds me of a banquet of rich merchants in New York City, who ate and drank until the wee small hours of the morning Then just before the affair closed, one of the more prosperous men of the party arose and said

"Mr Toastmaster, as we sat around this table spread with the good things of life, all we could eat and all we could drink, my heart went out to the poor people of New York City, the women who have not enough clothing, the children who have not shoes to wear or books with which to go to school, and I move you, Mr Toastmaster, that we now rise and give three cheers for the poor "

That is the way with some of the fat-salaried rulers of India All through these long years they have protested their faith in education, but when it comes to giving Hindustan the thing most needed—education—bureaucrats in India, like the banqueters in New York, are only willing to give three cheers Now, how long will this be permitted to continue? "India is still shut out from the possibility of receiving any education for the people," writes Mr H M Hyndman in his most thought-provoking volume, *The Awakening of Asia*,

just published "We English deplore their ignorance. This is how we enlighten them. Out of the total revenue raised in British India—that is to say, India directly under British rule—we spend only one penny per head on education and only 1.9 per cent of the population [3.26 per cent in 1917-18] go to school. The improvement during the last ten years has been almost nominal. Yet even in Russia, a very poor and backward country, the expenditure on education is 7½ d per head, and the children at school number between 4 per cent and 5 per cent of the whole population."

Schools and colleges are public institutions deserving adequate support of the government. They should not be placed in a false position before the world as a mendicant. They should receive free and ungrudging aid out of the public treasury, which belongs not to the bureaucracy but to the people, the Indian people alone.

After all is said and done, education

must be recognized as the rock bottom of the Indian creed. Education is the great necessity, the national necessity, perhaps the only necessity worth serious consideration at this moment. I charge that any man who obstructs by a week, a day, an hour the spread of education, is working not in the interest of India, but in the interest of the enemy of India. Such a man is disloyal to India, even though he takes care to hide his disloyalty behind a tapestry of specious phrases. I assert that such a man is to be classed among the unpunished traitors of the Mother Land. The glorious past of Hindustan is imperishable, but her future depends on those of the present generation. Make the future safe for Hindustan—a greater, nobler Hindustan. Help, promote, advance the cause of Indian education—for "the age that is waiting before." Men and women of India, FORWARD MARCH!

SIZE OF THE BENGAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

By SRINATH DUTT

SECTION 7 (2) of the Government of India Act of 1919 runs thus—

"(2) The number of members of the Governors' Legislative Councils shall be in accordance with the table set out in the First Schedule to this Act, and of the members of each Council not more than twenty per cent shall be official members and at least seventy per cent shall be elected members—

"Provided that—

(a) Subject to the maintenance of the above proportions, rules under the principal Act may provide for increasing the number of members of any Council, as specified in that Schedule."

The schedule is quoted below

First Schedule

Number of members of Legislative Councils

Legislative Council

Madras 118

Bombay 111

Bengal 125

United Provinces 118

Punjab 83

Behar and Orissa 93

Central Provinces 70

Assam 53

The Government of India Act having been passed

in a great hurry, the consideration of the proper size of the Legislative Councils was left to the time when rules under the principal Act were to be framed. Such a provision was absolutely necessary in order to meet the evil of inordinately large size of the constituencies or small size of the Councils in some presidencies and provinces and the very small size of the electorates in others. In paragraph 8 of their fifth despatch on franchise, the Government of India wrote on the 23rd April 1919 "Our conclusions are that the Franchise should be so varied as to result in a slight enlargement of the Punjab electorate and a considerable enlargement of the Madras electorate, that the large electorates proposed for Bengal and the United Provinces should be reduced by one third, and that Assam should be reduced by something like one third. Our colleague Sir Sankaran Nair, however, would accept the Committee's proposals as regards Bengal, Assam and the United Provinces. As to the Punjab he agrees with Sahebzada Afab Ahmad."

The reason why the Government of India suggested a reduction of the size of electorates proposed by the Franchise Committee for Bengal and the United Provinces was a serious and earnest warning recorded by Mr Montagu and Lord Chelmsford in paragraph 226 of their joint report in the following language "It

possible that owing to unequal distribution of population and wealth it may be necessary to differentiate the qualifications for a vote not merely between different provinces, but between different parts of the same province. It is essential to take due account of the problems involved in (1) the maintenance of an electoral roll, (2) the attendance of voters at a polling centre, (3) the danger of impersonation and (4) the subsequent adjudication of electoral petitions. On these considerations (6) the strength of the official and non-official agency, which could be made available for electoral purposes throughout the country, has an important bearing, and warns us (7) against any such inordinate and sudden extension of the franchise as might lead to a break down of the machinery through sheer weight of numbers."

The danger of sheer weight of numbers or of inordinately large size of the constituencies in Bengal and the United Provinces will be evident from the table about size of electorates given in paragraph 11 of the report of the Southborough franchise committee shown below

| Province | Urban | | | Rural | | | Electorates per seat |
|------------|------------------------|--------------------------|-------|----------------------|---------------------------|-------|----------------------|
| | Population in millions | Electorates in thousands | Seats | Electorates per seat | Electorates per thousands | Seats | |
| Madras | 40 | 32 | 11 | 2,900 | 510 | 77 | 6,600 |
| Bombay | 20 | 149 | 16 | 9,300 | 504 | 73 | 6,900 |
| Bengal | 45 | 106 | 17 | 6,200 | 1,122 | 75 | 15,000 |
| United Pr | 47 | 64½ | 12 | 5,300 | 1,419 | 84 | 17,000 |
| Punjab | 20 | 77 | 10 | 7,700 | 160 | 54 | 3,000 |
| Behar & Or | 32 | 58½ | 9 | 6,500 | 517 | 63 | 8,200 |
| Central Pr | 12 | 39½ | 10 | 4,000 | 120 | 47 | 2,500 |
| Assam | 6 | nil | nil | nil | 300 | 30 | 10,000 |

A close examination of column 7 showing the average size of the rural constituencies of Bengal and the United Provinces will clearly demonstrate that there were and are very good reasons for apprehending in those two provinces "a break-down of the electoral machinery through sheer weight of numbers." The Parliamentary Committee realised this and provided for enlarging the size of a Legislative Council by section 7, proviso 2 of the Government of India Act that I have quoted above and thus reducing the large size of the rural electorates, and distinctly laid down in their report to the Parliament on section 7 of the Government of India Bill that "they regard the number of seats allotted to the rural population as disproportionately low and consider that it should receive a larger share of representation."

Now the Government of India proposed a reduction of the electorates of Bengal and the United Provinces by one third to get over the evil of their unmanageably large size. The same object might be equally gained by raising the size of their Councils by adding one half or fifty per cent of the elected members. This they seem to have failed to do, if they have approved the proposals of the Government of Bengal for adding only 16 members to the Council of whom eight only will be allotted to rural representation and the remaining eight to the representation of the labourers, Europeans and Eurasians of urban areas. The Government of India have stultified themselves when they have not accepted the suggestion of

the Parliamentary Committee of raising the size of the two legislative councils instead of reducing the size of the electorates to meet the danger that they pointed out themselves in paragraph 8 of their fifth despatch. Were the Government of India in a mood of sulk when they did not accept the suggestion of the Parliamentary Committee and fully avail themselves of the Proviso of section 7 of the Government of India Act?

Even a cursory view of the table that I have quoted from paragraph 11 of the Southborough franchise report should have satisfied the Government of India, when they indited their fifth despatch on franchise, that both on account of population and electoral strength the size of the Bengal and United Provinces Councils should have been more than double of what had been proposed for Bombay. Taking Bombay to be the standard, there should have been 266 and 222 members for Bengal council and 278 and 268 members for the United Provinces council by population and total electorates respectively. Bengal and the United Provinces had instead been allowed only 125 and 116 members for their councils and the joint wisdom of the Governments of India and Bengal has now raised the number to 140 (plus occasional 2) for the Bengal council.

The simple territorial unit for Bengal should have been a sub-division with an average population of over half a million and an average electorate of over 14,000 persons. If we had in average one Mussalman and another non-Mussalman member for each Sub-Division, we should have had then the simplest and most intelligible system of franchise that the illiterate and the literate would have equally understood and appreciated. Every voter would have been able to walk the distance to the polling station and record his vote. I regret most sincerely that Mr Surendra Nath Banerjee, who was a member of the franchise committee, did not go for making a territorial unit out of every sub-division and for having 250 members, instead of 125, for the Bengal Council as well as for the United Provinces.

I need not repeat here what I said in another article on this subject published in the January issue of the *Modern Review*, suggesting a Council of 250 members of whom 133 members were to represent rural areas, 17 urban areas, 30 European and Eurasian Commercial Community and 20 members to represent the landholding, educational and commercial interests of the Indian Community, leaving 50 members to Government for nomination of 35 officials including 15 Government pleaders and 15 non-officials of classes that have not succeeded to get any representations through "general" constituencies.

Now will a council of 250 members be too big and unwieldy for conduct of legislative business? I do not think so. Unless the council be much larger than 140 members, the Zemindars and men of other professional classes will be supreme in the council and having the same interest they will act as an oligarchy. There are over 120,000 revenue-paying and revenue-free Mehals in Bengal held by twice as many persons. The supporters of landholding interests will not be confined to the five members specially elected by the thousand big Zemindars. Unless the number of members of the council be sufficiently large, there will be no opportunity, under the present conditions of Bengal, for a bona fide tradesman, or agriculturist or handi-

craftsman or any true representative of trade, agriculture or cottage industry getting admission into the legislative council, not to talk of the Assembly, and sound a discordant voice amongst the oligarchy of landholding and professional classes

I am sorry that the Moderates and the Extremists as they are called who profess equally a dislike of commercial representation, should get excited when they find that the Mussalmans get here and there a seat or two more than they deserve. The Hindus are equally to blame when they quarrel on the excuse of say, West Bengal Hindus having got better representation than East Bengal Hindus in the Provincial council or the Hindus of the United Provinces having got a better representation than the Hindus

of Bengal in the Indian Legislative Assembly. Is there any difference between the interests of East Bengal and West Bengal in the Council Chamber or between Bengal and the United Provinces in the Indian Assembly? The interests of the Europeans are vitally different from those of the Indians in all provinces and all over India. Instead of quarrelling amongst themselves the Hindus, the Mussalmans and the Sikhs should join their hearts and combine their voices against the Europeans lest the latter should take advantage of discussion amongst the Indians and prove supreme in the council chambers. This is what the Europeans are proclaiming already from their house tops that they would do.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

Indian Nationality

INDIAN NATIONALITY.—By R N Gilchrist, M A, Principal, Krishnagar College. Longmans Green & Co 1920. Price 7s 6d net. Pp 246.

The chapter headings will give us a general idea of the nature of the contents of this book. They are—Nationality, its meaning, applications and value, Indian Nationality, race and language, Religion, Hinduism and Mohammedanism, Caste, Sir Rabindranath Tagore's Nationalism, Rome and India, Critical and Constructive, Indian Nationality and Federalism.

Revolutions are the chief contributions of the nineteenth century to the cause of culture according to the author, and these revolutions are of two kinds, industrial with results mainly material, and political with results mainly spiritual. Political revolution is nothing else than the introduction into the field of practical politics of the principle of nationality. The unity of race, as an element of nationality, depends on the belief in such unity, for modern races are so mixed that it is difficult to say what is one race and what is another race. There must, however, be some welding together of races, some intermixture of blood, in order to fuse the different ethnic groups into a common whole so that national feeling may emerge. The community of language is the very mother's milk of nationality. In this respect Bengal is fortunately circumstanced, inasmuch as 92 per cent of her population speak the same language. Misgovernment is a prolific parent of nationality. The author however takes care to remind us that nationality is a spiritual principle and is not to be identified with any of the factors which lead to its development, though it seeks embodiment in self-government of some form. "The various 'unities' given above are the chemical elements of the protoplasm, the ideal

gives the life." "Every nationality that may justly claim to be a nationality should be allowed to develop in its own way, provided that way is not adjudged by the consensus of civilised opinion to be antagonistic to the common weal of humanity. Nationality is in itself an incomplete organism, it aspires to the completeness of independence in a state of its own, and if that aspiration has the necessary inherent vitality, it should not be smothered by alien force. Each group has some distinguishing genius of its own which should be given free scope for development. Humanity will benefit by the preservation of group idiosyncrasies. These group contributions to the common good of humanity must, however, develop through their own institutions and government. Independence, history teaches us, is a necessary medium for full and free development. [National forces] are destructive of dynastic influences, of alien mis-government, of barriers in the way of self-expression. But the destruction is only a means to construction. Alien elements must disappear before an organism can have free life. Thus nationality demands freedom from shackles in order to choose its own medium for the development of its own type of life. Each group is to choose for itself what form of government it considers necessary for the growth of its indigenous institutions." So far, we are all agreed with the author. Also when he says that "to exaggerate the differences at the expense of the sameness in human nature is a grave error. It is as erroneous, too, to denounce nationalism because evil effects spring from national feelings." But when he proceeds to apply his principles to India, some may be disposed to think that he is too fond of repeating the official catchwords, as for instance in passages like the following. "Nationality, rightly understood, is an ennobling aspiration,

but it must be neither premature nor chauvinistic. "In India, for example, a large section of the *intelligentsia* at present is in a state of national neurasthenia, a state of sensitiveness so acute as almost to baffle the constructive efforts of most skilled political specialists of the day." In fairness to the learned professor, however, we must say that he is not in love with the 'bureaucratic Die-hards' as he calls them, and admits that 'if the so-called extreme nationalists are wrong, the extreme reactionaries are as wrong,' and there is something to be said in favour of the author's opinion that "while one cannot denounce the very natural nationalism of the politically minded classes, one cannot but deplore the disproportionate effort spent on destructive criticism of all that savours of government when so much in other directions is crying out for the intensive expenditure of public spirit." The author's conclusion is summed up thus "India has much to contribute to humanity, and that contribution will never benefit the world unless the spontaneity of Indian life and character is given the freest play consistent with peace and order."

In the interests of the imperial idea also, the author thinks it necessary to grant local autonomy to India, for it has been demonstrated again and again in the history of the colonies of the British empire that local autonomy is the strongest bond of imperial unity. The grant of autonomy to the colonies was meant not only to encourage colonial nationality but to strengthen imperial relations. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report recognises this. It says "The experience of a century of experiments within the empire goes all in one direction. As power is given to the people of a province or of a Dominion to manage their own local affairs, their attachment becomes the stronger to the empire which comprehends them all in a common bond of union."

The author deals at some length with the barrier of languages in India, and with the position of English as the common *lingua franca* for all India. Language is the palladium of nationalistic feeling, and the lack of a medium of common expression stands very seriously in the way of political union. But in spite of the encouragement of local vernaculars, the proportion of English-knowing persons all over India increased by 50 per cent in ten years and since the last census report the advance has been still more rapid. The author is apprehensive that the provinces, impelled by a feeling of local patriotism, might institute purely vernacular education in all grades and thereby endanger the unity of India as a whole. He therefore advocates that education should be one of the all-India subjects though he admits that normally it might be a provincial or 'transferred' subject. But Professor Gilchrist himself shows, by large extracts from the debate in the Imperial Council on this very subject in 1915, that representative Indians do not themselves desire

to displace English from the secure position it now occupies in our universities and public life. With the Calcutta University Commission, the Professor is of opinion that Indians must be bilingual before they are unilingual. "In small European nations, children have to learn in schools the languages of all their stronger neighbours. Dutch children, for example, learn German, French and English." In Assam, 50 per cent of the people speak Bengali, but the movement in favour of a separate 'national' language for the Assamese backed by official encouragement, has achieved considerable, if a baneful, success. As the author says, "the artificial preservation of languages, however laudable patriotically, does not conduce to the unity either of nations or of mankind. Difference of language isolates people, and no language is worth preserving artificially either for patriotic or literary purposes."

We are in substantial agreement with Professor Gilchrist in the views set forth in his chapter on religion. Among Hindus, he says, "toleration in religious profession co-exists with the most rigid social intolerance in the world." The effect of the teaching of physical science in broadening the mind of the orthodox Hindu has, in the opinion of Sir Herbert Risley, not been very hopeful. "Science," says Sir Herbert, "no doubt, is a powerful solvent of mythology and tradition. But the human mind is hospitable and the Indian intellect has always revelled in the subtleties of a logic which undertakes to reconcile the most manifestly contradictory propositions. Men, whose social and family relations compel them to lead a double life, will find little difficulty in keeping their religious beliefs and scientific convictions in separate mental compartments. A religion which has succeeded in absorbing animism is not likely to strain at swallowing science." While this is true of all nations more or less, we believe it is more true of the Hindus than of the followers of any other religion. (Jesuit fathers, for instance, are often enthusiastic votaries of science, but in superstitious beliefs and practices it would be hard to beat a thoroughgoing catholic priest.) The tolerance of the Hindus in the realm of religious thought must not therefore blind us to the fact that "In India the two leading religions are so opposed both in creed and religious institutions that it may seem almost hopeless to find a meeting place for national fusion. The amorphous body of doctrine, ritual and social organisation which makes up Hinduism is a glaring contrast to the clear-cut, well-defined Moslem doctrine of the Koran." This opposition has been further accentuated by communal representation. "Communal representation in any country is an element of national cleavage, and in India its inevitable result is the perpetuation of already existing differences." But Professor Gilchrist rightly says "One of the least essential of national unities, an accidental accompaniment of nationality, a strengthener,

but not a maker of national union is religion as such. But if religion or creed is not an essential 'unity' in nationality, it is also a non-essential in separatism. As in unity, so in separation, it is ancillary. The great religious wars and crusades of the world have not been purely religious. Religion, or creed, has only strengthened other motives. Religion, therefore, is not so much a discordant element in itself but a cloak for other discordant elements. Race hatred, economic jealousy, political and social quarrels, acquire an added zest when they wear the warpaint of religion." If theologies do not provide a meeting-place, where are we to find the necessary basis of unity among the Hindu and the Moslem? In the author's opinion it lies in general toleration and the social and political life of the people. He quotes many "instances of how Hindus and Mohammedans act together in full accord without any material differences arising from religious creed," as for example, intermarriage in some native states, taking part in each other's religious festivals, co-operation in industrial life, and communion in politico-social life, where "Hindus and Mohammedans work together without religious friction." Referring to "the mutual tolerance of Hindus and Mussalmans in public bodies," the learned Professor says "Fiction is most exceptional. In my own experience of a University and College where both Hindus and Mohammedans are taught, instead of intolerance I have always noted the greatest readiness on the part of either community to accommodate itself to the wishes of the other in respect of matters of religious observance."

Indian nationality is intimately connected with the problem of caste. The two ideas are largely mutually exclusive. One implies separation, the other consolidation. The unity of India has not gone beyond caste. It is a phenomenon of arrested political development. The Hindu political synthesis has stopped at race. But as Sir Rabindranath Tagore says in his *Nationalism*, "Have we an instance in the whole world where a people who are not allowed to mingle their blood, shed their blood for one another, except by coercion or for mercenary purposes? And can we ever hope that these moral barriers against our race amalgamation will not stand in the way of our political unity?" Long ago, Sir Comer Petheram, as Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, expressed the same view in the following passage: "It should be borne in mind by those who aspire to lead the people of this country into the untried regions of political life, that all the recognised nations of the world have been produced by the freest possible intermingling and fusing of the different race-stocks inhabiting a common territory. The horde, the tribe, the caste, the clan, all the separate and warring groups characteristic of the earlier stages of civilisation, must, it would seem, be welded together by a process of unrestricted crossing

before a nation can be produced. Everywhere in history we see the same contest going forward between the earlier, the more barbarous instinct of separation, and the modern civilising tendency towards unity, but we can point to no instance where the former principle, the principle of disunion and isolation has succeeded in producing anything resembling a nation. History, it may be said, abounds in surprises, but I do not believe it likely to happen in India in the present generation." The idea of caste as it is today, based on birth and birth alone, is characteristic of India, and India only. Professor Gilchrist therefore finds it impossible to think of a casteless India. But he is not without hope on that account. For he considers that "in caste there may be those adaptations possible which will allow that solidarity to develop which is necessary for national union." "The only possible solution to the national problem is for caste to adapt itself to the new idea, and caste had already proved so flexible in other matters that it does not seem too much to hope that it will also adapt itself to nationality." One fear entertained about caste by Sir Herbert Risley, who was the first to consider its connection with the problem of nationality, and which has been more recently echoed from palpably interested motives by Lord Sydenham and his satellites, has, we are glad to find, been emphatically repudiated by the author. Sir Herbert was of opinion that party government in India would be by castes, and Professor Gilchrist says "What he feared was completely illusory. Caste is not the mainspring of the Indian party system as it is, nor is it likely to be in the Indian party system that will be."

The receptivity of Hinduism to the new idea of nationality, and its power to accommodate itself to the conditions which the new idea demands, are, according to our author, proved by the following facts: (1) The progressiveness of Hindu law as compared with the unprogressiveness of Moslem law, a circumstance to which attention was drawn by Sir William Markby in his 'Elements of Law'. "The Brahmins formally altered the law by writing commentaries on the older codes, and in these commentaries they engrafted new customs on the old rules." (2) The evidence of the power of liberal thought in Hindu society itself, e.g., in the organisation of reform societies in Hinduism. (3) Movements of reform among the castes themselves, "The various caste movements of which I have spoken are democratic. Even the highest castes, whether intentionally or not, are democratic, for they all insist on education, and education is the sledge-hammer of democracy. Education has become almost a fetish in India. With the extension of education, as in other countries, will come democratic ideas, and the disinterested resolutions of the Brahmins are all the more laudable, for surely, if perhaps slowly, they are cutting the grounds of privilege from under their

own feet" (Something similar was said by the Calcutta University Commission about the unselfishness of the demand of the higher classes for popular education) (4) The solution of the problem of foreign travel, prohibited by caste custom, in the light of the altered social conditions of the times (5) The example of the feudal nobility of Japan "The *samurai* were, in our Indian parallel, Brahmans of Brahmans, but they stepped down to be Vaishyas, even Sudras, without complaint. Few nations can provide a similar act of noble self-sacrifice" (6) The revival of Hinduism, with its concomitant manifestation in new forms of national activity in fine art, music, poetry and literature. The school of Abanindranath Tagore 'has certainly added to the world store of art' The *Gitanjali* breathes the pure modern spirit in Hinduism. Hindu nationalism "is capable of much positive good. In its best aspects we see it in social service and social reform, art and literature, and it is in such a form that the movement gives definite evidence of the ability of Hinduism to rise to the heights which new political forms will demand. In recent years the cry 'Back to Hinduism' has not meant return to the old *dolce fai niente*, it has meant the extraction from Hinduism of powers latent in it but hitherto dormant. It is the demand for Hinduism to stand on its own legs, the demand for action and positive service. The wonderful results that have already shown themselves in the very short period of active Hindu nationalism leads one to hope that, with the attainment of a self-reliant manhood, Hinduism may have many more good things to give. The new political aroma of responsibility in government may further permeate the temple and lead to new ideals and action. There is much to be hoped for in the balanced development of a religious and social system which has produced the Tagores." "Every indication that we have at present of the inwardness of Indian nationality points to the future indebtedness of humanity to a culture capable of real contributions to the culture force of the world." The author's conclusions on the inter-relation of caste and the development of Indian nationality are that the two are not mutually exclusive, and that "the trunk of nationality will prove stronger than the creeper of caste."

While expressing his appreciation of Hindu nationalism, more than once in this book the author points his warning finger to one aspect of it, which he calls, 'chauvinistic nationalism', and which he considers to be full of danger for the growth of Indian nationality, inasmuch as it is sure to breed antagonism among the nationalists of other religious persuasions, e.g., Pan-Hinduism will awaken the forces of Pan-Islamism. In this aspect, Hindu nationalism is characterised by "a blind praise of Hindu civilisation and at the same time a vicious denunciation of everything non-Hindu." "The

Hindu writer or politician almost invariably speaks of the future of India as a Hindu India. I could fill this book with quotations from speeches in various Councils and Congresses, from pamphlets, books and articles, in which Hindu speakers or writers envisage a future India for the Hindu Indians." "In the development of Hindu nationality other elements must enter. The great mass of influences from the West, the co-existing culture of Mohammedanism and of other religions—these must fuse with Hinduism before Hindu nationality can become Indian nationality. What is necessary is balance. Extremism, resulting in wholesale condemnation of everything non-Hindu, will only raise to antagonism what otherwise may be dormant." And the Moslem, too, the writer might have added, must try to withdraw his patriotic vision more and more from foreign Muslim territories and fix it on his motherland of India in order to contribute his quota to the development of a common Indian nationality.

Professor Gilmchrist devotes one chapter of his book to Sir Rabindranath Tagore's work called 'Nationalism'. Sir Rabindranath is bitterly opposed to nationalism, to which he ascribes many of the grave evils of western culture, and is of opinion that India's problem is not political, but social, and denounces the caste system as the root cause of all the miseries of India. India 'is worshipping with all ceremony the magnificent cage of countless compartments that she has manufactured,' and it is a vain hope on the part of Indian politicians to 'build a political miracle of freedom upon the quicksand of social slavery.' The way in which eastern spirituality is opposed to western materialism by Hindu revivalists evokes a word of protest from our author. The contrast between eastern and western materialism lies in the latter being more dazzling, ostentatious and glaring, but it is not the *religion* of the west. As for the spirituality of Hindu life, that word is frequently used when 'ritualism' or 'ceremonialism' would be more applicable. "Say what we will, if India is to be a nation she must be able to survive in a system of nations. If India is to exist among a scheme of nations, then she must compete with other nations. In Rome you must do as the Romans do. If commercialism or industrialism are the props which support, or the lures which attract, nations, whether of the East or West, then India must prepare herself for self-support, she must prepare her own props, or she must be a lure. Commercialism means wealth, wealth means power—in ships and arms—and India without wealth would do nothing but allow the newcomer to walk over her spiritual, but prostrate, body. It is not because of political union that men are greedy or murderous or cruel, it is because men are not good. Man must live in states and be organised in some way and not till everyone is perfect will the

ill-feelings and bad results that come from organisation die away. At our present state of moral attainment the state and government are essential. And what do industrialism and commercialism imply? They too are expressions of the nature of man. With the growing complexity of society there are the growing needs of men. These needs vary from age to age and from country to country. Industries and commerce do not rise up out of nothing. They arise to meet man's needs. As human needs grow and become more diversified so do industries. The desires of man are not all good and the industries to supply bad desires may not be good. But there they are. If they are bad, there are bad men who require bad things, and it behooves us to teach them better things. The making of money, again, is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end. Wealth in general is necessary to ethical development in a society. "If India is to be on a level with the self-governing British Dominions, and far more so if she is to be independent, she must pay the price of either self-government or independence. The price is commercial and industrial efficiency. However far it may be from the pacific ideal of a large section of Indians, the ideal of efficiency must be followed, for among nations the race is to the swift and the battle to the strong. No amount of other-worldliness or spirituality or passive resistance or passive quietism will keep the modern commercial wolf from the door, not to speak of the possible imperial wolves of the future, if there is prey to be secured." "While Hinduism theoretically admits the international ideal [universal brotherhood], it has not yet reached the national. The West is showing very considerable signs of passing from nationalism to internationalism." In spite of all the evils flowing from political and commercial organisation India must therefore develop a nationality of its own in order to take its proper place among the nations of the world.

The next chapter is devoted to a comparison of the British and Roman governments and the examination of Lord Bryce's essay on the subject. With Seeley, the author admits that India was not conquered in the old barbaric sense of the word 'conquered' and that the British conquered India by the help of Indians themselves. Lord Bryce's opinion about the British Government in India being thoroughly despotic, where everything is done for and nothing by the people, is said to be no longer applicable to 'modern democratic India,' but we are by no means sure that it is as absolute as the author would have it. Professor Gilchrist proceeds to trace the development of local self-government by examining the various government Resolutions on the subject from Lord Ripon's to Lord Chelmsford's and to show how it has been gradually emancipated from official leading strings. But resolutions embody an ideal, and are not synonymous with

facts. The vicious tradition of bureaucratic interference will take some time to die out, and the words of the latest resolution of May 16, 1918 that considerations of departmental efficiency should be subordinated to the actual training of the people in the management of their own local affairs by allowing them to make mistakes and profit by them, have yet to be carried out in practice.

The difference between extremists and moderates lies mainly in their attitude towards the length of the period of tutelage but "the idea of tutelage is very naturally resented. Obviously no people can be expected to live an indefinite minority or learn interminable lessons without loss to their self-respect." The author foresees that "the only position which the European Government servant of the future can occupy is that of a servant of the political sovereignty of India." "In India we are in actual fact, only starting to lay foundations, while in ideas we are as advanced as the most advanced Radical in the West." Here the author, though perhaps without meaning it, correctly estimates the value of the responsible government contemplated by the recent Government of India Act. It only starts to lay the foundations of democratic government, but the way in which some people talk of it would seem to show that they believe that everything, or nearly everything that self-Government requires has been conferred on India by the Act. That the democratic idea has advanced much further in India than is represented by the Montagu Chelmsford reforms is a strong proof of their utter inadequacy to meet the requirements of the situation. In the last chapter the author says that federalism offers the only reasonable organisation of Indian nationality.

In the interesting introduction contributed to this volume by Professor Ramsay Muir of the University of Manchester he says that there are four 'dominant and operative political conceptions of the West, viz., (1) the idea of Individuality as something supremely valuable, (2) the conception of the Nation as the surest foundation for the organisation of the state, (3) the idea of Law not as something imposed by external authority but as representing the will and conscience of the mass of the people and as being the same for all, (4) the idea of national self-government through representative assemblies. All these four conceptions are, according to Professor Ramsay Muir, foreign to India, and hence he seems to be doubtful about the result of the imposition of western political reforms on Indian public life. Individuality does not command, and has never commanded, such respect in India as it does in the West. Self-suppression, not self-expression or self-development is still, as it has always been, the highest ideal of the best Indian minds, that is the real meaning in the statement that India is more spiritual than the West. Indi-

individual initiative, in which the western world puts its trust, is in India restrained by a multitude of inhibitions, and that is one main reason why India has been handicapped in competition with the West." "When Mr. Patel introduced his bill to legalise intercaste marriages the whole argument turned upon the question whether the sacred books, truly interpreted, did or did not permit such marriages. That is the final determinant, and both sides would agree that the edict of the early and divinely inspired lawgiver is final if its meaning is unmistakable."

The conceptions of the equality of law and of nationality are new even in the West. They first began to emerge into dim consciousness in Western Europe with the reformation and the Renaissance. The middle ages were the ages of privilege, authority prerogative, and the divine right of kings—and the infallibility of the Popes. The French Revolution really marked the dawn of the new era of equality, and nationality is even a later growth, its most powerful apostle being Mazzini. This is in a manner admitted by Professor Ramsay Muir when he says that it is during the last century that the conceptions of which he speaks have been specially operative. Even as late as the end of the last century, they had little vitality in Central and Eastern Europe, and yet Professor Muir would never dream of denying those countries the right of responsible government. Similarly the idea of self-government through representative assemblies was by no means a familiar and regulative idea on the continent of Europe before the nineteenth century. From the mother of Parliaments at Whitehall, the other nations of Europe borrowed their representative institutions, but they did not on that account grow with any the less vigour in their new soil, even on soil so unexpected and apparently unpromising as that of Asiatic Japan and the Philippines. And recent researches into the history of India by epigraphists and antiquarians has abundantly demonstrated the fact that republican, democratic and representative institutions have flourished in all parts of India from ancient times. Those institutions may not bear comparison with the modern representative institutions of the West, but they certainly were up to the level of contemporary institutions of mediæval Europe. The idea of individuality, again, as something supremely valuable, is in the region of religion and philosophy, more developed in India than perhaps anywhere else in the world. Man must save himself. No one can help him to do it, no creed, no dogma, no congregational worship is to interpose between the communion of the individual soul with the Supreme Soul. Socially, the evils of caste in the householder's stage were in the best days of ancient India considerably mitigated by the equality which prevailed in the other three stages of the same individual's life,

In the West, the freedom of the individual is limited at every step by the tentacles of the octopus of state, loyalty to party in representative systems of government, often reduces the individual liberty of judgment in politics to a mere name. Industrial and military organisation have materially circumscribed the liberty of the individual in those spheres in the West. The West can show no parallel to the freedom of opinion and conduct enjoyed in ancient Indian governments by those classes which were, or were supposed to be, intellectually and spiritually great. Kings used to vie with one another in doing them honour, and the people followed suit. The king's will was controlled very materially if somewhat imperceptibly by his ministerial council, and though the head of the state, he was not the head of the society. The village communities, within their narrow fields of activity, governed themselves with almost absolute freedom from outside interference. Thinkers like Herbert Spencer, Prince Kropotkin and others, have complained against the over-government that prevails in western countries, and philosophical anarchism is the outcome of the protest. Socialism and Syndicalism have raised their head against the sweeping demands of Individualism and Individualism cries aloud against the excessive pretensions of Collectivism. In saying all this we do not mean to suggest that there is not some truth in Professor Ramsay Muir's observations, but what we do mean to say is that no generalisations of the kind indulged in by him can be urged as arguments against the introduction of self-government in India, in the sense in which it is understood in the West. The tendency of the time-spirit is towards the introduction of democratic institutions everywhere in the world, and India, along with all countries hitherto considered politically backward, has been thoroughly saturated with the same spirit. The impact of the West has ushered in a new Indian Renaissance in which the clash of reason against tradition and authority is sure to issue in the victory of the former in every sphere of life. Mr. Patel's Bill is not the outcome of a desire to revive the authority of the ancient lawgivers, but it is an instance of the awakening of the social conscience to the dictates of reason and humanitarianism. If the scriptures are appealed to by his supporters, it is because by following the line of least resistance and meeting the orthodox on their own chosen ground, success may most easily be achieved. To characterise certain conceptions as the peculiar property of the western nations is a prevailing vice of the hitherto dominant west, which in its blind vanity considers itself the repository of all that is good and wholesome in social and political life. Japan has given such self-complacent nations a rude shock, the great European war just over has given us many more painful surprises. But *a priori* theories and pre-conceived prejudices are hard to

ie, and Professor Mun's political judgment is largely vitiated unconsciously it may be, by all the western prejudices with which we in India are familiar. His clear cut propositions, so dogmatically set forth, will, we are sure, be found on analysis to be based upon a misreading of the comparative history of India and western Europe, and though admitting that they represent a part of the truth, we feel convinced that they do not represent the whole truth, and altogether overlook certain fundamental facts on the other side, which would have considerably modified his judgment.

Professor Gilchrist, we are glad to say, commits no such mistake, for he recognises that neither caste nor the religious antagonisms of India are insuperable barriers to the growth of Indian nationality. It is growing before our eyes and the educated classes are learning to put their creeds in the background and their motherland first. "And are there not signs in India," asks Professor Gilchrist, "that the Motherland is greater than Brahman and Sudra, Punjabi and Bengali, Mahomedan and Hindu?" We may have our differences with the learned author of the book under review, but they are few, and consist almost entirely in the degree of stress laid on the amount of success hitherto achieved by the British in India. But his fair presentation of the case for the evolution of Indian nationality, his hopeful outlook, and his correct appreciation of tendencies in Indian life justifying that hope, deserve our fullest approbation and we have no doubt that his book will be welcomed by all thoughtful readers as a valuable contribution to the subject with which it deals.

CRITIC

SCHOLAR'S ENGLISH-BENGALI DICTIONARY—*Macmillan & Co.* 315 pages, Cloth Price Re 1-4

In this handy volume English words have been given in thick types, pronunciations in italics, and meaning in Bengali, foreign words and phrases and abbreviations have also been given and explained. This may serve as a helpful companion to Bengali students of the lower forms. The get-up of the book is very neat.

INDIAN NATURE MYTHS—*By Shovana Devi, Macmillan & Co.* 56 pages 8 annas

Fifty Nature myths of the Hindus beginning with Creation and ending with Death drawn from various sources—the Vedas, Puranas, Epics and folklore—have been given and explained in short chapters. The stories are interesting and attractively told. This may be of some help to students of comparative mythology, and to Indian students in particular in getting acquainted with the main Nature myths of their own country scattered over various scriptures.

THE RAMAYANA AND THE MAHABHARATA—*By Channing Arnold, B.A., (Oxon), Longmans Green & Co.* Price of each Re 1 4 as 259 and 230 pages respectively. Card board.

The main stories of the great epics—the Ramayana and the Mahabharata—have been told in English. This has been done with a view to teach Indian students the English language through stories well known to them. The stories have been told in simple English. There is also a Foreword appended to each volume in which the origin, dates, history and development and beauty of the epic have been discussed, so that a student may take an intelligent interest in the book which is so widely read and admired in his country. A map of the time has been appended which enhances the usefulness of the volume.

A HUNDRED YEARS OF THE BENGALI PRESS—*By P. N. Bose, M.A., and H. H. B. Mohan B.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S. Central Press, 12 Wellesley Street, Calcutta, 129 pages.*

In this small volume the history of the Bengali newspapers from their inception to the present day has been traced and discussed and criticised. Names of the editors or promoters with dates have been given and the tone, policy and the trend of each paper stated and critically discussed. It is a useful compendium no doubt. But the get up is very bad, printing worse.

C B

Acknowledgments

HINDI

DAKSHIN AFRIKA-KE SAHAYAGRAHA-KA ITIHAS (illustrated)—by Sreejot Bhawanji Dayalji. Published by the Saraswati Sadan, Indore, Central India. Second Edition, price Rs 3-8 inland, 7 shillings or Rs 4 foreign. Pp 374.

NAL DAMAYANTI (illustrated)—by Bibu Narayadiklal Srivastava. Published by Ram Lal Varma, 371 Upper Chitpuri Road, Calcutta. Price Re 1-8, cloth Rs 2. Pp 150.

VIR-PANCHARATNA (illustrated)—by Sreejot Lala Bhagvandin, Publisher Ram Lal Varma, 371, Upper Chitpuri Road, Calcutta. Pp 326. Price Rs 2-12, cloth Rs 3, Silk-bound Rs 3 4.

SWAMI RAMTIRTHA—by Sreejot Ram Lal Vaisya, Edited by Brajamohonal Varma, B.A., M.A., Publishers "Sri Ramtirtha-Vivekanand Kalyan," Chhindwara, Central Provinces. Free.

The Presidential Address of Pandit Jagannath Prasad Chaturvedi, President, First Bihar Provincial Hindi Literary Conference. Published by Chaturvedi Bholanath Sharma, 90, Sitaram Ghosh's Street, Calcutta.

SIKSHIT OUR KISAN—by Sreejot Bhawanji Dayalji. Publishers Saraswati Sadan, Indore. Pp 77. Price inland 10 as, postage extra, 1 foreign Re 1, or 2 shillings, including postage.

TRANSAAL-ME BHARAT-BASHI—by Sreejot Bhawanji Dayalji. Published by the Saraswati Sadan, Indore. Pp 71. Price inland 7 as postage extra. Foreign 9 as or 1 shilling including postage.

MARATHI

RAJPUTANCHA BHISMA—by Narayan Hari Apte. Sole agent, Kshatriya Sagai Anand Company, Booksellers and Publishers, Bombay. Pp 544. Price Rs 2-8.

MULANCHA MAHARASHTRA—by Govind Anant Modak Publisher Achyut Chintaman Bhatt, Budhawarpeth, Poona 2nd Edition Pp 526, 17, 6, 24, 3, 2, 3, 6 and 4 with coloured maps Price Rs 2

GUJARATI

PARASMANI VANE HRIDAY TET—by Jhaveri

Sakarchand Manekchand Ghariyali, Bombay Pp 256 Price Re 1

SANSKRIT-GUJARATI

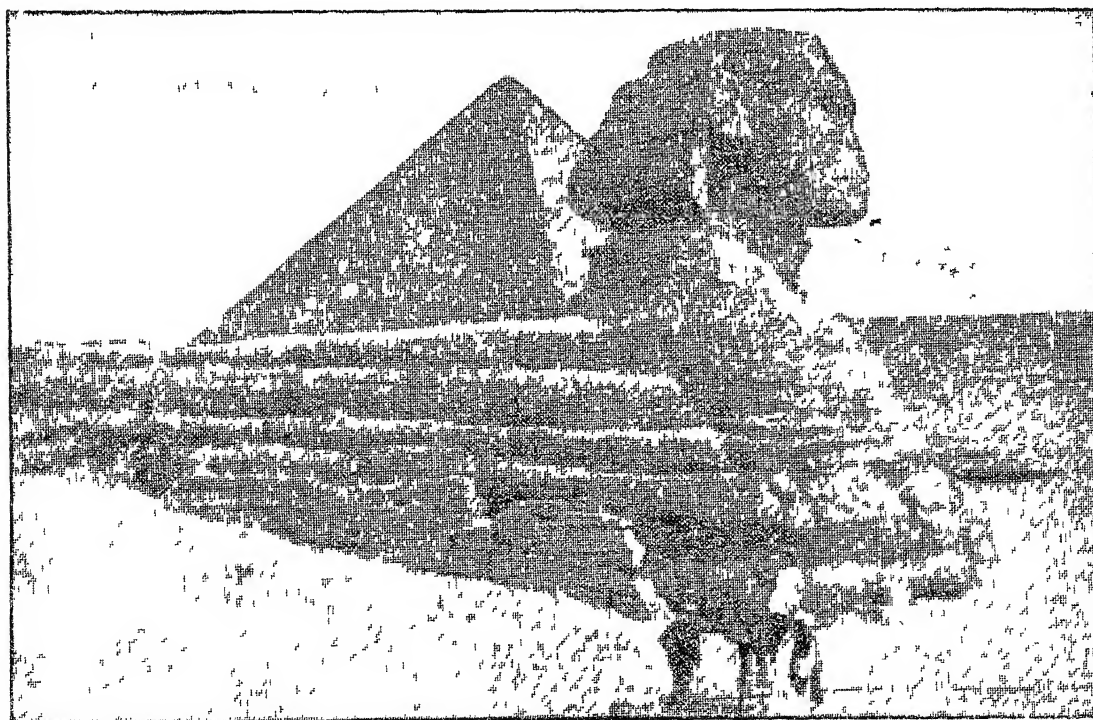
SANSKRITA TIRTHAM—by Pandit Maya Shankar Amba Shankar Sharma, Senior Professor of Sanskrit, Gurukul Publisher Arya Vidya Sabha, Bombay Pp 76 Price 8 as

MODERN CAIRO

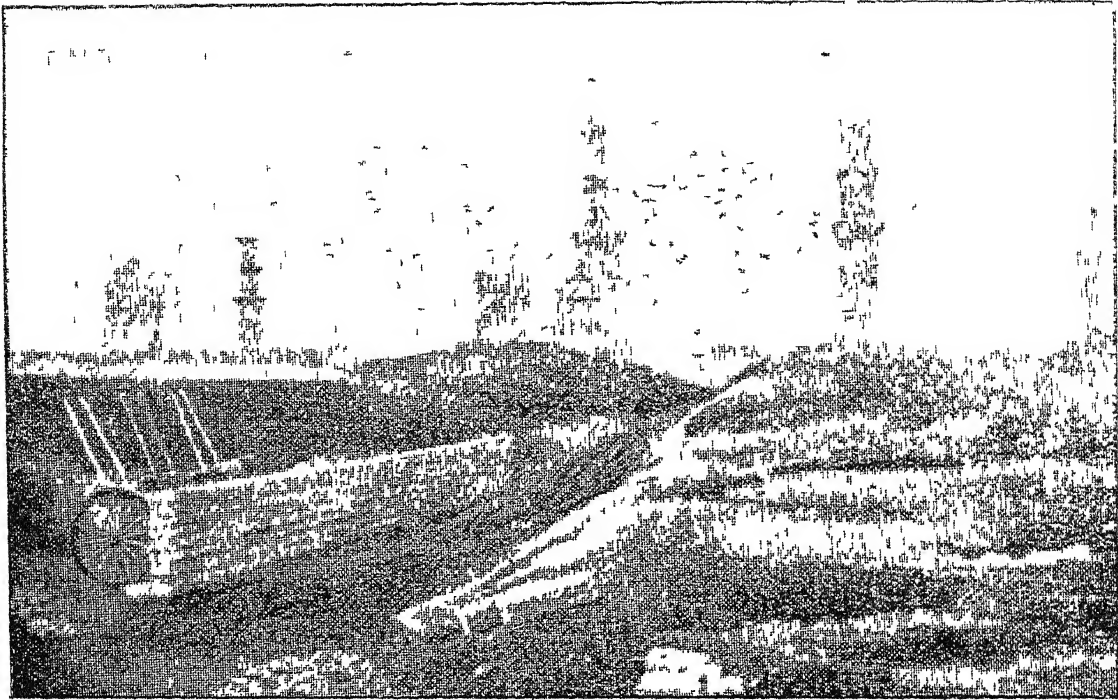
EGYPT is a country, which is, in the opinion of European savants, more ancient in civilisation than India. Among Indians of old Egypt was known as Misrasthana, and its people as Shyama-mukha. Egypt has been for thousands of years witnessing the rise and fall of the destinies of a great portion of mankind. Apart from all other things, if we take account of the great pyramids of Egypt alone, we shall be simply amazed to find how great this country had been in its culture and civilisation. The pyramids are nothing but the monumental tombs of some of the great kings of Egypt. The preserved dead bodies or mummies of those kings with their garments still remain as they were several thousand years ago—not in the

least changed or disfigured. This wonderful method of preserving dead bodies is alone a proof of the progress made by Egypt in applied science, and civilisation. In this short article we shall try to describe the present condition of Cairo, once the capital of this great seat of civilisation.

Modern Cairo may be said to cover the quarter of Abbassiah called after His Highness the Khedive Abbas I, who laid out part of it himself. In the lofty roomy barracks a number of British soldiers are quartered. Being on the road to the fashionable suburbs of, Zeitun, the Oasis, Koubbeh, Heliopolis and, Matarieh, it has an assured future. Shoubra north of Cairo, about 3 miles from the capital



The famous Pyramid and Sphinx at Ghizeh.



Tombs of Egyptian Khalfs and Mamelukes

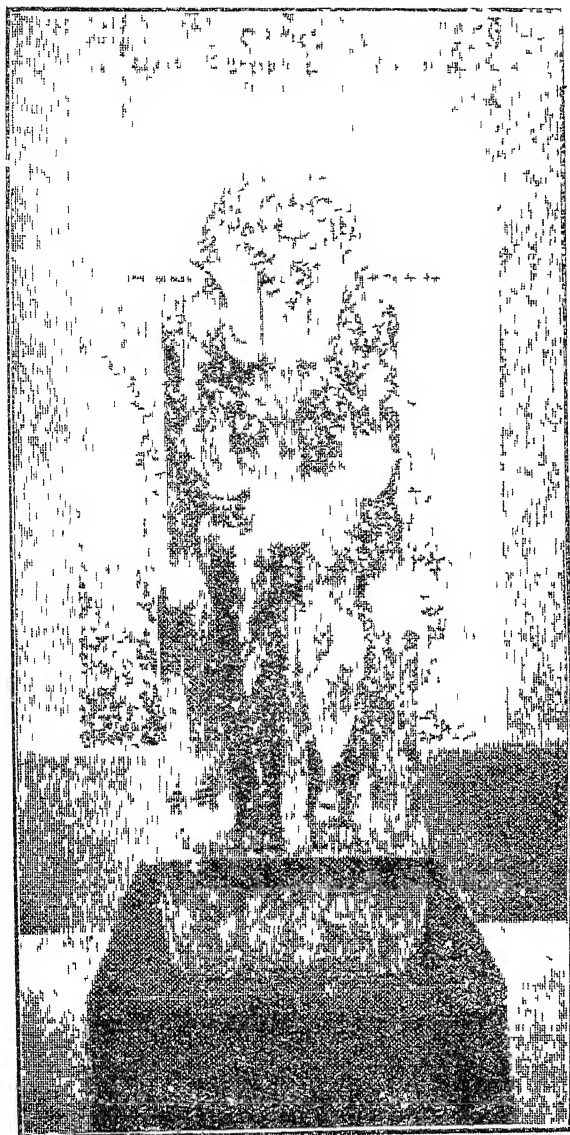
is a splendid palace, built by Mohamad Ally with beautifully laid out gardens around on the bank of the Nile. The Shoubia drive was once very famous and most pleasant, the road being shaded by the luxuriant foliage of heavy vegetation on both sides of the road. To the west of Cairo is Boulac, the famous old Nile harbour, one of the biggest business centers in Egypt in connection with river-borne produce. Lake Abbassiah and the Oasis it is very easily reached by excellent electric tram services and a visit to the river bank almost any day and on nights of popular festivals makes the Boulac streets full of quaint Oriental scenes worthy the attention of a foreigner. Opposite to Boulac is the famous Ghezireh Island seen to be connected by another magnificent Nile bridge. It is here where Ismail Pasha built his magnificent palace since turned into the famous Hotel associated with Shepherds'. It is here where the best race course, tennis courts and golfing links are situated and perhaps nothing appeals more as a first impression to the visitor than to cross the Kasr-el-Nil bridge from Boulac to Ghezireh. To the east of Boulac is the Ismailia Quarter which covers the Opera Square and Esbekiah Gardens laid out by Barillet, the famous French landscape gardener, to rival Paris and probably to remain one of the beauty spots in the centre of Cairo. In this quarter is the famous Sharia Kasr-el-Nil and its sight includes the following—The Palatial Savoy Hotel, the Monument to Suleiman Pasha, the Standard Buildings, the Palaces of Prince Mohammad Ally Pasha,

brother of the Khedive, the Khedival Palace of Ismailia. The fashionable district of Kasr-el-dubara is where the British Agency is situated on the Nile Embankment. Close to this are the ministries of Public Works, the War Office, and the Soudan Government Agency. Many Egyptian Government departments are in the vicinity. Further along the river is the Palace of Ibrahim Pasha. The New Sharia Suleman Pasha is becoming one of the most frequented streets.

Theaters and Places of Recreation. Khedival Opera House, Skating Rinks, Cafes, Concerts, Zoological Gardens in Ghezireh and Ghazeh aquarium of unique collection of Nile fish.

The Esbekiah quarter proper covers the famous gardens in the center of the fine Opera Square where the Opera House and equestrian statue of Ibrahim Pasha form such an imposing landmark to new arrivals. It is faced by the grand Continental Hotel and at no great distance from Shepherds' Hotel and in the immediate vicinity to the south-east are the Mixed Tribunals, the High Courts of Egypt and Tramway Square, and the General Post Office. The well known Mosky Street goes towards the east whilst a short cut to the south brings you to the Sharia Abdin which ends in the square known as Medan Abdin on the east side of which is the magnificent palace of the same name where His Highness the Sultan attends to his official duties during the winter.

Besides the above there are many other places worth seeing in Egypt near and about Cairo. The library in Cairo contains rare collections



Statue of King Khafre, builder of the second Pyramid

of Russian, Circassian, Persian and Arab versions of the Koran and other books on paper and leaf. These are of some use to historians of antiquities in Egypt.

At the Cairo Main Railway Station all the railway lines have their termini just as they do at Paris Railway Station, and diverge in different directions. The clock tower of the station shows time always five minutes in advance of the actual railway time to make the lethargic people reach train in time. The adjoining building to this Railway Station is the Military Police Station to maintain peace and order. The Ostich Farm in Zaitun is a fine thing to visit. It is half an hour's railway journey from Cairo.

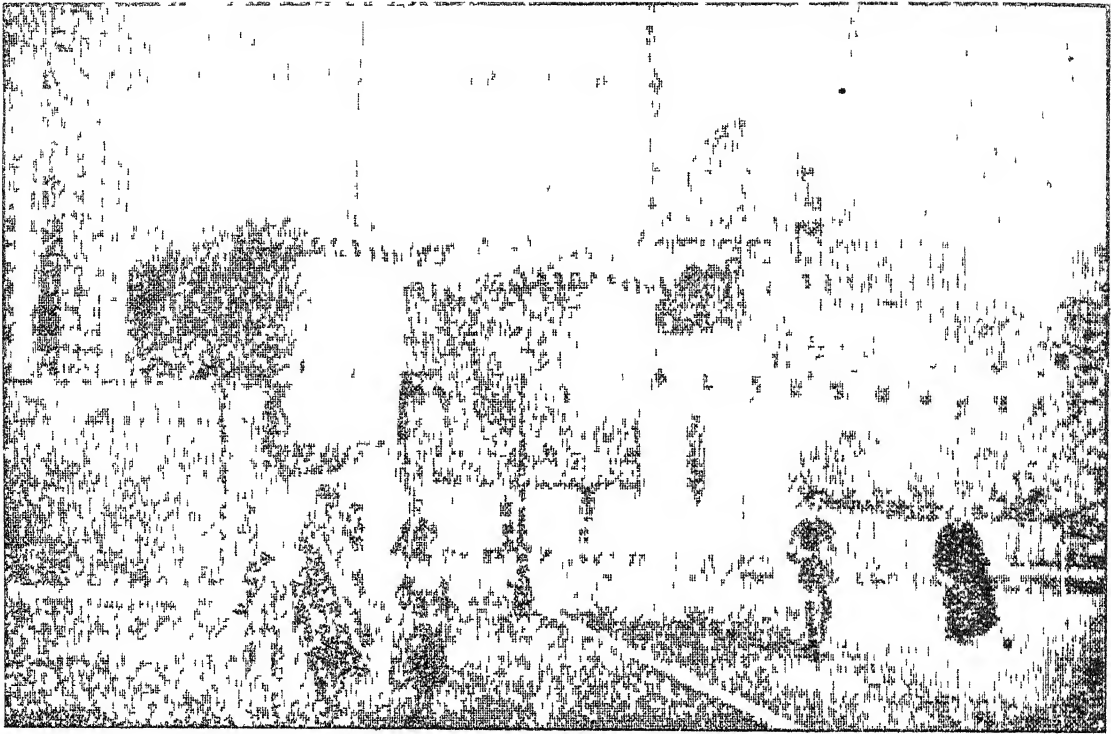
Memphis is one of the three places to be



A veiled Egyptian woman

visited in Helwan. Helwan is about 15 miles south of Cairo on the edge of the Egyptian desert. It is situated under the shadow of the Mokattam range of hills. Half an hour's railway journey from Cairo and after that a little way by ferry across the Nile will bring one to this place. For generations Helwan was the Mecca of health to successive rulers and others who came for healing to the wells of natural mineral waters.

The Kasr el-Nil Bridge connects the old Cairo (Suburban) with the present high life quarters. In its vicinity are—British Ordnance Stores, Soldiers' Barrack, Skating Rinks and British Museum containing old relics of Roman, Grecian and Arab Rulers of Egypt together with innumerable mummies dug out from all over upper and lower Egypt. This bridge is opened every day between the hours 1 to 3 p.m. to let through the river-crafts, bringing to a temporary close the move of endless crowds of thrifty country-folk passing over it into the great capital bringing provisions which the markets of the great town need. Numberless camels, many almost disappearing under heavy loads of fresh-cut clover and grass, with horses, mules and donkeys pulling strangely-constructed



The Citadel and Mohamed Ally Mosque

two-wheeled vehicles, are moving onward in long and almost uninterrupted procession. A nice scene to look at.

The boats on the Nile at sun-set are a very

enjoyable scene from its banks, where cafés are situated to pass the idle afternoons of the Egyptians in little drinks of coffee etc., and songs and music.

When going to the great pyramids, one must cross the Kasr-el-Nil Bridge, just mentioned above. The bridge is 100 yards long, always congested with heavy traffic. It ends on the Ghezah Island on which the gigantic Pharaonic tombs known as Ghizeh Pyramids are situated.

The pyramids of Egypt stand as one of the seven wonders of the world. So they are a great attraction to every foreigner who lands in Egypt. Ghizeh Pyramids are the nearest to Cairo. It is half day's occupation by electric tram cars which run from Cairo every thirty minutes or by carriages driven through elegant Kasr-el-Nil where many prominent buildings are situated past the Military Barracks and the State Museum. After crossing the Great Nile Bridge we come to what is perhaps one of the most delightful phases of the excursion to Ghizeh, namely, drive on the Pyramid Road which is lined on both sides for a distance of six and a half miles with high shady acacia trees and terminates at the great pile known as the Cheops Pyramid. Here the youth, beauty and wealth of Egypt's capital are in daily evidence during the fashionable promenade hours between 4 p.m. and sun-set, gowned and groomed in a style that recalls the Bois-de-Boulogne at the height of the season. Along its length of seven miles are superb and lofty trees. At all



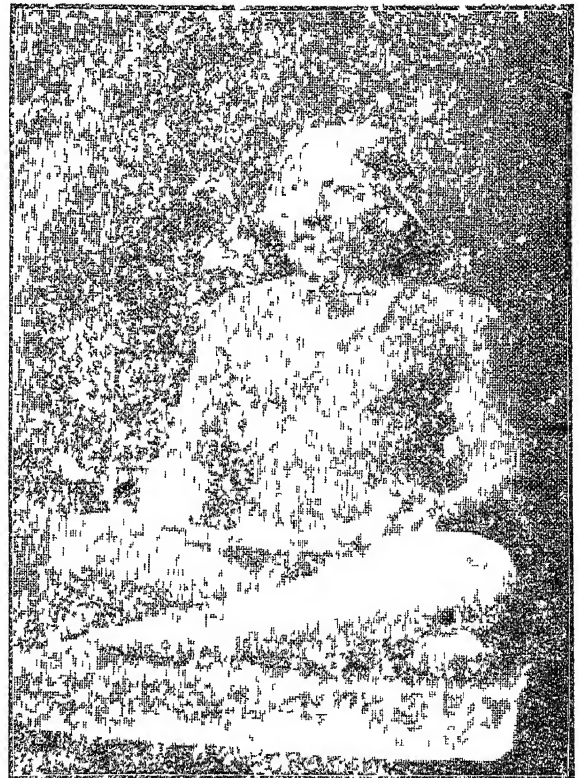
Egyptian coffee seller.



Statue of Rameses II, King of Memphis

hours of the day it is full of life. In the morning, ladies and gentlemen come out for a walk, and the mules, donkeys and camels go to and come from the market.

The nearest pyramid to the sphinx at Ghizeh is the largest amongst the three situated there. It was built by Khufu or Cheops, the 2nd king of the 4th dynasty, B. C. 3733, who called it Khufu. His name was found written in red ink on the blocks of stone inside it. All the four sides measure in greatest length about 775 feet each, but the length of each was originally about 20 feet more. Its height now is 451 ft., but is said to have been originally about 481 ft. The flat space at the top is about 30 ft. square and the view from it is very fine, especially of a setting sun. The entrance to the interior of the pyramid is about 50 ft. from the ground,—a long passage leads to the king's chamber, inside of which lies the empty coverless broken red granite sarcophagus of Cheops measuring $7\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{3}$ ft. The sphinx is 6000 years old. Its face was once most brilliantly coloured and even now bears traces of paint. The length of the body is 150 ft., the head 30 ft. long, face 14 ft. wide. From the top of the head to the base of the figure is about 70 ft. The paws are 50 ft. in length. This sphinx is regarded as of immense antiquity having been in existence when Cheops reared the great Pyramid. Between its paws sacrifices were offered to the divinity which it was supposed to represent. Within the last few years many excavations have been made



A statue of a clerk in the Cairo Museum.



An Egyptian country girl

round about it, but the sands of the desert blow in about as fast as they are dug out. A little to the south of the sphinx stands the large granite and stone temple excavated by M. Mariette in 1835 commonly known as the Temple of Sphinx. Statues of king Chephon, now in Cairo Museum, were found at the bottom of the big well in one of the chambers. Hence it has been generally supposed that he was the builder of the great monument close by.

The most interesting of the various ancient cemeteries surrounding the Egyptian capital are the famous tombs of the Khalifs and Mamelukes. Both are situated to the north of the citadel. Both were built by Bahrite Mameluke rulers of Egypt who ruled the country from 1250—1380. Amongst the buildings most worthy of attention are the tomb of Imam Shafei and the great tomb and mosque of Mahommed Ally where several of the Sultan's family and descendants are also buried. No one should miss these wonderful Saracen burial

places erected in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The quarter looks more of a city of the dead almost without human habitation with only a family here and there. The citadel which dominates the town was constructed in 1166 A.D. by order of the Sultan Saladin with stones taken from the small pyramids of Ghizah and formed the key of a system of fortifications erected by that great Sultan for the protection of Cairo. The building of the famous mosque of Mahommed Ally situated in the centre of the citadel was started in 1824 in the reign of Mahommed Ally, the founder of the present dynasty and was completed during the reign of Said Pasha in 1857. It was designed by a clever Greek architect who took his model from the great church of St. Sophia at Constantinople. The columns and facings of the walls are made of purest alabaster from the quarries of Beni-Suef. Hence the name of Alabaster Mosque is also given to it. In the richly decorated interior at the south-west angle is the tomb of Mahommed Ally (d. 1819) surrounded by beautiful railings. The effect produced at a distance by the dome and the two slender minarets which form one of the most dominating features of the town is very picturesque. This remarkable Saracen edifice will be found to be among one's most distinctive first impressions of Cairo.

In the village of Badderaashine amidst the cluster of date trees lies the huge statue of Ramesses II, king of Memphis. Thousands of years have passed over it with their unies and upbustions, yet the statue still lies strong in its majestic attitude. The head also is unchanged by time and weather.

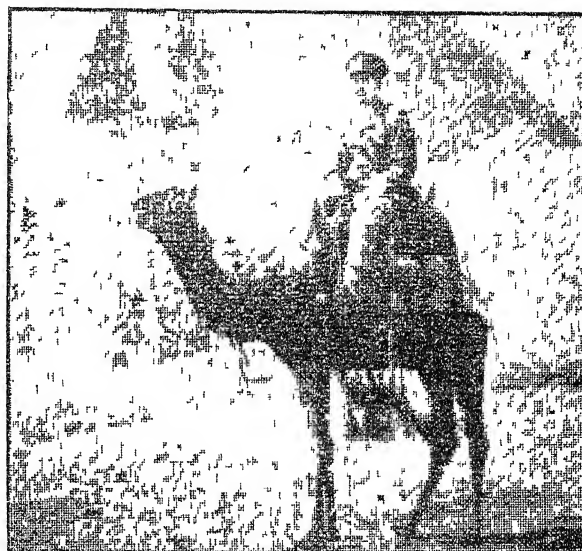
It is a great delight to see some of the wonderful statues still preserved unchanged in the Cairo Museum. One of them is the statue of a clerk sitting before his master with expectant eyes and taking down on leaves (then in vogue for writing) something from the dictation of his master. After thousands of years he still sits in the same expectant attitude—his face bright with the glow of expectancy. Another of the statues is that of king Khephion the builder of the second great Pyramid. It is one of the granite statues of king Khephion found in the well of the Sphinx Temple.

The native women of Cairo with their peculiarities are an interesting thing for study. The woman of a village is proud of her water pitcher. Even the ladies of high family when getting themselves photographed would like to have a pitcher by their side. This is a general tendency among women when being photographed. This fashion is in use among women-folk of Egypt to day in the same manner as it was some 3000 years ago. European civilisation has been unable to wipe this idea of old from the women whether of the high aristocratic class or the humbler community. The veil of the native women is a curiously interesting thing. It is suspended by strings through a wooden



The head of the Statue of Ramses II

hollow cylinder fixed above the nose and between the eyebrows. Amongst the village women the cloth piece which hangs from below the eyes is studded with gold mohurs or imitations thereof in gilt. In richer and noble classes this veil changes its colour to white and quality from ordinary rough cloth to fine silk through which



The writer of this article who is serving in Egypt with the Egyptian Expeditionary Force

rosy cheeks may be visible. The ladies of the nobility here are shut up in the Harems like Musalman ladies in India, but as they want to show their beauty to the world outside, they cannot remain indoors, go out in open carriages but adopt this form of veil through which their beauty may be perceived by naked eyes.

We happened to be in Egypt in connection with our services with the Egyptian Expeditionary Force, and we felt ourselves blessed to see this great country. It is not possible to tell in a few words the big tale of Egypt as she was in her breadth of culture and height of glory as a seat of ancient civilisation. We tried to count a few of the waves of that ocean-like civilisation, without trying to measure its wide expanse!

JOGENDRANATH COONDoo

CHEMICAL SERVICE COMMITTEE'S REPORT A CRITICISM

By PROF. HIRALAL RAY, A.B. (HARVARD UNIVERSITY),

OF THE BENGAL TECHNICAL INSTITUTE

THE report of the Chemical Service Committee, with Professor J. F. Thorpe as president, is out, with a separate note by Dr. Sir P. C. Ray, the only Indian member of that body. The terms of reference of this Committee were —

84½—8

(i) To consider whether an All-India Chemical Service is the best and most suitable method of overcoming the difficulties and deficiencies pointed out by the Indian Industrial Commission.

(ii) In the event of the Committee approving the principle of an All-India service, to devise terms of recruitment, employment and organisation, to indicate

the extent to which chemists already in Government employ should be included in that service, and to suggest what should be the relation of the proposed organisation with the public and with Departments of the Government of India and of Local Governments

(iii) In particular to frame proposals for the location, scope and organisation of institutions for chemical research

Dr. Ray's note deals only with the first term of reference and **contains the most irrefutable arguments against the creation of such a service** to cope with the "difficulties and deficiencies pointed out by the Indian Industrial Commission"

We know the fate of such separate notes, as evidenced by all the recent Committees and Commissions where Indians have had a place. These notes are not taken serious notice of and are very scantily and uncharitably dealt with by the other members of the Committee, and Government. About Pandit Malaviya's separate note in the Indian Industrial Commission's report we quote the following from the Government of India's despatch (4.6.19)

"The few definite suggestions that emerge from his note are, however, not of a nature that we can accept and have therefore not been dealt with by us"

This is the only reference in the whole despatch to Pandit Malaviya's note. In the First Despatch on Indian Constitutional Reforms we find the following remarks by the Government of India on Sir Sankaran Nair's note of dissent —

"Our colleague Sir Sankaran Nair has recorded a note of dissent, which we attach. Time is important and we have not discussed his arguments, although it will be clear that we have fully considered and rejected them"

Again, quite recently we had a minority note from Mr Dalal, of the Exchange and Currency Committee. The *only* reference that was made in the majority report to Mr Dalal's note is the following —

Our colleague, Mr Dalal, submits a separate report. While we regret that he does not share our conclusions, we wish to record our appreciation of the assistance we have derived from his knowledge and experience

So we cannot expect a better fate for Dr Ray's note, the death-knell of which has been sounded by himself in the last paragraph of his own note. This paragraph is extremely compromising and I shall try to show that probably Dr Ray has not read the report very carefully, otherwise he would not have attached his grudging consent to the report.

For the benefit of the reader we quote the last paragraph of the note

"In conclusion I desire to state that the days of Government services are over and the development of industries by the agency of a Government service is not the most suitable way of dealing with the problem, *yet I agree that if a Government service is constituted, the proposals of the Committee represent the best method of constituting and carrying on such a service. It is for this reason that I have attached my signature to a report with the major portion of which I am in substantial agreement.* The essence of the new scheme is the section on recruitment, which has been drawn up by the distinguished President himself and fully endorsed by my colleagues. *The principle that recruitment for the Indian services must be made in India is one which I have long upheld hitherto without success. I shall be satisfied if this principle finds acceptance as a result of the Committee's report, for it will afford a splendid opportunity to the youth and talent of India and will give a vigorous impetus to the pursuit of my favourite science amongst my countrymen*" (The italics are mine)

The recruitment of Indians in the service has filled Dr Ray with exceeding joy and has acted as a hypnotic dose on his mind. Had he compared the paragraphs on recruitment with those on increment he would have found that the former are a camouflage of gas to cover the ulterior motive about recruitment. More about this later on

The main professed object of having the service is the industrial development of the country. Professor Thorpe went on a tour through the country accompanied by Mr Davies, I.C.S., and Dr Simonsen, Forest Chemist to the Government of India, and we find on page vii of the report —

"During the tour *it soon became apparent* that the development of the Chemical Industries in India could only be adequately realised through the agency of an efficient Government Chemical Service" (The italics are mine)

The *raison d'être* of this decision is not given. Apparently this has been derived either through the inspiration of Messrs Davies and Simonsen, both of whom belong to the bureaucratic Government of India, or more probably the idea has been borrowed from the Department of Industrial and Scientific Research in England, which was started only in 1915. Even there this step towards industrial development has not been approved by the majority of British scientists and experts. What can we expect from a poor and totally officialised modification of this British prescription? The British Government have followed the foot-prints of Germany and America. If according to the

Government Lord Morley's dictum that the fur-coat of England would not suit the tropical climates of India were true as regards political reforms, we think, it would be still more so in the case of Industrial reforms. In Germany and America industrial research laboratories are mainly instituted in connection with the industries concerned and are neither manned nor even administered by the Government. Government Research Laboratories chiefly carry on the work of standardization. Thus the question arises, which should come first—Industry or Research? Industrial Research means either improvement on standard methods or the application with modification of standard methods under different circumstances. Very few chemical industries exist in India at present, therefore our or the Government's first efforts should be to start industries and keep them going for sometime and then as the industry grows and extends, problems will arise for solution. On page 4 of the report we find the following "The Committee have had before them a large body of written evidence," etc. We should like to know whether evidence was called for from any of the already existing industrial concerns in India, and if so, how many of them recommended the organisation of the Chemical Service. Big concerns like the Tata Iron and Steel Works, Cape Copper Mines, Burn, Bnd, Kilburn, D Waldie, Smith Stanistreet, Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, etc., can well afford to have their own research laboratories, and they will not wait for the slow-moving Government to suggest improvement. Therefore, as Dr Ray says, to institute Research laboratories at the present industrially undeveloped condition of the country would be something like putting the cart before the horse.

In spite of these adverse arguments against starting research laboratories on an extensive scale if the Government decide otherwise, then the question arises how to organise them. Certainly not according to the methods recommended by the Committee. There is a large volume of expert opinion against the centralisation of scientific research under official control. For this we cannot do better than call the attention of the reader to Dr Ray's note, and some letters from eminent scientists published in *Nature*, February 19 and 26, and March 4 and 11, 1920, from all of which extracts were made in the May number of this Review.

We have already departments of Agriculture, Geological Survey, Forestry, Fishery, etc., for investigating on the raw materials of India from the economic standpoint, and the Department of Industries has just been formed, the functions of which, as stated in the Indian Industrial Commission's report, are the following—(i) Village Industries, (ii) Technical Education, (iii) Industrial Engineering, (iv) Home Office Works (working of the Factory, Boiler and Electricity Acts), (v) Purchase of Stores, (vi) Pioneer Factories, and (vii) Supplying Commercial and Industrial Information. Of these Technical Education has not yet been transferred to this Department. Home Office Works have expressed strong objection to come under a new master Store Purchase Department, we understand, want to have a separate independent existence.

The Commercial Intelligence Department will also remain under Imperial control and will not be subordinated to the Department of Industries. According to the recommendation of the Chemical Service Committee the pioneer factories should also be taken over by the proposed chemical service. Therefore the Department of Industries has been or will be deprived of all its functions except (i) and (iii). But in Bengal the department has been in existence for nearly three years and a permanent director has been appointed and several lakhs of rupees has been spent on it. But neither the Government nor the Director nor the public know what the functions of the department could be. But once the department is established with its office, clerks and other paraphernalia, it cannot be easily abolished, because to alter the established order goes against the grain of the bureaucratic governments. Similarly, according to the recommendation of the Chemical Service Committee (page 96) "nothing can be done in this (estimate of cost, etc.) connection until the Director General and the Director of Research have been appointed." From our knowledge of Government traditions, we believe that once these officers are appointed, they will stay, even if they have no important functions to perform. The bureaucratic mind is always after grandeur, and as soon as these directors are appointed we shall have full-fledged Research Institutes in the Provinces and the Central Research Institute at Dehra Dun. As was stated before, very few chemical industries are in existence at present, therefore

the first duty would be to start industries, i.e., to establish "pioneer factories", according to the vocabulary of the Chemical Service Report. But to do this, do we need Research chemists? The Committee itself admit on page 15—

We consider that, when dealing with the establishment of industries based on processes already known and successfully worked elsewhere, the main point is to get the process started even if the initial methods used, although good, may not be those best suited for the prevailing conditions. Once an industry has been started on reasonably satisfactory lines, it can then be improved by research. But if a start is postponed until research has determined the conditions which are absolutely the best, it is likely that the start may be delayed indefinitely. *It may happen, therefore, that the person employed temporarily for service in the establishment of a new industry based on a known process may not necessarily be a chemist in the strict sense of the term, but may be a man of the expert foreman type who has special knowledge of the technique of the process* (Italics mine)

Therefore if the service is at all organised, its first duty should be to start "pioneer factories" and not to establish Research Institutes. But that would go against human psychology. Directors of Research would themselves be primarily scientists and therefore amateurs in establishing new industries. Consequently they will have to agree to the suggestions of the "men of the expert foreman type" who would be their subordinates in the service. Directors would like to be absolute masters somewhere and their proper place is in the laboratory, hence Research Institutes are bound to come at the very inauguration of the Service. There will never be any dearth of excuses for such a course of action. But this, again to quote Dr Ray, would be something like putting the cart before the horse. But this is all crying in the wilderness, and Dr Ray has, in his note, performed that thankless task as the representative of the Indian public.

Now let us look into the report in detail. The conditions of recruitment have worked as a bait on Dr Ray. Here we quote some sentences from the report and ask the reader to compare them.

"If the Chemical Service proposed in this report is to achieve success it must be recruited *mainly* from Indian sources" (page 3)

"It is our intention that these laboratories should be staffed mainly by Indians" (page 72)

"Recruits to the chemical service may be divided into the following four classes—

- (i) Chemists recruited to the Service from outside India,
- (ii) Chemists recruited in India to the Service,

(iii) Assistant chemists recruited direct from Indian Universities, and

(iv) Specialists recruited temporarily for the development of particular industries" (Page 72)

Recruits under (i) & (iv) would be almost entirely imported from England, chemists under (i) & (ii) will draw the same salary beginning with Rs 400 at the age of 25 rising up to Rs 1000 in 7 years, besides this chemists of class (i) will draw a monthly Oversea allowance of Rs 150. When these two classes draw the same salary, it is presupposed that they will have similar qualifications and perform work of equal difficulty and skill. If so, why should we have any recruits from England at all? And when there is such a provision, who knows what the ratio would be between the numerical strength of these two classes? Our past experiences make us nervous.

Again on pages 16—17, referring to the appointment of Directors of Research, we find

"Fortunately the war has produced a number of chemists of the type required as Research Directors, men who besides having a sound training in science and the methods of scientific research have, at the same time, acquired by reason of their association with war chemical manufactures, an intimate knowledge of the successful working of large scale processes. There are such men in India and these can be recruited at once as directors of research, others of the same type who have made good in similar posts in England must be induced to come here to help in the development of the country."

Who are these fortunate men in India? Certainly not Indians. This is another thin end of the wedge.

So practically it comes to this that assistant chemists with a starting salary of Rs 150 would be recruited from the M. Sc's of the Indian Universities. Therefore here as in every other field of the official world Indians are destined to remain hewers of wood and drawers of water, or, in other words, scientific coolies. The last sentence of Dr Ray's note is—

"It (the policy of recruitment) will afford a splendid opportunity to the youth and talent of India and will give a vigorous impetus to the pursuit of my favourite science amongst my countrymen."

What an unfounded hope! And that on the part of such a veteran as Dr Ray! On paper Indian assistant chemists are eligible for promotion to the Chemical Service [i.e., chemists of class (i)] But eligibility is a

very vague term and will scarcely mature into reality. Indians are eligible for any and every post in the British Indian Empire, but the number of them holding any sort of responsible posts may be counted on one's finger's ends. There is always a provision for the admission of Britishers in every service, so also in this.

In the Indian Industrial Commission's Report, in §122, we come across the following —

"For the recruitment of these scientific services, we recommend that to the utmost extent possible the *junior* appointments should be made from science graduates of Indian universities, and that the senior and experienced men who will be required to initiate and direct research work should be obtained on special terms from England when such are not available here."

So almost all the senior posts will be filled by Englishmen, and there will be some of them in the junior posts [i.e., young chemists in class (i)] They join service at 25 and will retire at 50. These English chemists in class (i) will never be superseded by those, however meritorious they may be, in class (ii) who are tainted with the *coloured skin disease*. Therefore for another 25 years all the senior posts in the service will be held by the English to the exclusion of the children of the soil. In support of this assertion I quote the following facts from Pandit Malaviya's note in the Indian Industrial Commission Report.

Concerning the fitness of Indians Dr. Oldham, the first head of the Geological Department, said, that he had the most unshaken confidence that with even fair opportunities of acquiring such knowledge (that of the physical sciences) many Indians would be found quite competent to take their place side by side with European assistants either in this service or in many other ways, but though the Geological Survey of India has been in existence for 64 years, up to 1913 only three Indians had been appointed to the superior service in it. To explain this awkward fact Dr. Hayden made the following still more awkward statement — "We have been for many years training men in the subordinate ranks of the department, but they do not necessarily qualify for appointments in the higher grade. It is always open to them to apply for an appointment in that grade."

At the time the Royal Commission took evidence, the total number of officers in the superior service in the Agricultural, Civil Veterinary, Forest, Geological Survey, Locomotive and Carriage and Wagon Departments was 407. Of these only six officers were statutory natives of India.

So Dr. Ray's jubilation over the splendid opportunities for the youth and talent of India is rather too early. Dr. Ray, who had been so long neglected and was promoted to the I. E. S., only

on his retirement after such a brilliant academic and professorial career, should have been the last person to make such an uncritical statement.

On page 75 of the report is stated that "it is inadvisable that a chemist should be appointed to the Imperial Service [i.e., in class (ii)] who has not had a course of training outside India." This means that Indians, to rise in the Government service of their own country, should and must for all time to come, acknowledge English institutions superior to those of their motherland. This principle of recruitment in the civil, medical and other services not only offends our national dignity but is also fatal to all hopes of progress. Why should not we have educational institutions in this country which can favourably compare with those in the West? On page 31 of the report, referring to the training of chemists in engineering, we find that a chemist who receives his training in research at the Gujarat College, Ahmedabad, should obtain his engineering instruction at the Engineering College, Poona. In English universities such a course as chemical engineering has been long unknown, but in the United States of America most universities and Technological Institutes offer degrees in this course along with Civil, Mechanical, Electrical and Naval Engineering. Professor Thorpe writes as if his recommendations about imparting a little knowledge of engineering to chemists is a new idea. It is, of course, new to the conservative English educational world and has dawned upon them conspicuously under the rude shock of war necessities. To get the most up-to-date method of training of chemical engineers the attention of the reader is called to the course of chemical engineering offered by The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston, one of the best of its kind in the world. The best method to educate chemical engineers in India and to avoid this compulsory European training without loss of efficiency, would be to establish in every province institutes of Technology which should comprise, to start with, the most important branches of applied sciences after the American model with slight modifications, if necessary. A scheme for a technological institution for the Calcutta University is given in the Calcutta University Commission's report, vol. V, chapter XLVIII, which can be further elaborated for this purpose.

About pay, pensions, and all sorts of allowances, it is useless for us to say anything. There seems to exist a keen competition amongst all departments of the Government to get the highest pay for their officers. Directors of Research are to get a monthly salary of Rs 2000—2500 and the Director General Rs 3500 (excluding allowances). We should very much like to know what such a distinguished chemist as the President of the Committee himself, gets in England. Professor Baker, who is *head* of the Department in the Imperial College of Science and Technology in London to which Professor Thorpe belongs, gets £ 1500 per annum or Rs 15000 yearly, or Rs 1250 monthly. The principal officer, the Government Chemist, in the Government Chemical Laboratory in England is Sir J. J. Dobbie, M. A., D. Sc., LL. D., F. R. S. His salary is £ 1200 to £ 1500 per annum. The chief salaried officer in the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research in England is Sir H. Frank Heath, K. C. B., and he gets £ 1500 per annum.

After 5 years' service, i.e., at the age of 30, Europeans in the service will be getting Rs 1000 a month. To explain the reason of this rapid rate of increment the report says

"The European will, in the majority of cases, have married by the age of thirty, and matrimony, with its concomitant of a divided family, brings a heavy burden in its train. If, however, a European has attained a salary of Rs 1000 by the end of his 30th year, he will be freed from anxiety as to the making of ends meet and he will, with the help of his overseas allowance, be able to send his family to the hills and when necessary to England, and to bear the expense of maintaining two establishments."

How considerate! How paternal!

On page 94 of the report we read:

"We would give it as our opinion that it would be preferable that every officer should be granted six months' study leave at the end of every three years' service in India, until he has reached the age of 40."

This study leave, according to the recommendation of the committee, should be profitably spent in the West on full pay and other privileges with first class travelling allowances. In these days of innumerable, elaborate, detailed scientific journals, reports and proceedings such frequent visits seem superfluous. Everything worth knowing can be obtained in journals, and trade secrets and patent processes will always remain sealed books. For European members of the service these visits would obviate the necessity of taking privilege leaves and furloughs. Everyone admits the neces-

sity of visits to different factories and workshops but what the public should protest against is the un-necessary frequency of such visits, which are sure to degenerate into pleasure trips.

We have stated elsewhere in this article that the Commercial Intelligence Department, Home Office Works, Government Stores Purchase Department, and the Department of Industries, all want to have a separate independent existence. But all these departments have some common functions to perform, and, therefore, can be very conveniently co-ordinated and brought under one head, otherwise there will be un-necessary duplication of work and heavy drain on the public purse. Separate existence of departments means easy and rapid promotions and less competition for high lucrative posts.

The most striking feature of the whole report is the absence of any scheme of active co-operation between the service and the universities save and except that the latter would supply Assistant Chemists to the Research Institutes. It is well-known that high education and the universities in India are eye-sores to the bureaucracy. So the idea that "the present universities and research institutes" should "be developed and more workers secured" with "increased financial assistance on the part of the State," which has been broached by *Nature* and supported by some of the most eminent scientists in the Empire, as will appear from the article in the last issue on "The Organisation of Scientific Work in India," cannot find favour with the bureaucracy and men of their choice in the Chemical Service Committee. Every educated Indian is acquainted with the tussle between the redoubtable Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and the Government pet Mr. Sharp, and it will interest them to read the following written evidence forwarded by Mr. Sharp to the Committee—

"The college Professor has often little time for research and the chief Professors, who may be styled university Professors, will be largely in the same position."

"In India a member of a college staff is generally burdened with multifarious duties of college organisation."

"A college Professor is in a disadvantageous position in that he has ordinarily very little or no time for research. He will ordinarily be likely to fall out of running for the more lucrative or at least attractive posts in the Chemical Service. The Educational Service will hence become unpopular and might even form the scrap-heap of the Chemical Service."

On this the Committee comments as follows —

These statements give a full and sufficient explanation of the fact that hitherto real university work in India has been almost non-existent, and *it is regrettable that such a state of affairs should be acquiesced in by those in charge of the Educational policy of the country* (Italics are mine)

We all know how uncharitably the Calcutta University College of Science was treated by Mr Sharp, and further comments on the above remarks are unnecessary. A few words about overworking the Professors would not be amiss. From Volume XIII of Calcutta University Commission's report I find that roughly the average weekly work of the I E S members of the Presidency and Dacca Colleges teaching Physics and Chemistry and Instructors in these subjects in the University College of Science is $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours' lecture per week and 8 hours, supervision of laboratory work per week. Any one acquainted with science teaching knows that supervision of practical work in the M Sc classes cannot materially disturb the Professor's own work in the laboratory. **Certainly, this is not over-work.** Professors in private colleges and junior members of the teaching staff in Government colleges are really overworked. But in writing his evidence Mr Sharp was thinking of the members of the I E S, and not these poor Indian gentlemen of the P E S, and of private colleges.

Next, we come to the question of the establishment of the Central Imperial Institute at Dehra Dun. According to the estimate of the Indian Industrial Commission the approximate initial cost of construction of this Institute would be about Rs 2000000 and a recurring annual expenditure of Rs 500000 (*Report*, §355 and 375). The Chemical Service Commission have not given their own estimates of the cost, but it is not likely that the Director General and the Directors of Research who are to submit the estimates will have any modest views about expenses when it is to be drawn from the Indian Government and the Institute is to bear the high-sounding adjective "Imperial".

"The Council (of the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore) proposes that the Institute should concentrate on one branch of science, *i e*, chemistry, and that it should be converted into a Central Institute devoted to chemical research in all its branches" (Page 41)

This is quite in agreement with the functions of the Central Research Institute

to be established as proposed by the Chemical Service Committee

"But the proposal of our (*Chemical Service*) Committee however implies and necessitates that the Central Research Institute should be under the control of the Government of India and form the pivot of the Chemical Service. The scheme put forward by the Council of the Institute (Bangalore) does not admit of such Government control" (Page 41)

According to the constitution of the Bangalore Institute the Viceroy has the final voice in almost every matter connected with the management of the institute. In the Council of the Institute only three members, out of twelve, are Indians. Therefore for all practical purposes it is under Government control. Before the Indian Industrial Commission most members of the Council of the Institute expressed their approval of converting the Bangalore Institute into the Central Research Institute for the whole of India. What may be the cause of such a sudden change in the attitude of the Council? The initial outlay on the Bangalore Institute for buildings, laboratories, etc., was about Rs. 1000000 and its annual income is approximately Rs 3,25,000. Owing to the want of popular control the Bangalore Institute had been a total failure as a research institute. The Tatas were in a minority in the Council. The Professors had free reins in its management or rather mismanagement. The Government of India turned a deaf ear to the feeble complaints in the papers. Dr Bourne, who is a biologist, has been acting as the Director of the institute which is devoted almost entirely to Chemistry. Similarly other professors devoted most of their time and energy as paid Consulting Chemists to private firms. Let bygones be bygones. If Government and the Council of the Institute be able to make up their differences it will mean a vast saving of public money.

The last objection that may be raised against the formation of the Service is its uselessness. The Chemists and the Assistant Chemists, after they pass their period of probation, will enjoy time-scale increment. The Chemists of classes (i) and (ii) will in any case get Rs 1000 a month after the 7th year, when they reach the efficiency bar. So what inducement will they have to successfully solve a problem which requires incessant labour and thinking? Pure love for scientific problems and honest and intelligent work at them without any chance of pecuniary

gain cannot originate from an order from superior officers

"Research, like art, literature, and all the higher products of human thought, grows only in an atmosphere of freedom. The progress of knowledge follows no prescribed lines, and by attempting such prescription the head of the service would merely kill the spontaneity and enterprise of his workers. No one fit to be entrusted with research worthy the name would undertake it, knowing that his results might be buried or withheld from publication at the whim of his superior in the service" (Prof. Bateson, *Nature*, March 4, 1920)

Another re-commendation of the Committee is that members of the service should be lent to private firms, during which period part of their salary should be paid by the firms. But the chemists will continue to enjoy all

the privileges of the service. Very few Indian firms will be able to have proper control over such officers, over whom they have no direct authority, especially so if a particular officer happens to be European, who himself may have strong objection to work in any Indian concern.

Therefore considering all points the Indian chemical service will be as little beneficial to the Indians as other services. The word "Indian" is misleading, because the service will not be properly manned by Indians, it will serve neither Indian capital nor Indian interests. It will benefit big European concerns and future European capital to be invested in India for the exploitation of her raw materials.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Education in Japan

In an article on "Education in Japan Old and New", being pages from the diary of an Indian officer in Japan, *The Mysore Economic Journal* gives much of just such information as the Indian public stand in need of. In order fully to appreciate the transition from the old order of things in Japan to the new, it is enough to know that,

It was heresy to imbibe foreign ideas and people were occasionally punished with death who travelled abroad or who were suspected of believing in Christianity or of studying the customs, languages, or manners of infidel foreigners.

All this is changed now. Many of the men who opposed and scoffed at the changes thirty years ago are now ardent supporters of the modern system of education after personal experience of the old and the new order of things in a single life-time. Early in their career of reform, the Japanese leaders found out the secret that education was the basis of all progress.

Foreign teachers were engaged from America and Europe. Japanese educationists were sent to foreign lands to investigate educational matters on the spot. Several foreign language schools were started and the necessary preparations for the higher branches of science and art were provided to qualify people for commerce and other practical pursuits.

"Military drill was encouraged in the

various schools with a view to develop discipline and other healthy traits of character."

There is a growing system of industrial and commercial education side by side with middle and high schools. There is the University and institutions for the highest practical and scientific education. There are besides the Higher Commercial and Technical Schools, the Higher and Ordinary Normal Schools, Higher Female Schools, Fine arts, and Music Schools, Blind and Dumb Schools, Kindergarten, etc. In 1895 there were over a thousand termed miscellaneous schools mostly unorganized and under private control. These schools which are not classified had for their object instruction in Japanese and Chinese literature, in the English language, in French, German or Russian, in Law, Medicine, Philosophy, Navigation, Book keeping, Commerce, Statistics, Industry, etc.

The Calcutta University Commissioners have, in their report, vol v, p 190, sapiently expressed their "general agreement with those agricultural authorities who insist that direct agricultural teaching at an early school age is inadvisable." But in the United States of America hundreds of elementary schools teach agriculture, and the writer in the *Mysore Economic Journal* says

Out of the large number of elementary schools, 3,976 schools have had Sewing, Handiwork,

Agriculture and Commerce added to the regular and supplementary courses

Military and naval education and all kinds of training which are necessary for efficiency in business leading to material prosperity receive very great attention

There is a Military College, a Military Academy, Cadet and other Military Schools and Corps of instruction under the War Department. There is a Naval College, a Naval Academy, Naval Medical College and other schools under the Naval Department. There is a Navigation School

There is a keen demand for knowledge and information everywhere especially bearing on economic and material progress of the country and the Government and the leaders cheerfully make all sacrifices to meet that demand with alacrity

Elementary education is compulsory up to the 14th year

Special importance is attached to practical training as will be seen from the large number of elementary schools where handicraft, agriculture and commerce are taught

Compared to the population the number of technical and commercial schools is very large and the tendency is to increase them still more largely. Great importance is attached to Higher Commercial and Technical education. In the Higher Commercial School at Tokio, instruction is given in English, German, French, Spanish, Chinese and Russian, with a view to train Japanese to enter into business trade relations with all countries with which the civilised countries have commerce

In the universities also, the highest practical instruction is given in Practical Chemistry, Engineering, Mining and other subjects with a view to train men to take a leading part in the industries and manufactures

All school-going children are required to wear school uniforms which have a military cut and all male children undergo military drill. One remarkable feature is the perfect discipline they undergo without making it irksome. The children are kept most cheerful

The information given regarding the expenses of education of Japanese students—for foreigners they would obviously be higher—and the efforts made to keep down the cost of education, are very instructive and interesting

The Japanese student is poor and the schools give every facility to help him on. The food expenses of a student come to Rs 7 to 9 in Indian money. To keep a lad at a common school, it costs the parent at present 9 to 15 rupees, at the ordinary middle school Rs 14 to 20, and at the Imperial University, Tokio, Rs 16 to 22. This includes board and lodging,

books and petty expenses but excluding clothes. These figures represent very nearly the cost of education in India except in the matter of University education which is comparatively more costly in India

In the Universities of Tokio and Kioto, I was assured by the professors that students are not required to buy books. Most cannot afford the expense. The professors give notes and the students pick up information from Library books. The University assists students to visit offices and business places and industries to acquire practical experiences. One very great encouragement which the Japanese student gets is the opportunity of employment. The training he receives is practical and of a high order and so great is the demand for University men that appointments, Government or private, await them as soon as they pass out. In many cases, their services are bespoken before they complete their course. The country wants these men in its new national life and they cannot be got through the University fast enough to meet the demand

Teachers and professors receive moderate salaries. It is possible to get competent men for such pay because,

The professors lead simple lives and work from patriotic motives, although men of their qualifications can earn much more in private employment than they can hope for under Government. With them it is a case of high thinking and plain living. Their thoughts are European, their dress out of door is European, in home life and everything else except work, they are Japanese. They keep no furniture—they cannot afford the expenditure—in the European fashion, but their homes are nevertheless very clean and attractive, may be from a Japanese or Indian point of view

What salaries do the professors and teachers receive?

The salaries of professors, everything included in the Tokio Imperial University ranges from Rs 150 to 250 a month. The directors of higher schools are paid Rs 200 to 300. Other teachers are paid in the same proportion. The teachers in the common schools are very poorly paid. Out of a total of 47,000 teachers in the ordinary elementary schools, no less than 20,000 draw a monthly salary of less than Rs 15 and 5,000 of these less than Rs 8 per month. His Excellency the Minister for Education, the highest educational authority in the land, supports his exalted position on Rs 750 per month

There is another reason why professors can be content with moderate salaries

I met several men in Tokio who held a multiplicity of employments. These work in offices as secretaries or heads of departments and

hey teach also several hours in the University met one talented professor who held an important Government office, a professorial chair and who was also the principal editor of an important journal. Asked why he wore away his life working like that, he remarked he could not make money enough. Professors in Government schools are allowed to teach in or preside over private schools. The private school or college is a great feature in the educational progress of the country and the private school master works with singular devotion for moulding young Japan.

Evidently the Government of Japan is so antiquated that it has not yet heard of the great virtues of an "atmosphere of pure study."

Vivekananda on Young Men

In the course of a conversation with a disciple, reported in the *Prabuddha Bharata*, Vivekananda said —

I want a band of young Bengal—they are the hope of the country. My hope of the future is in the youths of this country, youths of character, intelligent, renouncing everything for the service of others and obedient, who can sacrifice their lives in working out my ideas and doing good to themselves and the country at large. Otherwise boys of the common run are coming in groups and will come. Great Tamas (inertia and dullness) is written on their face—their heart, devoid of energy, body feeble and unfitted for work—mind devoid of courage. What work will be done by these? If I get ten or twelve boys with a faith like Nachiketas I can turn the thoughts and endeavour of this country in a new rejuvenated current.

Among those who come some appear to me weakly constituted in mind and body, some have bound themselves by matrimony, some have sold themselves for the acquisition of worldly name, fame or wealth, some are of incapable and feeble bodies. Besides, the majority of the remainder are unable to receive any high idea. You are no doubt able to receive my ideas, but you are not yet able to work them out in the practical field of life. For these reasons, sometimes a great despair and despondency comes into the mind, and I think that taking a human body under the dispensation of the Divine, I could not do much work. Certainly I am not as yet wholly despondent and given up to despair, for by the will of God from among these boys in time will arise great heroes of work and spirituality—and who will in future work with my ideas.

Vivekananda on "the Privileged and the Non-privileged Classes."

The Prabuddha Bharata has published

an article by Swami Vivekananda which contains the following paragraphs —

What is called politics in society is nothing but the struggle between the privileged and non-privileged classes, brought on by this difference in enjoyments.

Vanquished in this gigantic struggle of difference in privilege, India has fallen—almost lifeless.

Therefore, it is a fair cry for India to establish relations of equality with foreign nations,—until she succeeds in restoring equality within her own bounds, she has no hope for reviving.

In other words, the gist of the thing is, that the division into castes, such as the Brahmana and the Kshatriya, is not at fault, but it is the difference in privilege that has proved the great bane of our society.

Hence our object is not to destroy caste-distinctions, but to equalise the distinction of privilege. Our chief vow of life is to see that everyone, down to the Chandala, be helped to attain the right to Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha (Virtue, Wealth, Desire and Liberation).

India shall again awake, and the tidal wave that has emanated from this centric will, like a great inundation, overflow the whole of mankind and heave it forward to the gates of Mukti.

At present all professions and occupations, except Hindu priesthood, are open to all Hindu castes. Therefore, the occupational basis of caste has to a great extent disappeared and is bound to disappear wholly in course of time. Vivekananda also agrees that the "privileges", too, should vanish. What then would remain of "the division into castes" that we should speak so tenderly and reverentially of it?

It is not in this way that the Japanese dealt with their effete caste system. As caste in India has become equally effete and meaningless, and harmful to boot, it must be totally destroyed if we want that "India shall again awake."

In the same article from which we have quoted above, Vivekananda says —

Three dangers are confronting us (1) the non-Brahmin classes will unite and create a new religion like Buddhism in the olden times, (2) will embrace a foreign religion, or (3) all religious ideas will disappear from India for good.

In the first alternative all the efforts for the realisation of its goal by this most ancient civilisation will be rendered fruitless. This India will be again reduced to puerile infancy, will forget all her past glories and advance towards

progress at a snail's pace, after long periods. In the second alternative, Indian civilisation and the Aryan race will very soon be extinct. In the third alternative, great danger lies in this, that whenever that special object on which rests the foundation of an individual's or a nation's life is destroyed, the individual or that nation is also destroyed. The life of the Aryan race is founded on religion, and when that is destroyed the downfall of the Aryan race is inevitable.

Liberation for All or for None

From another conversation of Vivekananda published in the *Prabuddha Bharata* we extract the following —

What is the good of that spiritual practice or realisation which does not benefit others, does not conduce to the well being of Jivas (souls) sunk in ignorance and delusion, does not help in rescuing them from the clutches of lust and wealth? Do you think, so long as one Jiva endures in bondage, you will have any liberation? As you desire the good of your wife and children, knowing them to be your own, similarly when such love and attraction for every Jiva will awaken in you, then I will know that the Brahman is awakening within you, not a moment before. When this feeling of the all-round good of all without respect to caste or colour will awaken in your heart, then I shall know you are advancing towards the ideal.

Present-day Ideals.

Mr M De P Webb writes in the *Indian Review*

It is now possible to see what a great advance has been made during the last five years. In the first place, it has been everywhere understood that Might, improperly used, can never be Right and that law and justice must govern the relations of one nation with another. Further, it has been much more widely perceived than ever before, that the same principle applies to the relation between the strong and the weak of all classes—from ruling and dependent peoples down to individual employers and employed. Thirdly, democracy has been recognised as the basis for the future political organisation of the world. Fourthly, the responsibility of civilisation for the protection and uplifting of the backward peoples of the earth has been definitely established. And fifthly, the duty of all mankind to look beyond the limits of national boundaries, and to assist in maintaining the peace and progress of the human race as a whole has found definite expression in the formation of a League of Nations.

But the question is, how much of these ideals is recognised in practice? European

nations and their colonies should not speak of the ideal of the protection and uplifting of the backward peoples of the earth, until at least one of them has realised it in practice. Whatever hypocrisy may say, exploitation is not protection and uplifting. The British people think that they are the most idealistic in their relations with "native races." We, therefore, ask whether Mr Webb has heard of forced labour, amounting to slavery, in British East Africa. If he has not, he should read the following extracts from an article on "Compulsory Labour" in *The Servant of India* for May 13, 1920 and an extract from the *Inquirer* printed elsewhere —

In March Mr Spoor asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (1) whether a Government Commission on Native Labour sat in British East Africa in 1912-13, whether the Hon A C Hollis, C M G, Secretary for Native Affairs, gave evidence showing that labour recruited through the native chiefs was in practice compulsory labour, whether it is the policy of His Majesty's Government now to introduce compulsory labour in British East Africa, if not, whether the Governor's instructions to Provincial and District Commissioners, that the onus of finding labour was to be put on native chiefs and elders, will now be withdrawn, (2) whether the Governor of British East Africa has issued instructions to Provincial and District Commissioners to inform native chiefs and elders that it is part of their duty to advise and encourage young men in their areas to go out and work on plantations, whether any such duty has been imposed by law on native chiefs and elders, if not on what authority the Governor's statement was made, on what authority reports are called for on any headman who is impervious to His Excellency's wishes, and what is the nature of the action which the Governor proposes to take against any such headman?

The evidence of a Chief, Muturi, shows how this system of forced labour actually works in the Reserve. "If," he said (p 238), "word came through the District Commissioner that a European previously unknown to him wanted labour, he would summon a large number of men, and ask who wanted to go. If the number fell short of that asked for he would report to the Government Officer, and if informed that he must make the number complete, he would order certain men to go. A speelman would be sent to arrest any man who refused to go, and he would be taken before the Native Council at headquarters, by which he would be fined three goats for disobeying the chief.

The goats would be slaughtered and eaten by the Council. The Council would then order him to go to work, an order which he could not escape obeying."

The evidence of the planters and farmers shows that the wages paid by them vary from Rs 3 per month (4s a month, or a little over a penny a day) to Rs 7 per month (9s 4d a month, or a little over threepence a day). One planter said that methods of indenturing young native labour appeared to him to be excellent. "He himself had had splendid results from utilizing child labour on his farm, both boys and girls of about fourteen years of age. Children were paid at the rate of Rs 1 (1s 4d) for fourteen days actual work, without food."

It is an acknowledged fact that native labourers are packed tight into the ordinary third-class coaches and even iron-covered goods vans during their journeys, which may extend to three consecutive days and nights, if they are travelling the whole length of the line, as they are not conveyed by the ordinary passenger tram and are liable to be side-tracked to allow other trams to take precedence of them. The heat during the day, owing to the want of ventilation and the cramping for several hours at a stretch, must be well-nigh intolerable. Combined with this is the custom of locking the doors for long periods during the journey, with the natural result that the coaches become fouled, *adding to the already inhuman crowding an unspeakable insanitary condition*. In addition water can only be obtained now at such places where the doors are unlocked in accordance with existing railway regulations (*Italics ours*).

Nearly every white settler who gave evidence before the Commission was in favour of these proposals. I will quote at random from their evidence. Mr H Scott of Limoni said (p 5).

In his opinion the free movement of natives from one locality to another should be done away with. This would go a long way to solve the labour difficulty. His idea was that the natives resident in any one District should supply the labour for the District. A standard wage of Rs 4 should, he thought, be established. Increased taxation would, he thought, increase the labour supply, not so much, however, near towns, as in such cases the natives would be able to obtain the necessary money by raising and selling of additional produce. Boys who worked for a certain number of months in the year should pay less than those who did not work at all. The tax, therefore, should be raised to Rs 10 for boys who did not work, and reduced to Rs 3 for those who worked.

Mr Fletcher of Kyambu said (p 7).

In his opinion the only way to obtain more labour would be through increasing the cost of the natives living by means of additional taxation. He was in favour of a fairly heavy Poll

Tax with a remission proportionate to the number of months a native had worked for a European farmer. The farmer would grant a certificate to all natives working for him showing the length of time he had been employed. A certificate from Indians should not be accepted. The Reserves were a great deal too large. If the Reserves were cut down sufficiently it would undoubtedly have the effect of turning off a large number of natives who would be made to work for their living.

Mr P E Watcham of Ruwaka said (p 6).

Reserves, he thought, should be cut down so as to force the natives to take up their residence on European farms.

These quotations, which are typical of the proposals in the 300 pages of evidence which the Report contains, show clearly enough the attitude of the English settlers. In their opinion the native has no right to land and no right to live his life for himself; he should be compelled to work on the white man's land for a wage fixed at twopence per day by law by the white man. They propose to use the power of the State to cut down the land, in occupation by the natives, until it is unable to support the native population. The native will thus be faced by the alternatives of starvation or of working for the settler on the settler's terms. And in order to make the result still more certain the cost of the natives' living is to be increased by taxation, so that they will be compelled to work for the white man in order to earn sufficient money to pay the taxes. It may be added that in British Nyassaland this system had already been adopted, and there the native who cannot prove that he has worked has to pay double taxes.

Like Mr Webb, Mr S Jackson Coleman writes in the *Indian Review* that

"International morality has made enormous strides since the great European War, despite the wailings of those who would have us believe that modern civilisation is a failure. In place of barbarism and bloodshed, the world [outside Jalandhara Bigh] now looks to the reign of moral force as an agent for the appeasement of national rancours and rivalries, for the unification of races and for the establishment of a true common partnership in the interests of the world's brotherhood of peoples."

Brotherhood of the Occidental brand means "What is yours is mine, and what is mine—why, that is mine already." It also means that, as all peoples are brothers, Occidentals should have access to and rights in all peoples' lands, and that the non-Occidental peoples being highly spiritual should not care for such merely worldly trifles as life, land, health, food, mines, &c, but should practise self-abnegation, altruism, and *nirvana*.

Can the Turk Rule Other Races ?

The Young Men of India, a Christian organ, writes —

We have been told that the Turk has never had a chance, that now he will probably "do better," but this is no argument for continuing his rule over races whom he has oppressed. We admit that negotiations with Turkey in the past have been shamefully conducted. England was a minor culprit, but Russia and Austria stand condemned. It is a grim fact that in the first half of the last century, Turkish policy of religious freedom in her realms was frustrated by Russian intrigue, that occasionally guilty foreign criminals in Turkish territories were protected from arrest and trial by the capitulations. But even let us suppose that the Turk has repented for past sins. Could he rule these races whom he has alienated? A writer the other day laid down as a fundamental condition for successful government of one nation by another, the existence of a minimum of goodwill on the part of the ruled. If this does not exist, then howsoever pure and disinterested may be the motives of the ruler, the experiment will be a failure. Can any one suggest that this requisite goodwill will be forthcoming when the Arab and Armenian are handed back to the Turk?

Our contemporary will admit that it is not practicable under present circumstances to determine how much of goodwill there is on the part of the ruled in India towards the rulers and how much of alienation. So, we will turn to other lands for examples. British newspapers and Reuter's telegrams give one the impression that Great Britain has completely alienated the bulk of the Irish and the Egyptian peoples. Will our contemporary, therefore, find out some Christian and democratic reasons why Great Britain still insists upon ruling Ireland and Egypt?

A Change Coming Over the Panjab

In the course of an address at the Arya Samaj Mandir, Zanzibar, published in the *Hindustan Review*, Mr. C. F. Andrews dwelt on "a wonderful change which I have seen coming over the land of the Panjab during the past year."

In the midst of common sufferings and persecutions, men's hearts have turned in a marvellous way towards God and towards one another, in love. The new tide of brotherhood, which has come in like flood, has swept away many old rivalries and enmities

and hatreds, the unity between Hindus and Musalmans, which has resulted has proved to be no more passing enthusiasm of the moment. It has gone down very deep indeed into the life and soul of the common people, and it has brought with it a return from mere material aims and sordid worldly ambitions to the worship of the One God, the Helper and Refuge of mankind.

I have seen with my own eyes things happening which no one could have believed possible only a short year ago. I have seen, for instance, Swami Shriaddhananda, the Arya Samaj Leader, revered as a saint by the poor among the Musalmans of Delhi. It has also been my great joy to see the Hakim Sahib, Ajmal Khan, revered in a similar manner for his goodness and kindness by the Hindus. He has shown his desire for brotherhood, not only in word, but in deed. Only lately he has urged upon Musalmans the cessation of the outstanding offence of the slaughter of the kine, and Hindus have blessed him for his utterance.

The educated members of the two communities had hated one another long ago. But this brotherhood among the illiterate and ignorant, this reverence for Hindu leaders by Musalmans and of Musalman leaders by Hindus—this, surely, is leading to a unity which previous generations imagined to be beyond the reach of mortal man.

He proceeded to observe

One common devotion to the Motherland has united all together. Yet there is one further step I ask from you all. It is, that this noble unity of brotherhood may be established on the sure foundation of faith in God, and not be used as a mere political expedient. God is One, and we are all His children. God is One, He cannot be divided. God is One, He cannot have any favourites. All are loved by Him alike. Let this one simple thought of God inspire you here, in East Africa, as it is inspiring thousands in India. Let it be the foundation of a brotherhood here, which shall not depend on any temporary worldly advantage for its support, but be based upon the Truth, upon God Himself.

Need of Spirituality

We are quite at one with Mr. Andrews in the stress he laid on the need of spirituality. Said he

"I profoundly distrust this concentration of national interest in India upon politics only,—as if that would bring us salvation. It appears to me to be leading us to a one-sided view of life, and in certain cases to be as dangerous to a healthy mind as intoxication is to a healthy body."

The subject of his address was an *Ashrama* for East Africa, and on that he dwelt in the paragraphs quoted below.

I have longed in my inmost heart, with the purest longing, that there might be some spot in Africa, some Guukula, some Ashrama,—on the banks of a pure lucid stream and near to the snowy mountain heights out here,—where the same innocence and happiness of childhood might be fostered, where there might be the same harmlessness and kindness to all God's creatures, where those who had passed through the *grihastha* stage might retire from the world in their old age to meditate upon God and find that perfect *shanti* which no human possessions can impart.

For, if you will allow me the privilege of speaking openly and candidly to you, as a friend should speak, it would seem to me as if the higher life within the soul of man were in danger of being starved to death among you, for lack of its own proper food. Money-making and material enjoyments seem to fill up too large a portion of your life, out here in Africa, and then danger is that they tend to shut out God.

The sight of this absorption in material things among you, my friends, whom I have learnt to love, has been a pain, a fear, a grief to me, more keen than that caused by any harsh outward wrong that has been done to you by men from the outside. For this outward wrong, done from the outside, need not touch the soul, or, if it does touch the soul it may purify and chasten and refine. But the injury I now speak of is an inner loss, a personal injury, self-wrought and self-inflicted, like an act of suicide. And who is able to cure the wound, which a man continues to inflict upon himself,—the wound, which he himself desires should remain unhealed?

There, in this Ashrama of my dreams, in Africa men of all religious beliefs will be dearly, lovingly welcomed; there, Hindus and Musalmans will be one people; there, birds and beasts and all dumb creatures will be free from harm; there, innocent happy children, living close to nature, will be taught in childhood to love God, to love all creatures and to love mankind; there, Indian *grihasthas*, who have grown old in the midst of worldly business, will retire in their old age, in order to give their love and devotion to the humble service of others, helping the little children in their daily work, ministering to the poor and needy, and, above all, finding that truest joy of all joys,—the joy of the love of God.

For such an Ashrama as this, no hard and fast rules will be needed. No sectarian barriers will ever be erected. No walls of separation between man and man will ever be built. No racial differences will ever keep men apart.

The one golden rule, freely kept by all who freely enter this Ashrama's precincts, will be,—Love to God, love to mankind, and love to all God's creatures.

Ancient Oriental Literature

The following paragraphs are taken from the "World of Culture" appearing in the *Collegian*

Fragments of Oldest Indian Drama in Central Asia

THE chronological limits of Hindu dramaturgy have been pushed back to Kushan times (c. A. C. 100) by the discovery of dramatic fragments among the palm leaf MSS unearthed by Dr. von Lecoq in one of the cave temples near Kucha in Turkestan. One of these dramas is a "morality" play of the Buddhists, in which Buddha, Dhriti, Kirti and other abstract attributes appear as *dramatis personae*. The author, Ashvaghosha (the founder of Mahayanaism), should therefore be regarded as the father of Indian dramatic literature. A complete discussion of the script, dialect and authorship of these MSS is to be read in Professor Luders' *Kleinere Sanskrit Texte* Vol. I *Buddhistische Buddhistische Dramen* (Berlin 1911). The introduction to the work offers, besides, the most valuable contribution to our knowledge of Indian palaeography and of the Middle Indian dialects such as Old Sauraseni, Old Magadhi, and Old Ardhamagadhi.

A Moslem, the first philosophical historian of the modern world

MOSLEM Asia can feel proud of one of the glories of Islam that the researches of Islamologists have opened up in recent times. Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) is now acknowledged as having anticipated Vico, Bodin, and Montesquieu in the scientific analysis of the dynamic (environmental as well as psychical) factors involved in the processes of history. The French version of this Asian sociologist's "philosophy of history" is entitled *Prolegomenes historiques d'Ibn Khaldun* (trans. by M. G. D. Slane) in *Notices et extraits des MSS de la bibliothèque impériale*, Vols. XIX-XXI (Paris). Flint has summarized Khaldun's system in his *History of the Philosophy of History in France*.

Bhasa's Plays in America

LOVERS of drama in New York are being introduced to the plays of Bhasa, the inspirer of Kalidasa and Shudraka, by Vishnu Sitaram Sukthankar, M. A. (Cantab), Ph. D. (Berlin), late of the Archaeological Survey of India. On the occasion of an inaugural reading from the *Charudatta* (a fragment) Prof. Jackson, the Indo-Iranian Scholar, Dr. Bigongiari, the Italian lecturer on Dante, Director Gilbert Reid of the International Institute of Shanghai, the Swedish architect Mr. Berggren, George Reindel, etcher and painter, Professor W. R. Shepherd, authority on Latin American culture, and others took part in the discussion. Dr. Sukthankar's renderings are going to be the first in the English language. The *Udatta* has been translated into French by a pupil of Sylvain Lévy and into German by Jacob. But Bhasa does not seem yet to have attracted attention in Europe and America. All his twelve dramas are, however, available in the Bengali of Gurubandhu Bhattacharyya.

Co-operation in the New Order.

In an address on Co-operation in the new order, published in the Bengal, Bihar and Orissa *Co-operative Journal*, Mr T C Ray observes

In so far as a co-operative society influences the character of its members, makes them self-reliant, accustoms them to identify their individual interests with the interest of the community, and fosters brotherliness, removing caste and religious bitterness, it is entitled to be regarded as an important factor in national regeneration. But it does, and is capable of doing, much more than this.

And he shows of what use it may be in agricultural and other industries, in checking profiteering, in starting mills, in improving sanitation, in the extension of irrigation, &c. With regard to irrigation works in West Bengal, particularly in Bankura, Mr Ray says

I would prefer that such works be executed by combinations of persons, formed for the purpose, without the intervention of the Collector, which is sure to interfere with the motive to self help. I would not sacrifice the moral influence which co-operation exerts on the character of its votaries to the ease and luxury of leaving my work to be done by the State and my paying for it.

We have no quarrel with the principle here laid down. But the root of all mischief in India lies in the State being and being considered an entity separate from the people, so that the people may very well ask, "If education, sanitation, irrigation, &c, are all to be attended to by combinations of private individuals, for what does the State exist, why are the people taxed and what for are officers paid far higher salaries than in the richest countries of the world?"

The Educated Wealthy and the Uneducated Poor

The following just remarks are taken from the *Bulletin of the Indian Rationalistic Society*

In the recent "Child Welfare Exhibition" in the Calcutta Town Hall we have had a display of what modern science of Hygiene and sanitation could achieve in the matter of saving the life of young mothers and the children born to them. It was highly instructive to the educated wealthy but in which, to our regret, the vast uneducated poor who are always with us, had no share.

So it is legitimately expected that through the E W. (Educated Wealthy) the light of knowledge

would percolate through and reach the lowest strata—the strata of the U P (Uneducated Poor) of our society.

The organisers of the Exhibition meant well no doubt, but they did not know what a wide social gulf existed between the E W and the U P in this land. Here that social gulf was far wider than what one found in Europe or in England.

The E W who flocked at the Exhibition in their motor cars, did they give their house-servants an opportunity to see the two kinds of hut, one insanitary and the other sanitary, for lying in purposes for the expectant mother, or did the E W enquire as to what kind of lying-in huts these servants had in their village homes? We should indeed be surprised to learn that any of them took that amount of interest in the welfare of the homes of their household servants. In this respect, in the welfare of the homes of their household servants, the E W Europeans are more considerate and humane than the E W of our own country.

In Europe where humanitarian and social welfare movements have been going on for at least 40 years, even here the E W have been paying dearly for the neglect of the U P. For, there the spread of Bolshevik ideas and bitter struggle between capital and labour have been the result of that neglect. The same dangers would threaten us in our country, if the E W of our country continue to neglect the U P, who should be taken by the hand like brothers and educated and helped in every way possible.

Child Welfare

In *Health and Happiness* Rai Bahadur Dr Chuni Lal Bose enumerates the causes of the abnormally high rate of infant mortality in Calcutta.

The unclean and insanitary condition of houses and of the bustees in which they are situated, insufficient food and clothing due to the poverty of the people, immaturity of the parents due to child-marriage, seclusion of women, ignorance, superstition, bad midwifery, want of proper care of the mother before confinement, inexperience of young mothers in taking proper care of themselves and their babies, an impure and inadequate milk-supply, etc,—these are some of the causes which lead not only to high infant mortality but which are responsible for a large number of deaths among mothers also. The extremely insanitary condition of lying-in rooms in many Indian houses considerably adds to this increased death rate among new born babies.

In the *Social Service Quarterly* of Bombay, Dr Miss Kashibai Nowrange also mentions some of the causes that are working to increase the death-rate of infants —

(i) The generally unhealthy surroundings and crowded, ill-ventilated houses lowering the vitality of all women. (ii) Pregnancy in this generally debilitated condition with the same adverse circumstances, insufficient quantity of light, want of nourishing diet, and dirty habits. (iii) Neglect of the expectant

mother—hard work and over-exertion, no proper care of her health—through ignorance and superstition.

Miss Nowrange truly observes that "children are the real wealth of a nation and it is the children of every age that keep the world going." "Every life has its mission, large or small. A child of today may grow up to be a great person of some future date and, therefore, every life has its value."

The Sources of Power in Civilisation

In the course of a review of Mr Benjamin Kidd's "Science of Power," the *Social Service Quarterly* states the main idea of that book.

It is that the great secret of the coming age of the world is that civilisation rests not on Reason, but on Emotion, and that the Emotion which will most quickly transform society is what he calls the Emotion of the Ideal. "Power in the future of civilisation is the science of the organisation in society of the Emotion of the Ideal."

It is by the creation of an emotion of the ideal that the aims of civilisation are to be accomplished. Let higher conceptions be infused into the mind of a nation so that it becomes natural and inevitable that individuals should subordinate their own selfish interests, and live for the future rather than for the present, and there will be no bounds to the power which will be created. "The people who first grasp this tremendous lesson in all its practical bearings will have the world at their feet." For the law of efficiency is always the law of sacrifice, and only for an ideal will men sacrifice themselves.

It is only in this way that war can be abolished. The hope that war will cease because men will become convinced that it is unprofitable is vain. Something much higher and greater is needed to overcome the inborn combativeness of man. Universal peace can only be secured when a generation arrives to whom the barbarism of war is so abhorrent that men could no more engage in it without loss of self-respect, than they can now engage in robbery and murder. And that stage of civilisation will come, not from any consideration of material gain, but solely through the transmission to men of that emotion of the ideal which will transform them into higher creatures, and make it impossible for them to do that which at a lower stage would seem natural. There is no reason whatever why that change should not come soon. Nothing works more quickly. It might come in a generation.

It followed for Mr Kidd—and this is the most startling thesis of his book—that the mind of women is destined to take the lead in the future of civilization. The man is essentially a fighter for his own hand, for good in the present, unable to subordinate the present to the future. Woman, on the contrary, is the being of the race rather than of the individual. To a far greater extent she is swayed by the distant, the future, the universal. It is natural for her to think of, and

sacrifice herself for generations to come. Hence it is through the mind of woman that the Emotion of the Ideal, which is to be the prime force in civilization, will chiefly come into play.

The reviewer doubts whether the superiority here attributed to woman is a reality.

Commercialized Vice Must Be Destroyed

For the welfare of children—and of adults also—there must be a fight to the death with commercialized vice. Miss Frances S. Hallows writes in the *Social Service Quarterly*.

Among the many causes of premature death [of children] there is one more fatal than all others, one that not only kills, but curses the lives of tens of thousands of children, poisoning and embittering their childhood, a disease which is *preventable*, because it is handed to them by their own fathers and grandfathers—venereal disease. Science has declared that the source of this disease is commercialized vice. Since the Report of the Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases appeared in 1916 there has been no longer any doubt as to this fact.

What avails intellectual education for our sons with its reports of experts, its text-books, its outlay of millions of money, while alongside runs this deadly peril to our adolescent boys who are the hope of the future, while trade in vice is allowed to place poison-traps in our cities where vice is fastened upon mere boys, who ignorant of the name of the disease which will curse not only themselves but their wives and children with sterility and death and nameless agonies, make habits which reduce the nation's efficiency? The verdict of science is that such a trade is a tragedy, "that the widely-spread *superstition* that chastity is harmful, and that prostitution is an inevitable accompaniment of civilization, needs thorough exposure."

The trade of vice is not a *necessary* evil, it is an absolutely *unnecessary* evil, and a greater evil than has been realized. It is a poison well which is affecting public health.

Science declares that the monster is not invincible. Having brushed away the cobwebs of superstition, it asks a question—"We can cure venereal diseases, but why not prevent them?" Which is of the greater benefit to society, to cure a case or to prevent one?"

And how can this be done, but by abolishing the centres of contagion which prostitution furnishes in the streets of our cities? And how abolish such poison-wells but by legislation which shall make it penal for a man to buy, and for a woman to sell, for immoral purpose? A great man who has just died—Mr W. A. Coote, who knew more about this topic than any man who ever lived, having worked for thirty years as Secretary and Director of the London Vigilance Association and travelled through Europe, the United States, and South America, promoting legislation against the slave traffic in girls—declared that by *legislation* alone, could an end be put to the huge trade of vice. Education and religion cannot hope to

do this initial work, and the efforts made in Europe to limit and license the evil, by segregation regulation, and inspection, have been miserable failures, and the authorities admit it.

"Take the profit away and there will be little prostitution left"

Where commercialized vice exists in a city, it exists because public opinion consents to it. Commercialized vice means not only additional disease in a district but also additional crime. Because it is a trade, it can be dealt with more easily than is believed, for when those who live by it see that a city is in earnest, they will not fight, there is no profit in fighting, they are out for money.

The State must enact a law which will at the same time educate and *deter* the youth of India. The influence of the law upon the moral character of the people is enormous. History shows that the law of the land quickly becomes, among the great masses of the people, the law of individual conscience and the standard of individual conduct. By no other way can the Nation learn that vice which infects the generation to come is criminal, or that a pure fatherhood is necessary, if India is to be healthy and efficient, with a strong mind in a strong body. The true end of legislation in every country is to discourage vice and to facilitate virtue. It has been proved in the past that if people cannot be made *virtuous* by Acts of Parliament, that nevertheless an immense amount of mortality and disease, and, consequently, unhappiness is preventable by legislation.

"The Beggar Problem."

We learn from the *Social Service Quarterly* that in a book named "The Beggar Problem", the author, Mr A M Biswas, quotes the Hon'ble Mr Sukhbir Singh who calculates the cost of maintaining beggars on the basis of an average expenditure of Rs 3 a month at Rs 18 crores a year.

Taking the figures of the census of 1901 which put the total number of beggars at 52 lakhs, the writer calculates the total cost of their maintenance as not less than Rs 42 crores a year, on the computation that if they could earn Rs 4 per month each, they would make the country richer by 24 crores. Coming to the causes of the growth of the evil, the writer traces them to insufficient legal and police control over the beggars, and the misdirection and misapplication of the charity of the people. Among the remedies suggested, besides the improvement and better administration of the law is the establishment of industrial settlements for able-bodied adults and juveniles, with hospitals, schools, workshops, and fields, where the vagrants will be required to earn their livelihood by labour and the juveniles will be trained up to take to some useful profession. He also proposes the opening of asylums for the invalids and children, and homes for rescued girls.

Mr Biswas also recommends the establishment of special courts on which will sit elderly persons, who are fathers of children and believers in the redemption of persons who are given up as lost either socially, morally or religiously. All the technicalities of law should be excluded at such courts and the judges

should minister to the accused mercy and wash away the stains of cruelty. Besides these courts, the writer suggests that powers should be given to the trusted persons from the different wards to detect and apprehend able-bodied beggars and to send them for trial. The bogus religious mendicants should be weeded out by a board on which should be represented elderly men from all the religions.

Mr Biswas has further suggested some practical alterations in the City Police Act and has outlined detailed schemes for the establishment of an Industrial Settlement and Infirm Asylum for the city of Calcutta. This will mean an expenditure of Rs 5,07,000 at the outset and involve recurring expenditure of Rs 9,680. He thus calculates the average cost per head under these two heads as Rs 507-8-0 and Rs 9-8-0, respectively.

Indian Banking Development.

Writing in *Commerce and Industries* Mr K S Abhyankar, B.A., dwells on the need of Indian banking development. He quotes Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's opinion that if industrial development is to take place on any large scale, nothing is more important than that regular banking facilities should be multiplied manifold and that as early as may be practicable. But banks are multiplying in other countries, India is practically at a standstill.

In one month after the Armistice forty-three new branches of banks were started in Canada, while in India, remarks the "Rangoon Times", 'forty-three new branches of banks have not been opened in ten years'. According to Sir Stanley Reed the total number of new branches of banks opened in Canada since the Armistice, must have, by this time, come up to between 500 and 600. In England, several banks have, each of them, deposits larger in amount than total deposits of all the Indian banks put together. In India, the total number of branches of the three Presidency banks, 'after three quarters of a century of lucrative existence' is only 66. 'The London, City and Midland Banking Company has more than a thousand branches and this is only one of a group of three joint-stock banks, the others being Lloyds and the London County and Westminster, which stand at the head of the joint-stock banks.

What is the result?

One natural result of this inadequacy of banking facilities is that a great deal of capital is hoarded. Though the idea of the hoarded wealth of India that many Europeans have, is greatly exaggerated, it cannot be denied that there are such hoards in this country, tiny individually, but amounting to a great sum in the aggregate.

There should be banking facilities for agriculturist and banks of a special character for industrial development, for which trained employees are required.

One cause of the failures of the Swadeshi Banks was the lack of trained employees. The Industrial commission say in their report, "But there is in India at present a lack of trained employees, owing to the absence in the past of facilities for commercial education and of a regular system of training Indians in Banking work."

Sir Stanley Reed says, "The execution of such a programme would involve the entertainment of a very large trained Indian staff, where only a limited supply now exists. It is only right that the Presidency Banks should have the power to call on the State to establish the educational facilities necessary to furnish a sufficient supply of men trained in banking and commerce, from which the requisite staff must be recruited." It is the duty of the State to see that a sufficient number of Indians are trained in banking.

Transport Difficulties in India.

Mr V R Mundle, coal merchant, writes in *Commerce and Industries*, that on considering the question of transport difficulties in India the shortage of wagons, &c, he has come to the conclusion that "each industrial concern must have a certain number of wagons of its own for transport." "The benefit from this method will be that there will be no transport difficulties." But what if the State Railway Board and the private railway companies be not agreeable? The real solution of transport difficulties is not so easy. It lies in breaking the railway monopoly by the development of natural waterways and the construction of canals, covering the country with a network of good roads for motor traction, and, lastly, by commercial aviation, which is coming

"Expert Indian Opinion."

Mr P Krishna Menon writes in *Commerce and Industries*—

The difficulty of getting expert Indian opinion in industries has been one of the factors for the slow progress of Indian industries. The Indian Capitalists, who, by the way, are coming to take a more active interest than has hitherto been the case, are greatly at the mercy of the foreigners for proper guidance and instruction.

This is true, but it is also true that Indian capitalists and captains of industry are not generally ready to give the same recognition and chance to Indian experts trained abroad which they readily

give to foreign experts possessed of equal or even less experience and training.

"Shama'a."

The first issue of *Shama'a*—which is Persian for both Light and Lamp—the beautiful magazine edited by Miss Minnalini Chattopadhyay, has been published. In the foreword it is said

We stand to-day at the opening of a new era in the history of the world with an old worn-out and sorrowing world dying, and a new world in the throes of birth. New thoughts, new ideals and new activities are revolutionising life in all its phases with an amazing rapidity. A great synthetic wave is making its way throughout the world effecting manifold changes, signs of which are visible everywhere. In political life, it is "Coalition" or Centric party, in economic life, it is "Co operation", in social life, it is "Service" and in spiritual life it is "Mysticism". That all parties and classes should join together and work for the common good of Society, freely giving all that they can and receiving only what they need, that, in the large sense of the word, Individuality does not mean the selfish instinct to gain all for oneself at any cost, but is the capacity to give to others by building up our own powers to acquire and that, it is the inner reality that is one and the subjective realisation of it that is important, not the varying interests which differ and divide. These are some of the ideas that go to make up the new life and distinguish it from the old.

And, perhaps, no study will better bring home these ideas to the minds of men and women than the study of Art and Philosophy. For, they are the two tendencies that will together dominate the new age. Art is universal and is a great unifier. It awakens the fundamental impulses in the minds of people all over the world, whatever may be their culture, their civilization and their language, and whatever their mode of expression. It quickens the process of intuition which enables man to see and understand the goal even before he can attain it. By beautiful colours and figures, by beautiful words and beautiful thoughts art suggests to man the splendour of his heritage. Any beautiful work of art whether as an exquisite painting or a graceful statue or a piece of Divine Music draws its admirers from all types of minds which feel that it belongs to no one in particular but to all in general. Universal realisation creates an universal bond and what art does through suggestion and impression, through imagination and intuition Philosophy seeks to do through the intellect. By a process of close reasoning and careful analysis and by getting at the fundamental through the tangled web of the superficial, philosophy seeks to establish the oneness of things.

It will be the purpose of this magazine to attempt to study the trends of philosophic thought and artistic expression among the nations of the world and present them to our readers.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Harmonious Co-operation between Labour and Capital

The large number of strikes among labourers in India, many of them resulting in bloodshed, must have led thoughtful men to ask how strikes may be prevented and how capital and labour may be placed upon a permanent basis of friendly co-operation. Four carefully-thought-out systems are in use in Cleveland, U S A, and are giving excellent results. So says the *Scientific American*.

The oldest and most thoroughly tested scheme has been in continuous operation for over five years in a well-known motor-truck firm. The books of the firm are open and the operations of the company are disclosed in their entirety to the employees, [for such a plan to be beneficial the labourers should be literate and educated, pointing to the need of educating labour in India], and the scale of wages is determined by the prosperity of the concern. A minimum dividend of eight per cent is payable on the capital stock, and any profits above that are applied largely to an all-round increase of wages. This company believes that all benefits to labour should come in the form of a straight week-by-week wage—not in the form of so-called profit sharing or bonuses, or mutual benefit schemes. In proof that their plan is practical and effective, they point to the fact that throughout the stress of the war and the period of reconstruction they have been free from strikes or any form of labour trouble.

Another plan, working satisfactorily in the case of several large plants, includes a straight wage, with a certain percentage of the profits set aside annually, and given to the employees in amounts proportioned to their years of continuous service.

Unique among the various industrial relationship plans is one which takes the Constitution of the United States as its model. This is entirely in the hands of the employees. The organisation has a Senate, a House of Representatives and a Cabinet. A president is elected.

A recognition of the advantage of co-ordinating the efforts of the various industrial concerns that have adopted co-operative methods has led to the formation in the city of Cleveland of an Industrial Association of employers and employees whose objects as stated in the preamble

to its constitution, are: To effect greater co-operation between employers and employees, to establish justice and equity in their mutual relations and dealings with each other, and to promote the mutual education and common welfare of employers, employees and the general public.

Finally, it should be noted that in all this movement there is evidence of a very sincere effort on the part of the executives to get into close personal contact with and understanding of the employees, not merely in the shop but in the home. The president of one large concern has recently said that he believed the employer's lack of real understanding of how men think and feel often lies at the root of disloyalty. Hence his firm has created a personal department so that its activities are carried on under the four divisions of production, sales, finance and personnel.

Laws as a Source of History.

Says the *Scientific American* —

We are always amused when we hear it said of some period like that of Khammurabi or Moses, "Oh, they were highly enlightened in those days, their laws prove it. Why," followed by a more or less complete enumeration of the things which the code in question forbade. The enthusiast of the type quoted never seems to ask himself why such laws were put on the books.

The method of the modern historian in interpreting these laws would bring amazement to his predecessor of several generations back.

Today we do not argue that since the laws of a given people prohibit adultery and bigamy they were essentially a pure-minded race, venerating the marriage tie, because thievery was punishable with extreme severity we do not conclude that here was a golden age, when a man could leave his valuables on the public highway overnight and find them in the morning unmolested. In fact, our view-point is quite the contrary.

What is this view-point?

The laws of a given period are enacted not to give satisfaction to an innate impulse of the human mind to legislate, but rather to meet a condition. In other words, if Khammurabi's code places emphasis upon the penalties for adultery, for murder and for false state-

ments in business negotiations, we may be perfectly sure that this is done not because these particular varieties of crime especially offended the Sumerian sensibilities, but solely because at the time the law was passed adultery, murder and deceit constituted the more prevalent crimes.

By the laws that we pass our morals are measured, but indirectly rather than directly. The laws we have to pass show clearly the current abuses that we have to meet.

The Codes of Manu and other ancient Hindu law-givers should be interpreted according to the modern historical method. Then we shall be convinced, *e g.*, that intercaste marriages, of a certain kind, were forbidden *because they were very frequent*.

"The Spirit of the Time"

In the history of science and invention it is a familiar fact that great inventions and discoveries are sometimes suddenly made by several men independently at almost the same time, for example, the enunciation of the law of conservation of energy by Mayer in 1842, by Joule and also by Golding in 1843, and the development of the infinitesimal calculus by Newton and by Leibnitz. Contemporary authors of different countries are often found to give currency to the same ideas without borrowing from one another. In conversation also sometimes two persons say the same thing simultaneously. Cases of this kind are too frequent and striking to permit of our regarding them as simple coincidences. The human mind seeks an explanation.

One such explanation, to which Emerson gave the weight of his authority, is that the thoughts of man are not simply the product of his own individual mind, but are the expressions of a cosmic consciousness. "We lie in the lap of an immense intelligence which makes us organs of its activity and receivers of its truth. The men who come on the stage at one period are all found to be related to each other. Certain ideas are in the air. We are all impressionable, but some more than others, and these first express them. This explains the curious contemporaneity of inventions and discoveries. The truth is in the air and the most impressionable brain will announce it first."

Another explanation has been given in the *Scientific American*, from which the

foregoing paragraphs have been, in the main, compiled.

Given a world of many millions of men, cast, as it were, approximately in the same mould, and living together in a contemporaneous and common environment, it is rather to be expected that there will be a tendency for them to react in somewhat similar manner to that gradual modification of the environment which is conditioned by the accumulation of human knowledge through tradition and written records. In other words, the men of 1900 have approximately similar native endowments, and therefore react similarly towards the conditions of 1900, but their reaction to these conditions is obviously different from that of the men of 1800 to the environment of their day.

Energy to Supplant Coal

There has been an international scramble for oil in Persia, Mesopotamia, Mosul, &c., because, it is thought, it is not righteousness that exalts a nation, but coal and—when coal is not available or is exhausted—petroleum. But Sir Oliver Lodge says "The time will come when atomic energy will take the place of coal as a source of power." *Popular Science Monthly* says—

The man who spoke thus before the Royal Society of Arts in London was Sir Oliver Lodge—one of the towering figures in modern science, a man who has devoted the better part of his life to the study and interpretation of the atom. This new form of energy, which our great-grandchildren may utilize instead of oil and coal, has possibilities so appalling that Sir Oliver almost rejoices that we do not know how to release it. "I hope that the human race will not discover how to use this energy," he says, "until it has brains and morality enough to use it properly, *because if the discovery is made by the wrong people this planet would be unsafe*."

Sir J. J. Thomson, England's great authority on the atom, gives a picture of this terrible form of energy. He says, "the explosion of the atoms in a few pounds of material might be sufficient to shatter a continent." Seeing what diabolical use of explosives and poison gases have been made by European nations, Sir Oliver Lodge is right in thinking that man is not yet civilized enough to use the energy hidden in ordinary matter.

"A Race of Men Old at Forty"

Munsey's Magazine speaks thus, not of a decadent nation, but of the people of Great Britain, and that on the authority of a report issued by Sir Auckland Geddes until recently head of the Ministry of National Service. The appalling evidence collected in this report on the physical examination of British men of military age conducted by official medical boards during the war, forces the chairman of the Manchester board to exclaim

It is not good national hygienic economy to aim at immense commercial and industrial success, if by so doing you produce a race of seniles at forty

The number of examinations held from November 1, 1917, to October 31, 1918, was 2,425,184, and a summary of the results shows the following facts

Of every nine men of military age in Great Britain, three were perfectly fit and healthy. Two were upon a definitely inferior plane of health. Three were incapable of undergoing more than a moderate degree of physical exertion, and might be described as physical wrecks. The remaining one was a chronic invalid with a precarious hold on life

"My first experience in Manchester and Stockport," declares one medical examiner, "led me to the conclusion that most of the industrial classes in this region are, for military purposes, old men at thirty-eight"

In Liverpool it was found that among two hundred youths, eighteen, nineteen and twenty years old, rejected because of poor physique, the height varied from four feet three inches to five feet five inches, the average being four feet nine inches, the weight ranged between sixty-three and ninety-seven pounds, the average being eighty-four pounds, and the chest measurement ran from twenty-seven to thirty-one and one-half inches, the average being thirty inches

Physically, then, the British people are far from being a race of giants, or even of normally healthy and fit men. When they come out to sojourn in India, fat earnings, good and abundant food and plenty of leisure and sports make them physically superior to the majority of their countrymen at "Home", who are of inferior physique

Food for Cattle and Men in Arid Regions.

Referring to prickly pears or a species of

cactus, growing also in India, *Chambers's Journal* writes —

In the American deserts of the West they grow in abundance, but though their thick and succulent stems, containing about 60 or 70 per cent of water, form a nutritious food for cattle, the fact that they are covered with sharp spines renders them of very little use. In Arizona, during the great drought of 1903-4, cattle suffered severely for want of food and drink, and by utilising a gasoline-burner to singe off the spines, many hundreds of tons of cactus were made available for fodder to tide over the trying time. Singeing, however, was a slow and costly process and unpractical save as an emergency measure

For many years men have been puzzled over the problem of the cactus. Here, in a region of drought and desert, where it is difficult to bring up food and fodder from the haunts of men, grows a plant that provides all that is needed to sustain and maintain large herds of cattle, and yet, because of its terrible spines, the plant is practically useless

But it was not to remain useless for ever

Now, one man who had thought much on this subject determined that he would create a new cactus which should have all the virtues of the old prickly pear with none of its vices. In other words, he would breed a cactus without spines, and after numerous experiments he did so, with the result that now, in many of the American desert and drought lands which formerly were closed to cattle, large herds can be kept, and find their food and drink in the spineless cactus. The man who achieved this marvel was Luther Burbank, and he has earned for himself the by no means exaggerated title of 'the plant-wizard', while one of the state legislatures of America has set aside his birthday as an annual holiday, to be called Burbank Day

Now tens of thousands of acres of wilderness produce crops of this rich cattle-food, so that what was once useless desert land is now able to support large ranches of cattle, and, further, the luscious fruits of the spineless cactus form a welcome food for man. Burbank, as an admirer has put it, 'at one stroke rid the world of a plant enemy and gave it a new plant friend'. The cactus will grow where no other plant can thrive. It needs no rain, and millions of acres that have hitherto been bare and uninhabited may, by this wonderful creation, before long be supporting mighty herds of cattle and teeming populations of men. Burbank himself says: 'The population of the globe may be doubled, and yet in the immediate food of the cactus-plant itself, and in the food-animals which may be raised upon it, there would still be enough for all'

Nowhere in the world are famines of

such terrible frequency as in India, and nowhere do they sweep away such large numbers of men and cattle, and yet the people of India and the most lavishly paid Services in the world have not yet introduced the spineless cactus in this country! Certainly we deserve to die of famines and our Government to rule over an uninhabited desert

"The Plant-Wizard of America"

The spineless cactus is not Burbank's only achievement

Luther Burbank has literally created new plants. Let there be no misunderstanding about this. He has not merely produced by cross-fertilisation freaks that have died and been done with, he has put into the world absolutely new fruits and flowers and vegetables that breed true and go on propagating their species, as though they had been in existence for countless generations. Those that appeal to the imagination and the lay mind are not, of course, the most wonderful from the scientific point of view, but a few of his creations may be mentioned. There are the spineless cactus (already referred to), the white blackberry, the stoneless plum, the plumcot (a cross between the plum and the apricot), the scented dahlia, the blue poppy, the dwarf chestnut-tree, the thornless blackberry, the winter rhubarb, the paper-shell walnut, and the sunberry.

All Burbank's extraordinary creations and additions to the food-values of the world have been brought about on two plots of land covering together only twenty-two acres. These little plantations are situated at Santa Rosa and Sebastopol, California, U S A

One of the most surprising features of the Santa Rosa and Sebastopol orchards is the great variety of fruits that may be seen growing on a single tree. A hundred is quite a common number, and in some cases as many as a thousand different varieties grow on one and the same tree, all produced by grafting, budding, and cross-pollenating. The idea is, of course, not new, it is practised a good deal in this country, though not on anything like the scale of Luther Burbank. The saving in space is enormous. For instance, on a single acre Burbank often ripens several thousands of varieties of seedling-fruits that, if tested on separate trees, would need six or seven hundred acres. Nowhere, in fact, are there such amazing acres as those of the plant-wizard in California.

Even by selection alone Burbank has completely changed the colours of flowers and the characteristics of fruits

Burbank's work is regarded as so important and of such permanent value in America that a Luther Burbank Society has been formed, and an account of his life and work has been published in twelve volumes, illustrated by 1260 plates of his most beautiful creations, reproduced in colour from original *lumiere* plates.

How great is the amount of work the plant-wizard gets through is shown by the fact that at one time he was experimenting with as many as 300,000 distinct varieties of the plum, 60,000 peaches and nectarines, 6000 almonds, 5000 chestnuts, 5000 walnuts, 3000 apples, 2000 pears, 2000 cherries, 1000 grapes, and 6000 berries of various kinds. In a single season over 100,000 grafts have been set, and from these have been obtained, also in one season, material for ten million additional grafts.

Perhaps the highest testimony to the plant-wizard's worth, one that can be fully trusted, is that of the famous Dutch botanist De Vries, who says 'He has already accomplished in his chosen line of life more than any other man who has ever lived. Indeed, when the full sweep of all his achievements shall finally come into view, it may not be unfair to say that not all the plant-breeders who have preceded or accompanied him have done so much for the world. He has done more in a generation in creating new and useful types of plant-life than Nature, unaided, could have done in a millennium, more, indeed, than Nature, unaided, would ever have accomplished.'

Burbank himself is enthusiastic about the future, and the possibilities of increasing the food-supplies of the world, through the improvements wrought by plant-breeding. 'The vast possibilities of plant-breeding,' he says, 'can hardly be estimated. It would not be difficult for one man to breed a new rye, wheat, barley, oats, or rice which would produce one grain more to each head, or a corn which would produce an extra kernel to each ear, another potato to each plant or an apple, plum, orange, or nut to each tree. What would be the result? In five years only in the United States alone the inexhaustible forces of Nature would produce annually without effort and without cost, 15,000,000 extra bushels of wheat, 5,200,000 extra bushels of maize, 20,000,000 extra bushels of oats, 1,500,000 extra bushels of barley, and 21,000,000 extra bushels of potatoes. But these vast possibilities are not alone for one year, or for our own time or race, but are beneficent legacies for every man, woman, or child who shall ever inhabit the earth. Science sees better grains, nuts, fruits and vegetables, all in new forms, sizes, colours, and flavours, with more nutrients and less waste, and with every injurious and poisonous quality eliminated, and with power to resist sun, wind, rain, frost, and destructive fungus and insect pests, fruits without stones, seeds, or spines, better fibre, coffee, tea, spices, rubber, oil, paper and

timber-trees, and sugar, starch, colour, and perfume plants. Every one of these and ten thousand more are within the reach of the most ordinary skill in plant-breeding.

Rival Loyalties the Cause of Tragedy

We read in the *Harvard Theological Review*,

Students of the old Greek tragedies have often pointed out that the tragic element in those sombre dramas does not lie in a collision of good and evil. The moral problem would then be a simple one, without perplexity and poignancy. The essence of tragedy lies in a collision of loyalties, each of which is good in itself but which cannot be reconciled to the other in a given dilemma. In every tragedy, when choice and action become inevitable, there is always the sacrifice of a minor good for the sake of a major good, which involves the actor in a moral loss. The mother cannot square her loyalty to her husband with her loyalty to her children. The king cannot square his loyalty to the state with his duty to his family. In these homely but imperious dilemmas is found the essence of all tragic action.

There is no escape for any one of us from these tragic collisions in human life. Each one of us has to endure the moral friction which arises when his loyalty to truth, to duty, to the absolute good, cuts across his devotion to family, friends, country, church. And it is the memory of values which have had to be relinquished, sometimes absolute, sometimes concrete, which makes up the deeper unhappiness and moral pathos of much of our human life.

Owing to the men and the women of India among important classes living in separate worlds, as it were, owing to the women being for the most part illiterate, it is easy for us to understand this clash of loyalties. In one of our epics, the *Ramayana*, King Dasaratha could not reconcile his loyalty to his wife Kaikeyi and his loyalty to his son Rama. Rama, again, when he became king, failed to reconcile his loyalty to his wife Sita and his loyalty to his subjects. Hence the tragedies in the lives of both father and son.

Rent and Housing.

There are "rapacious landlords" in America, too. So the *New Republic* of New York tries to look at the matter of rent as one with two sides. Here is what it says on behalf of the landlords

And why should not rents rise, demands the landlord. All other prices have risen. Everybody pays twice as much for bread and meat, for clothing and hangings and furniture as in 1913. Who is crying out about the rapacity of the laborers, the farmers, the manufacturers, the merchants, who are dividing among themselves just twice as many dollars for a given service as they did before the war? What is there to distinguish housing from those other services for which men cheerfully pay at a hundred per cent advance? Only this, you see, who gets the money extorted from you. Everywhere else it is possible to "pass the buck." The shoe dealer collects sixteen dollars for a pair of shoes for which he used to charge eight. He is not to blame, oh no, the jobber drives him to it. The manufacturer drives the jobber, and the leather producer and the laborers drive the manufacturer and these in turn are driven by "general conditions."

The Dream of a "New World."

The readers know the gist of what Mr Webb of Karachi has written in the *Indian Review* about present-day ideals. We give below the opinion of a more competent person on a cognate subject. At the National Conference of Unitarian, Liberal Christian, Free Christian, Presbyterian, and other Non-subscribing or kindred congregations held at Leeds in April last, the President, Mr Hugh R Rathbone, spoke, in part, as follows, as reported in the *Inquirer* of London —

We dreamed of a "new world," of a great advance in the paths of virtue, of a new and unselfish existence when this great struggle should be over. We said that we were going through fire and sword, but would emerge a better, a braver and a more unselfish people, and that perhaps we would say that the war had to be to bring this about. Such dreams and hopes seemed to be justified five years ago by what was already happening—are they justified to-day? No one, I think, will say they are. Strangely enough the one great lesson of the war, which seemed during the progress of it, especially at the beginning, to have been really learnt, "the lesson of unselfishness," to-day appears more remote than ever before. Whether we look at the attitude of the nations towards each other, whether former friends or foes, whether we consider the attitude of great masses of people in the nation itself, the great organisations of the workers, or the capitalists, or whether we consider our own individual selves, we are painfully conscious that in that respect certainly the dream of the "new world" has not only not come true, but if anything is further off than ever.

The speaker went on to observe —

All this is not surprising though it may be disheartening to those who looked for better things and a renewed world. It is not surprising because is it not selfishness and indifference to others, to say nothing of more obvious evils, that must accompany war? We thought we were being purified by the war, we were really being brutalised by it. The great qualities of bravery, unselfishness, and unknown heroism which we thought were engendered by the war were in reality not caused by the war but flourished notwithstanding the war—they were there ready to blossom forth if the opportunity occurred.

The wondrous deeds of heroism and of self-abnegation that were being daily chronicled during the war misled us into the belief that war makes people unselfish, makes people great, even purifies the race. Most utterly false doctrines against which all thinking people, at any rate in this country, had always contended before the war.

They are the very doctrines that were preached by the publicists and so called philosophers in Germany during the last generation which the writers, had they been true philosophers, would have known to be false. The problems and disappointments of to-day are the direct result of the war, we cannot touch pitch without being defiled, we cannot as a nation go through five years of the most brutally conducted war without suffering deterioration, without our senses being blunted by repeated accounts of horrors and cruelties unspeakable, without, in fact, a gradual indifference to most unchristian acts and thoughts being, for the time, at any rate, engendered. There is no possible doubt that when it is impossible to do anything to stop acts of cruelty, the oftener they are re-enacted the more dulled become our feelings, and our resentment and anger lose force. The oftener the laws of God and man were broken the less were we distressed, the less protest did we make because again we were powerless to prevent, powerless indeed to protest.

We fell short, I believe and hope, of many of the horrors perpetrated on ourselves, but that we did many things during the latter part of the war, and were prepared had it gone on longer to do more terrible things, against which we would have protested in 1914 as unthinkable, there is no question.

It will not do to dismiss the views of the speaker as those of a pacifist, for he said —

I must again repeat that I am not arguing against our entering the war, nor against the way in which we conducted the war, I consider we were driven to it by our enemies if the war was to be won, and there is, I believe, less doubt than ever to-day that in the truest in-

terests of the world at large the war had got to be won. But I do want to emphasise very strongly my point that we have, as a nation, like the rest of the world, fallen from the ideals we had set up for ourselves, not only before the war but even during the earlier part of it.

It is therefore most incumbent on us that every effort should be put forward to restore again our ideals, which I would not say have been consciously set aside, but which have undoubtedly been blunted and maimed by these years of war.

The League of Nations.

At the same Conference, as reported in the *Inquirer*, Mr James Macdonald (not the Labourite), Honorary Secretary of the League of Nations Union in Liverpool, spoke in part as follows on the League of Nations —

What were the pressing problems which the League of Nations had to face? There was one bedrock principle which we claimed had regulated our ideas when we entered the late war. Mr Asquith said "We do not desire one yard of territory," and to-day we held the German Colonies, which ran into hundreds of thousands of square miles. Then there was the question of the protection of small peoples. In Article 22, which was headed "Mandatories" in the Covenant, it was laid down how the League of Nations was to handle small and undeveloped peoples, and one of the things it set out to do was to protect such peoples from any great nation who might desire to exploit them. What was happening to-day? In British East Africa we had introduced a principle which eventually, when put into operation, would mean the forced labour of the natives of the colony. Ten years ago the British Government allowed the white settlers in British East Africa to move away the native population from the high lands, and those lands were sold to the white settlers. Under the new scheme each one of the native chiefs would be told he must provide a certain number of workers from among his followers. Of course we were technically in the right, but there was a great difference between being technically right and morally sound. Then there was the question of Ireland. Ireland was a small nation. We had fought the late war for the protection of the rights of small nations. Why should we be afraid of making Ireland an international question? The question to-day was an international one, because it was founded upon the base of humanitarianism.

Bucksheesh.

Many people think that India is pre-eminently the land of bucksheesh or

tipping, as it is called in English. But that is wrong. The practice is very prevalent in Europe and America. *The Living Age* of Boston writes —

Anti-Tipping Laws are one of the by-products of the labor agitation that has accompanied the present revolution in Europe. Statutes prohibiting tipping have been enacted in Italy, France, Spain, Austria, Germany, and Russia. One has recently been proposed in Zurich. These laws have been inspired by the working people themselves, apparently under the impression that it is beneath the dignity of emancipated labor to receive gratuities.

However, experience with these acts is proving that the dignity of labor is a matter of personal sentiment rather than of legislation. For instance, in Berlin ten per cent is added to a customer's bill in lieu of tips. Either the proprietor includes this in his charge, or the waiter adds it when presenting his check. The public has no option but to pay that ten per cent. However, if we may believe recent reports from that city, a person who does not surreptitiously add something over and above this ten per cent, receives very poor service and becomes conspicuously unpopular with attendants. Under the old system, the waiter felt obliged to express his gratitude for a tip. Under the new system he does not dare to do so, since this super-tip is more or less illegal. Consequently, customers find it expedient to continue tipping, but are deprived of such satisfaction as they may have formerly received from the acknowledgment of this generosity.

An Economic Prophecy

Professor Lujo Brentano has long been a leader among those German economists who considered economic imperialism a mistaken policy. By economic imperialism is meant the policy which advocates the foundation and extension of empire for exploiting the resources of the subject countries and the unskilled and skilled labour of their peoples. This German Professor of Italian origin has contributed a remarkable article, entitled "An Economic Prophecy" to the *Neue Freie Presse*, from a translation of which we shall make extracts.

The professor believes in retribution for national sins. Says he

World history is world judgment. Never has a truth been confirmed more impressively than this truth has been by the World War. I do not mean that no sins that demand expiation were committed in the course of the war and on

account of it, sins darker than those for which we must answer. But what we have experienced is a convincing demonstration that retribution for those sins also is inevitable. We thought that the injustice of the partition of Poland would never be righted. To-day, that land boldly faces the governments that fondly fancied they had divided even its very corpse among themselves. Other nationalities which had been subjugated by Russia and by the Central Powers are now freed from the oppression that kept them under, and are struggling toward liberty and self-government and union with their fellows of a kindred race. Social classes, which for centuries have been denied equal rights and opportunities, have become the masters of nations. In the course of these changes the innocent have suffered with the guilty—or rather, there were no innocent, for all alike were responsible for the incapacity, violence, lies and deceptions of their rulers.

Subject peoples should bear in mind the last part of the last sentence.

The professor points out why the recent revolutions in Europe are not as hope-inspiring as the French Revolution was.

The empires that resisted longest the claim of their people to self-government have vanished. But their destruction has not rejoiced our hearts with the same glow of hope and the same promise of an era of justice that inspired the French when they overthrew their ancient regime. Democracy so long oppressed has not stormed the battlements of its oppressors with flying colors. It owes its victory merely to the increasing debility and incapacity of the old system.

The writer predicts that "the lion's share of what Germany has lost will, at least for the immediate future, go to the Anglo-Saxons, but it will not go to the mother country, England." He, however, adds —

Economic history shows that no nation is permitted to dominate the world permanently. In the second half of the Middle Ages Italy occupied that position. Soon after the Renaissance precedence passed to Spain, then, in turn, to the Dutch, and after these the French were the great leaders of industry and commerce. Finally, Great Britain took that position. In the United States a great intermingling of peoples, of emigrants from Holland, Great Britain, Ireland, Germany, Scandinavia, Italy, and the Slavic countries has occurred. They now march in the front rank. But the very conditions that have brought about America's supremacy exist likewise in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. In some respects these countries are already superior to Europe. It is not impossible that with the

growth of population in the United States, conditions of production will become more difficult and these other countries will come to the front. Furthermore, there could be no greater folly than to assume that the economic leadership of the world will always belong to the same race. Even within the past few years, the Japanese have become serious competitors of the whites in every field. Their position in the East resembles in some respects the happy position of England in the West. Their remarkable talent for assimilating foreign methods, their skilful and energetic accommodation of those methods to their own ends, seem to promise them still greater victories.

He adds —

Last of all, no one can foresee what great changes of a more general character may possibly occur in world economics. Such changes have occurred in the last two centuries. The relations of the temperate zone and the tropics may be reversed, and the inhabitants of the latter regions may in time become the great industrial producers.

His last word is that "the German spirit will be the ultimate victor," and he tells us how.

What made Germany great was not militarism. The Germans were a great nation long before Frederick the Great, Wilhelm of Prussia, and his successors taught them military discipline, and before incomparable leaders like Bismarck and Moltke, with the help of these disciplined masses, placed their country at the political head of Europe. These men merely utilized the qualities that made the German nation great, and directed them to political ends. Long before that, the Germans had placed the intellectual life of the world on a new basis at the time of the Reformation. Then they produced Leibniz, whose universal spirit left no field of science untouched. After him followed a succession of musical geniuses, such as the world had never known, Bach, Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Wagner, Schubert, Brahms. Then those princes of poetry, Lessing, Goethe, Schiller, and in turn all those who have been the schoolmasters of the world in every sphere of science during the nineteenth century. The strength of the German people is in their intellect and in their systematic application of the products of their intellect to their daily tasks. During the last forty years, this intellect addressed itself to practical affairs, to technical progress, and economic development, and with the help of its disciplined and skilled labor, it accomplished things that made our country the envy of the world. These fundamental qualities will remain the possession of the German nation, even though its military power has disappeared.

So long as the Germans remain loyal to that

which made them great in the past, they will be a powerful influence in the world even though they are politically helpless. The strength of the German people lies in their intellectual gifts and in employing them in the service of mankind. Germans inevitably will be leaders both in the progress of science and in disseminating the results of that progress. We have shown ourselves indispensable in the first field. Our success in the second has been recognized by our most implacable opponents for years.

In the concluding paragraph he compares the present position of Germany to that of ancient Greece after the Peloponnesian war.

Ancient Greece lost its political importance after the Peloponnesian war, but Grecian civilization did not disappear. It was then at the point of becoming the ruler of the world. Often-times has the European war against the Germans been compared with the Peloponnesian war. But European civilization would not disappear, were Europe itself to be destroyed. Its conquest of the world, already well under way, will continue at an even more rapid rate, and the leaders of this conquest will be the Germans. They will be leaders, because it has been made so difficult for them to live in Germany. Millions of our fellow countrymen will leave their homes. The very hatred of our enemies will force them to hold together, and to keep up their association with those whom they have left behind. And so, if fear and envy and hatred and revenge are making their native land too narrow for the Germans, these sentiments are at the same time making the whole earth the home of the Germans. Their science and talent for organizing will attract to their hands, capital and labor, and will make them leaders in subjugating the world's natural resources. Meantime, their ideals will conquer the thoughts of mankind. The German spirit will be the ultimate victor, as the Greek spirit was in its day victorious, even after Greece became politically powerless. And in the same way that Greece had its day of political revival after the might of its conquerors had long since vanished, and the Greek Empire remained for a thousand years the sanctuary of civilization after its conquerors had disappeared from the stage of history, so Germany will have its day of political resurrection. For world history is world judgment, and injustice cannot endure permanently. That is our inspiration, our hope, and our consolation.

Indians should note wherein lies the strength of the Germans.

Race Equality.

What subject peoples feel, they cannot

often express or fully express. But powerful independent nations do not labour under any such disadvantage. Hence it is easy to see from Japanese journals that racial discrimination against them and the failure of their racial equality proposal at the Paris Peace Conference has cut them to the quick. In three places of a single issue of the *Asian Review*, the strong feeling of the Japanese comes out. First, in the editor's note on "The Immigration Problem," wherein he justly observes

The problem of immigration is destined to take the foreank of all future problems that are likely to face the world. This one problem has been the prime cause for much misunderstanding and rancour between the coloured and the white. The future peace of the world is at stake over this problem and unless it is solved in a way satisfactory to all parties concerned, the world may be plunged into the vortex of another war more horrible and dreadful than the last one. It therefore behoves every lover of humanity to bestow his careful attention on this question and to find a satisfactory solution.

As matters stand at present, every sane-minded person must admit that the distribution of the earth's surface is quite disproportionate to the population of the different countries. In some of the Asiatic countries, there is not even enough breathing space for the population, whereas some white countries are the proverbial "lands of plenty" having a most sparse population. 900,000,000 Asiatics are compelled to be cooped up in a territory one-sixth the size of that occupied by 600,000,000 whites. It is therefore no wonder that the former should resent such an anomalous position and demand the opening of the portals of those countries, which are still very sparsely populated, to a portion of their overcrowded population.

Already through prejudice, ignorance or other causes—it matters little—Asian immigration to the United States, Canada, Australia, etc., has been dealt a heavy blow by the imposition of various restrictive legislations of a most humiliating character. With the closing of all the inlets for immigration, and the growing surplus of an ever-increasing population, we are really placed in a desperate position. We are unwilling to believe that the whites desire to see us die of congestion and suffocation. Nevertheless, despite our precarious position, their persistently hostile attitude towards oriental immigrants cannot but lend colour to this belief.

It is against all canons of logic and justice that the whites should monopolise all the good things of the earth, and refuse to part with even an infinitesimal portion, when demanded by the coloured for the improvement of their own lot.

He makes it quite clear that racial inequality is incompatible with the maintenance of peace.

The statesmen of the white Powers are always unstinted in showing their solicitude for the maintenance of the peace of the world. But can peace ever be maintained when the majority of human beings are subjected to the grossest possible injustice at their hands? If they are really sincere in what they profess, their first task is to remove the disabilities from which no less than 900,000,000 of the world's population are suffering.

Secondly, Mr. Sadakazu Sugita, Member of the Japanese House of Peers and former President of the House of Representatives, writes—

The failure of the racial question at the Peace Conference at Paris this year is chiefly due to the selfishness of the white race. If, however, there had been complete understanding among all the Oriental nations and had they presented a united front at the Conference, we should certainly have won victory and made the white races to recognise our equal rights with them bestowed by Heaven. Therefore I suggest that you make your magazine an organ of mutual understanding among the Asiatic peoples so that injustice and aggression, from whatever quarter it comes, may be checkmated.

Thirdly, Mr. Hiroyuki Tanaka, an influential Buddhist leader, writes—

It is a matter for our profound regret that the racial equality proposition has been excluded from the League of Nations Covenant which professes to be based upon justice and humanity. Now equality is the great truth of the world which was already propounded by Sakya Muni three thousand years ago. In these days of progress, they still persist in racial discrimination, probably as the result of the preponderance of their material civilization as well as of their inability to understand spiritual civilization. This rather commands our commiseration. I believe that the great principle of racial equality will be jealously supported by the "*Asian Review*."

A GREETING TO INDIA

India, our mother, hoary with all ages,
Yet for ever gracious, young and fair and free,
We, thy foster-children, wondering and adoring,
Over lands and oceans gather home to thee

India, our mother, thou hast called, we answer
Swift we run to greet thee, gathering at thy knee,
Take our lives and use them, making them or marring,
See, we give them gladly, dedicate to thee

Wilt thou have us, mother, aliens and strangers,
Born in roaring cities, far across the sea?
Wilt thou kiss us welcome bounteously bestowing
Pardon for our follies, grace to learn of thee?

Aye, we trust thee, mother, thou wilt ne'er refuse us,
For we greet thee humbly, love our only plea
See, as little children, joyful and confiding,
Crave we now thy blessing, claiming love from thee

Lo, through endless aeons, ere the worlds were moulded,
Thou hadst called us, mother, slaves of thine to be
Thus the Love Eternal destined and determined
God who gave us being, gave it us for thee

J S HOYLAND

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Dr. Sherwood Eddy on Responsible Government in India

Dear Sir,

I have just received after a long delay a copy of "The Modern Review" for December, 1919. In it I find that I am misquoted as though I had been opposing responsible government in India. On the contrary I have rejoiced at India's advance in this matter. I do not know whether your correspondent got hold of some garbled account of remarks which I made in a newspaper or how it happened, but the article certainly does not represent my own position. What I did say on the matter was as follows:

"India." The word is filled with a content more vast and various than that of any other nation. As we have again journeyed through this great land we have been impressed by the fact that India is colossal and continental. We have passed through most of her fourteen provinces, and many of her 675 native states. In China prevailing we found the simple, solid fact of Confucianism, but in India we have been dealing with men representing eight of the world's great religions and many minor faiths. Hindus, Mohammedans, Buddhists, Sikhs, Jains, Parsees, Jews, Animists, and Christians. We have passed through populations separated in speech by 147 different languages. We have been staggered by the problem of 2000 different castes.

"Yet India today, despite all these handicaps and divisions, through the difficult medium of a foreign tongue, under her own leadership is being born a new nation with a new national consciousness. Although she is divided and subdivided into sharper antagonisms of race, rank and religion, of caste, creed, and color, than any other nation in the world, yet she is being forged into one burning unit of national aspiration so far as her leaders are concerned. Educated leaders today are joining hands in a growing demand for home rule, with the cry 'India for the Indians.' Since the war the tide of democracy has been sweeping around the world. It has been affecting the misguided Bolshevism of Russia, the nationalism of Ireland, of Egypt, Korea, the Philippines, China, and many other lands. This tide of democracy is sweeping over the continent of India today.

"A new glory is burning in India's heart, a new pride in her soldiers who fought the world's most formidable army. An old memory is rekindled of her ancient past, in the golden age of her own heroes, a pride of race that gathers in its new-born civilization, from the Aryan conquerors down to the long line of rulers and philosophers, from the great Asoka and Akbar to her modern heroes."

Very sincerely yours,

Sherwood Eddy

NOTES

The Disturbances in Fiji An Enquiry Needed

The news which has now at last tickled through from Fiji, after months of anxious waiting, is most alarming in character. Mr Manilal, M A, LL B, Barrister at Law, is by far the ablest Indian in the Colony. It will be remembered that he was deported at twenty-four hours' notice, immediately after the disturbances occurred. Now, after three months, a belated letter has come from him relating the causes of the disturbances and giving a vivid picture of the intolerable indignities to which Indians of every class have been exposed. It will be remembered that while the Fiji Deputation, consisting of Dr Twitchell, Rt Rev the Bishop of Polynesia, and the Hon Mr Rankine, late Colonial Secretary, were at Delhi and in the provinces, all kinds of soothing telegrams were despatched from Fiji, which were published in India, urging, in so many words, the Indian public not to be alarmed at what had taken place. A further inspired telegram reached India by way of London during the Prince of Wales' recent visit stating that His Royal Highness was glad to be assured that the disturbances had not been due to 'racial' causes. Now that authentic, first-hand information has come at last, we know what to make of such soft words. They remind us of the telegrams which were despatched to England concerning the Jallianwala Bagh and other incidents in the Punjab last year. When will Governments learn that the truth must be told and fearlessly told at once, if credit and honour are to be maintained?

Here is the account, in brief, which Mr Manilal has given. It bears, on the face of it, as far as I personally know the conditions of Indian labouring life in Fiji, the stamp of truthfulness. We may allow for heightened language owing to the excite-

ment under which it was written, and the epithets might not have been so strongly expressed at another time, but it burns with the fire of a righteous indignation which will carry conviction all over India and will make Indian men and Indian women once and for all determine that they will never for one moment allow their fellow countrymen and their fellow countrywomen to be recruited by paid professional recruiters in order to be sent out again to swell the profits of these wealthy owners, who will not scruple to make profits so great that they have to be carefully concealed, while they refuse starving Indian men and women a few pence rise in wages, with which to get bread to feed their little children. The cry will go up from all India,—'Never again. Never again.'

The following are the words of Mr Manilal —

"Whilst articles have risen 200 and 300 per cent in price, my countrymen have been receiving only 2 shillings daily wage, which is entirely insufficient to keep body and soul together. My countrymen have been denying themselves the decencies of life, and the moral leprosy, that has taken a strong hold on their lives, is the direct result of low wages. The Colonial Sugar Refining Co. is directly interested in their labour. Instead of taking a lead, they have only been throwing sops at Indians, and, in the absence of any effort on their part, other Europeans do not care to move. Even the Fiji Government is impotent to help, though it has used its powers to crush the Indian strikers by depriving them of their sticks, legislating against their moving in groups of more than five, or living more than seven together under a roof, and, finally, by making it penal for every Indian man or woman to stir out of their homes without a permit, which in many cases was not granted without a promise to go back to work on the old rates of pay. Every European and half-caste was provided with a baton to beat Indians with and the savage Fijians were remspued to delight in torture and cruelty. [The Fijians only three generations ago were cannibals—C F A.] Returned sailors and soldiers were patrolling streets and guarding street corners, and it

was the game of the white capitalists to provoke and draw even Indian women into a disturbance, where the sight of Indian women assaulted by their brutal overseers (of the days of slavery) excited the Indian mob into riots. The whites had started a false rumour, that Mrs Manilal, my wife, was going to be arrested on a warrant, or was actually in custody. This added fury to the flames, and on the 12th of February serious troubles took place with casualties on both sides. A reign of terror exists in Fiji, and the free Indian is taught a lesson that he can never forget."

I wish to put opposite this picture of starvation and desperation the following cold business account of the profits of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, taken from the columns of the 'Sydney Bulletin'. The Headquarters of the Company are in Sydney. This is how it runs, (the italics are mine) —

"In past balance sheets, the C S R Co certainly did not disclose profits made. For instance, in 1910, they admitted that for 15 years they had been purchasing properties in Fiji out of profits. The result is shown in the table in 1916, *assets were written up by no less than £3,250,000*, and bonus shares were issued for an equal amount in a new Company, which was called the Maoriland and Fiji Company. *A Directorate, which can shake 3¼ millions out of its sleeve in this way—equal to the entire former watered capital—cannot expect its figures to be taken too seriously.* Looking back over the past ten years gives an amazing record of this mammoth concern. Since 1907, no new capital has been got in but in that year besides £225,000 raised by the issue of 1500 £20 shares for which only £15 was paid, £75,000 of accumulated profit was capitalised. That brought the paid up capital to £2,500,000. The paid up capital of the parent Company alone is now £3,250,000 and every penny of that £750,000 represents capitalised profits. Here is a short history of what has happened since 1908 —

| | |
|--|------------|
| Dividends paid | £3,681,875 |
| Profits capitalised | 750,000 |
| Assets written up and bonus shares issued in M and Fiji Co | 3,250,000 |
| Added to visible reserves | 463,379 |
| | <hr/> |
| | £8,145,254 |

I will give now another set of figures which may show something of the labourers' side of the picture. The average savings sent to India by Indian indentured labourers, each year, over a period of 3 years, amounted to £4,836 per annum,

or an average of about six shillings and eight pence per labourer per annum.

C F A

True Stories, not of Empires, but of Famished Villages

Extracts will be given in this note from "A Preliminary Report of the Non-official Committee appointed by the Utkal Union Conference held at Puri in the last week of December, 1919, to enquire into the alleged famine conditions obtaining in the sudden sub-division of the Puri District." The committee consisted of Babu Jagabandhu Singh, pleader, Puri, president, and the Hon'ble Babu Gopabandhu Das, B.A., B.L., Sakhi Gopal, Puri, Mr Laxmi Narayan Sahu, B.A., member, Servants of India Society, Allahabad Branch, Babu Nilakantha Das, M.A., Sakhi Gopal, Puri, Babu Banamali Das, pleader, Puri, Babu Brahmananda Mahanti, pleader, Puri, and Babu Dibyasingha Panigrahi, B.A., B.L., Puri, members. We shall omit the causes of the famine, floods being among them. One sentence in the report says "During these flood days people could not come out of their homes and died in numbers of starvation."

One thing in the report seems rather inexplicable. We read of a non-official distress relief committee, with the District Magistrate as its president, which spent Rs 13000 up to 1st April last in relief work. We also read

Our popular Superintendent of Police, Rai Bahadur Sakhi Chand, influenced some rich Merchants of Calcutta, collected about 60000 and opened independent relief centers. Government did however send a Deputy Magistrate for compelling some local people to sell their stored paddy at a cheaper rate.

We read again about the same privately worthy police officer's benevolence.

13 orphans were sent, 10 by Babu Nilakantha Das (3 from Garh Mrugasna and 7 from Dabhai and adjacent villages) and 3 by Babu Lakshminarayan Sahu from Chasir to Rai Bahadur Sakhi Chand's private orphanage at Puri. This orphanage was started only this year and there were 99 inmates on 26-4-20, almost all of whom were picked up from the famine areas. That an orphanage was felt a necessity this year alone goes to prove that the condition prevailing in the villages was very bad.

And yet the report is a grave indictment of inhuman *official* neglect of duty. How could two of the highest officers in the district be cognisant of famine conditions in their private capacity and ignorant of such conditions in their official capacity, at one and the same time? That is the mystery. Had these officers any instructions from any superior authority to keep their *official* eye closed to famine conditions? The only high officer whose conduct as a private individual and as an officer has been consistent, though sub-human, throughout is Mr. Gunning, the commissioner of the Division.

At the Utkal Union Conference held in December, 1919, a committee was appointed to enquire into the real state of things in the distressed areas. As desired by the Conference this committee asked for official co-operation, the result being that the enquiry was delayed, as the committee did not get a final reply from Government till about the end of February, 1920. The committee ought to have known that co-operation means the subordination of non-officials to official policies, and hence it is impertinence, if not high treason, for non-officials to ask for the co-operation of Government. Let us, however, quote from the report:

The Committee sent a copy of the resolution of the conference asking for co-operation of officials with them. Government was reminded by means of letters as well as by telegrams, and Hon'ble Babu Gopabandhu Das, a member of the Committee, interpellated in the Legislative Council for a final decision of the Government on the point, and at last reply was received from Government saying that no useful purpose would be served by an enquiry like the one suggested by the Utkal Union Conference.

The committee began their enquiry independently on the 31st March, 1920. *"No responsible officer went to the spot to see the condition with his own eyes, for which the public pressed so hard in the press"* Now comes the story of the commissioner's wonderful tour.

At last the Commissioner's tour to the famine tracts on the 6th and 7th March 1920, was programmed. The enquiry Committee at that time passed the following resolution: "As the Divisional Commissioner is coming to visit the flood-affected areas of the Puri District on the

6th and 7th March the Committee resolve that the Commissioner be requested to visit during his tour Dabhar and adjoining villages which are among the worst affected" (29-2-1920).

A copy of this resolution was immediately sent to the Commissioner through the District Officer. The District Officer wrote on behalf of the Commissioner to the President of the Committee saying that the Commissioner would go to Gop and Dabhar on the 7th. Then the Committee after taking a passing view of the famine area from Gop to Nimapara through Dabhar sent a letter to the Collector stating the probable route through the famine area which the Commissioner should take. Some of the members of the enquiry Committee in the meantime wrote individually to the Commissioner requesting him to see the famine area with his own eyes. But suddenly on the 6th instead of 7th March, the Commissioner arrived at Gop in a motor car and came back to Puri shortly after the same day. It was practically not seeing the area at all. Afterwards it was made out from various utterances both private and public of the Commissioner that the situation was not at all grave and all that was to be done was being done by the Collector who was on the spot. In fact the Collector had neither been to the interior where the situation demanded the officer's presence nor was he doing anything for the relief of the distressed in these parts.

The above justifies the committee's observation that "this official attitude is inexplicable, and that this attitude is studied and understood by the subordinate officers on the spot as a part of good administrative policy, is well borne out from many evidences on our record."

Our enquiry first began on the 3rd of March at Nimapara whence, to propose a route for the Commissioner, we passed through the villages Nuharkri, Pataligan, Lahantra, Gadai Jena, Narda, Sandiha, Ambilhana, and Dabhar. We found the villages in a very deplorable situation. Many houses were without any roofs, and many completely deserted. Not a grain of foodstuff was found in any of the houses we visited. People were dying of starvation in numbers, still it was our strange experience to see that people did not venture to give their evidence in writing when we asked Choukidars were found terrified at our approach into villages. Many of them hid themselves in their houses and pretended either illness or absence. The impression was that we were acting against the Government and that to say that people were dying of starvation or deserting homes is a crime for which the police are sure to arrest the people, and any Choukidar who would help us was sure to lose his post.

With much difficulty, and after much expla-

nation on our part of the kind behaviour of the Superintendent of Police, who was working in his private capacity to relieve the distressed, and that Government would be glad (*sic*) to learn the real state of things, and what the local Police hold is not the real intention of the Government, some people made bold to give evidence. And in a few days, when they actually saw that the Police neither arrested the witnesses nor the members of the Committee, our inceptional difficulty (so far as the villagers and not Choukidars were concerned) was over.

The committee then quote the statement of one Choukidar, Mohan Malik of Lahantia

"From my village many have died this year. I cannot exactly say their number. Most of them have died for want of food. I have reported all deaths as due to diseases. Out of fear I have not reported that the deaths were due to starvation. No Choukidar reports that any death is due to starvation. They are afraid to do so. In every case they invent a disease for their report."

For this offence of speaking the truth Choukidar Mohan Malik was called to the Nimapara police station, where the senior sub-inspector of police, Abdul Rahaman by name, beat him in the presence of some gentlemen and threatened him with dismissal. "The case was reported to the authorities [Who were these authorities?—Ed, *M R*] by one of our members, Babu Laxmi Narain Sahu, and the result was promised [By whom?—Ed, *M R*] to be communicated, but no communication to that effect has as yet reached us." The members of the committee have deserved well of the bureaucracy for their faith in "the authorities." Now comes the account of deaths due to starvation.

In the village of Lahantia we took evidence from 11 families and the number of deaths due to starvation was found to be 26. In the family of Muiari Ojha, out of 13 members, 6 had died of starvation, and in absence of any epidemic, all those deaths were accounted for as due to various common diseases in the monthly vital returns of the local Police. *The Choukidar of Dabhai once reported a death to have been caused by starvation, for the death occurred in the presence of some Volunteers who asked the Choukidar to report the truth. The Choukidar's book was torn by the Head Constable (Gop Thana), Udaynath Sinha, in presence of the Senior Sub-Inspector, Babu Makunda Lal Mishra. A new book was given him in which*

that death was again reported is caused by fever. Some pieces of the torn book were presented to Babus N. K. Das, L. N. Sahu and J. B. Sinha by a villager who was one of the witnesses to the event. Actions like these of the local police are not rare. Now it is perhaps easy to understand why no reports reached higher officials [But who, if not these higher officials, are responsible for the Choukidars' belief that telling the truth is punishable?—Ed, *M R*] of any case of starvation or of the real state of the people. It was a very sad sight to see at the end of the village Lahantia 13 human skeletons lying on a cremation ground. Evidently the dead bodies were left there unburnt. On enquiry it was found out that the people had no strength nor sentiment to burn their dead. Destitute mothers in many places were found relieved when their children died of starvation and husbands when wives deserted. It is very painful to note that nowhere in the area did we notice in the houses we entered, a baby playing cheerfully in its mother's lap. In some villages there were no babies at all. Babies shortly after their birth generally died for want of nourishment. Pregnancy of women this year is almost absent. People have nothing at all to live upon, but wild herbs which they select from fields. Some of these herbs at times prove fatal as they are poisonous. We have warned people in many villages against the use of a tree, they call Kantakusum. These seeds generally were found to cause tympanitis, fatal in many cases. People desert homes, fathers and mothers leave children quite destitute and helpless, only to die in a few days.

The committee state that "people have taken to sell the very thatches of their houses for a small quantity of rice, not to speak of doors and door-sills." The fact of cases of deaths due to starvation being suppressed by the local police is borne out by the following letter which Babu Nilakantha Das wrote from Dabhai on the 27th March last to the police officer in charge of Gop thana.

"Sir, I have the honour to inform you that in these flooded areas of the Sadai Sub-Division of the Puri District the death rate is very high even in these happy months of the year. People generally have not a grain of foodstuff in their houses, and there is every reason to believe that most of these deaths are due to starvation, but nothing like that seems to appear in the Police reports. I asked the reason both to you and the 2nd Officer at Nimapara Thana. I was told, and you might have remembered it, that no report to that effect ever reaches the Thana officers [Why? Because such reports are not wanted?—Ed, *M R*]. More than half a dozen of the village Choukidars have been examined

both in God and Nimapara Cycles. But for reasons known to them they are found to labour under the queer [Not queer but correct Ed., M. R.] belief that any report of starvation is detrimental to their self-interest as Police servants. I therefore waited for direct personal knowledge of cases which I thought to report myself. On the 3rd of this month I heard that Trilochan Biswal of Rahangoroda and his daughter were about to die of starvation. I sent rice to them, but was informed later on that it was too late, and that both of them died in two days. That was no direct personal knowledge. Here in Dabhar there is no epidemic now. I left this place on the 13th and came back on the 25th morning of this month. Many, I saw at the time of leaving the place, were mere skeletons for want of food. On my arrival I was informed that 2 of these people Raghu Baral and the daughter of Naitam Swain, had already been starved to death, and another, the wife of Ananta Barik, was about to die. I with other two gentlemen went to Ananta's house and found the woman a mere bag of bones with hands and feet swollen. This swelling of hands and feet I am told is almost an invariable complication of starvation. The woman was very weak and could not audibly talk. We again went to her with boiled rice, dal and whey. As soon as she saw food, she seemed to come to life again and tried to rise up. We did not let her do so and began to feed her. But we found it was too late. She could not easily swallow. We went on trying to ply her with our fruitless help for two days and she died this morning. During the time we attended her, she tried her best to express herself to some extent. She said she had been living upon muthi sag, a wild herb, when she had some strength. She had had no food at all for five days, i.e., since she could not get about for want of nourishment. When she learnt she was not able to swallow, she was sure of her death, and implored us to take care of her blind daughter. This is my personal knowledge of a clear case of starvation, which I hope and request you will kindly note in your report of vital statistics."

Copies of this letter were also forwarded to the district magistrate and superintendent of police, Puri. Result, nil.

The following extracts from the report give an idea of the general condition of the villages —

"Of the 3 famine tracts in the Puri Sadar Sub-Division, Dabhar is one of the 289 main mouzas of the middle tract which is 142 sq miles in area. I have been here almost a month. I have seen people dying of starvation, which the village Choukidars invariably report as death due to diseases. They say the higher officials would never allow to report the truth

in these cases. The village has 59 families which had before last flood 411 men, and 11 children have been since born in the village. All these 11 new children have died for want of nourishment, and of the 411, there are now 303 left in the village, most of them being famished frames only of women and children. 58 including babies have died and 61 have deserted homes. 4 houses have been altogether deserted and on 9 more of the houses there are no roofs, these having been sold for food. In 24 houses the roof is so bad that it cannot stand even one hard shower. In all but 4 houses there is not a single metal plate. Many have sold away even their doors and thresholds. Not a grain of foodstuff is to be found in any house. All the people depend on various wild herbs for food. They walk almost naked, and women don't come out of their houses for want of cloth. There were 247 cattle in the village out of which 159 have been sold away, and many of the remaining are good for nothing and will not fetch a price. To-day (29-3-20) there is a shower of rain. Who can describe the distress of these unfortunate people? Women and children either solitary or in groups are found weeping under the open or half-open roofs of their doorless houses. Drenched as they are they have no cloth to cover their body with. The houses are full of water which they cannot clear for want of plates. This woe, however, will not linger long, for by the time of the rainy season, there will perhaps be no human beings to suffer. This description is but quite an illustration. The whole area is as bad, if not worse. Still queer it is that no high officials, not even the District Officer, have any personal knowledge of all this. They still depend on reports. Who is then responsible for the steady depopulation of this area?" [Written by Babu Nilakantha Das.]

The condition is far worse in many villages. Sanadiha is a small village of 16 families, where on the 31st March we saw there were no roofs on 15 houses and 4 families altogether deserted their homes. 17 deaths occurred since the flood and 23 deserted homes. Some bony frames of children were found wandering about and looking wistfully at any passers-by. We were informed that in a house a potter, Gadam Muduli by name, his wife and daughter—all 3 had had nothing to eat for about 4 days and were about to die. We hastened to the house. The man was lying on the bare floor with his famished daughter and at the sight of us, with much difficulty, dragged himself and prostrated at our feet whispering "I am dying." We gave them sufficient rice for 7 days and were satisfied to see that it was not too late, as it was in many other cases that we came across and helped. All the three lived and in 3 or 4 days could walk about.

Women are the worst sufferers. They suffer the pangs of hunger, they die, but

that is not the worst. If they leave home in search of food and stray away even for 24 hours, there is an implied aspersion on their character and they have to become outcasts.

Orphans are daily dying most miserable deaths and women are deserting homes never to return, for, according to caste laws, women, unlike men, are never taken back in their homes if they happened to remain away even for a single night. We have tried much to induce people to take back their women who deserted homes for want of food, but all to no purpose.

"Even in this state of things the Choukidari tax is being strictly realised," and "some zamindars [landholders] of this tract are not slow to take undue advantage of the miserable plight to which many of the people have been reduced."

The report of Mr A. V. Thakkar, of the Servants of India Society, confirms the report of the committee. A few extracts from his report are subjoined.

It was in March last that the Hon. Mr. Gopabandhu Das brought the distress in his district into prominence in the Bihar Legislative Council by showing pictures of famished people and sample herbs and powdered rice husk which the afflicted people used as food, and by asking for a total grant of Rs. 2,00,000 for their relief.

GOVERNMENT RELIEF

The Commissioner of Orissa Division at last visited the afflicted area in a merely cursory way in March last and did not think that the situation was at all serious, as represented by the Public and the Press, and he mentioned in the Legislative Council that the picture drawn by the Hon. Mr. Das of popular distress was overdrawn. As a result of this difference in the two estimates, official and non-official, Sir Edward Gait, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, visited the afflicted area on the 7th of April last. This had a good effect as regards the effect of prevailing distress, though much has not come out of it as people expected. Gratuitous doles of rice and cooked food is given to about 5,200 persons from six central villages and a Deputy Collector is appointed on special duty for this work. But the quantity of rice doled out to each person is less than that prescribed in the Famine Code, (40 tolas instead of 60 and 50 tolas to males and females respectively) and more centres of relief are required to be opened to relieve many inner afflicted villages.

LOSS OF LIFE

In the meantime famine has done its work by taking a heavy toll of human lives. Every village, however small, (and in this

villages consist of only 10 to 100 houses each) has lost a few men varying from 3 to 4 to dozens and in one case 75, die to the want of food.

I am not in a position to say accurately what the total loss has been. I have visited 40 villages in my 8 days' tour and on enquiry in those villages I have been able to gather that about 440 persons died of starvation in these and a few other villages about which I got reliable record. On this basis of computation I can roughly guess the total loss of life at 1500 at the lowest estimate. I had the misfortune to see one famished man dying in my camp at Nimapara in my presence and another in a village dead a few hours ago and not removed for cremation. In the village of Sutan, only 16 miles off from Puri, as many as 60 to 80 are said to have died since the August flood, and we had the misfortune to count as many as 28 human skulls in the cremation ground on the day of our visit.

In the titanic world war, which in spite of the so-called peace still continues, millions of men have been killed and many more millions have been disabled. People belonging to the independent belligerent nations have, therefore, an excuse for becoming callous. The people of India did not take part in the war in their own right (or wrong), but they, too, reading and hearing daily of the deaths of thousands in battle and being accustomed to reports of deaths in their own country due to starvation, plague, influenza, &c., have grown callous. Still we think many will feel disposed to send contributions in aid of the famine-stricken people, to Babu Jagabandhu Singh, Treasurer, People's Famine Relief Committee, Puri.

Our readers will excuse us for devoting so much space to the tale of nameless dead and dying villagers, instead of telling them of the many big things which fill the columns of newspapers. But however unimportant the matter may seem, it shows how countless myriads in our country really live and die, and how the world lacks not how they live and die. It also shows the real character of the relation which exists between the rulers who grow fat at the expense of the villagers and the starving rural population. It shows too, to what extent the rulers are the protectors of the peasants. The articulate *intelligentsia*, also, ought to be ashamed that

the famine is slightly receiving their attention after such a terrible number of deaths. The account of the Puri famine may convince at least some sensitive souls among us that the people of India deserve to die of starvation and the British Government in India deserve to rule over a country depopulated and made a desert of by such deaths. For the deaths in Puri, the villagers themselves are most to blame, next to them their Oriya countrymen, in the third place the people of India in general, and lastly, Government.

In Western countries oftener than not when there is unemployment or scarcity of food, the lower orders of the people become unruly, make demonstrations, break windows, plunder shops, &c. In India, too, there is sometimes looting of *huts* and shops, but generally and most often our people suffer in silence and die more quietly than even many lower animals. This difference between the West and the East may incapacitate Westerners to perceive signs of famine in India. "If people who have so little *will to live* and who are so moral or so timid (we do not know which — Ed, M R) that they will not 'misappropriate on a large or small scale even for dear life's sake,—if such people do not die of starvation, who will die?" That, therefore, may be how these empire-building peoples may think. Still we hope our countrymen, who are not empire-builders, and who know that the life of many Oriya and other villagers is such a spell of protracted misery that there cannot be any strong will to live, will have pity on those who are not yet dead, however contemptible they may appear. Their patience and scrupulous regard for others' property are virtues. Whatever may be the case in Western countries, the bulk of the Indian people cannot be imagined to turn "economic dacoits" and their educated leaders to be consequently deported or sent to jail as "politico-economic" dacoits, even though such a contingency might be considered by some erratic economic genius to be more likely to draw the attention of officers of Government to such petty occurrences as deaths of villagers owing

to want of food than non-official reports and letters in newspapers. So we would appeal to the highest officers of Government to pay heed to the sufferings of people who are not as criminally brave as the Western proletariat but who simply die without giving the police and the executive any trouble and without furnishing sensational reading to the purchasers of newspapers. It is not our purpose to discuss whether the behaviour of our starving poor is more or less moral, spiritual, and human than the behaviour of the unemployed and ill-fed poor in the West. But it may be to the interest of the governors and the exploiters of India and of the propertied classes of the people of India, too, to so act as to prevent our famishing poor from thinking that after all the turbulent Western labouring classes are right. News may spread in other ways than through the printed page.

If instead of dying like cattle, the Oriya villagers had taken to plundering their neighbours, they would have been adjudged legally and morally guilty and sent to jail. Their Oriya, Bengali, Bihari, Maratha, Andhra and other neighbours and countrymen and their paid protectors, the public servants, from Sir Edward Gait down to the village Choukidars, have, consciously or unconsciously, set a higher value upon their own ease, comfort, time and property than upon human life, but no one thinks that these neighbours and countrymen and public servants have in any way offended against moral laws. That they are not guilty in the eye of man-made law goes without saying. The decently dressed among them are even quite "respectable." Yet conscience does not cease to ask: "Which is more valuable, human life or property, human life or our ease and comfort?" "If you take my property even to save your life you are a felon," that is a comfortable doctrine for the Haves. But should the Have-nots ask, "If you keep your property and ease and comfort and leisure even though we die of lack of food and raiment, is it an exemplification of morality and righteousness?"

We have forgotten to record that in the district of Puri, which, the reader must

have clearly perceived, overflows with milk and honey and all the good things of the world, Government have seen no cause to declare that a state of famine prevails

Do the Syrians and the Arabs Want the French and the English as Mandatories or Masters?

As self-determination was for some time the occidental cant of the day, it had to be pretended that the Syrians and the Arabs were yearning to have the French and the English as mandatories or masters in the place of their former suzerains the Turks. But telegrams and letters from special correspondents published in the papers have reported raids, riots, scuffles, brushes, &c., between the Europeans and the "natives" as the opposed parties. That gives the impression that these raiders, &c., were like those vigorous and imprudent patriots who when their country is conquered continue to give trouble and are in consequence branded as robbers. The whole truth will perhaps never be definitely known, or known too late. In the mean time, we may form our provisional conclusions from what "An Arab Deputy" has written in the columns of *Le Populaire*, February 16, 1920, giving the impression that the movement of resistance is general and nation-wide. Says he —

YOUR great official organ of France, *Le Temps*, constantly denies the truth of events that are occurring in Syria.

It goes without saying that, after having assured the French people a thousand times that the Syrians are seeking France, it is difficult for that journal, as for any of its imperialist clientele, to confess that the Syrians are vigorously resisting foreign occupation.

For several months such papers have been trying to prove to the people whom they have constantly deceived, that the popular protests against the French occupation were due solely to an underground English propaganda. That legend is proved false by the simple fact that English occupation is even more hated by the Arabs than that of the French, and that the resistance to the English at several places in Arabia and Mesopotamia is more obstinate than that which the French have anywhere encountered.

In England public opinion is beginning to see through the deceptions of its imperialist press, which has tried to persuade it that the Arabs

would love nothing better than to have the Union Jack fly over them. Let us hope that French opinion in its turn will open its eyes.

The "Arab Deputy" also asserts that the Arabs and the Syrians do not prefer the English and the French to the Turks.

Both the French and the English should know once for all that the Arabs are joined by a common religion with the Turks, and have been politically identified with them for centuries and therefore do not wish to separate themselves from their fellow believers and brothers in arms merely to submit to the domination of a European nation, no matter what form the latter's suzerainty may assume.

About Emir Faisal he writes —

There is a good deal of talk about Emir Faisal. That plays no part in our demand for complete independence. Not only his throne, but his very life would be in danger, were he to consent to any curtailment of Arabian independence.

More about him follows.

The Arab Deputy speaks of a sort of abortive conspiracy of silence.

Le Temps is very angry because some English newspapers in Cairo have published reports from Syria. It claims that since the French papers have refrained from telling what is happening in Egypt, the English press ought to keep silent about the situation in Syria. It assumes an air of telling the English: "We might have made public all your disgraceful doings in Egypt, but we have not done so out of regard for our alliance. Now why do you not treat us on the same footing?" That paper gives the English to understand that opposition to the French is directed equally against the English, and it urges that the Allies must maintain a solid front in the Near East—that is, a united front for the purpose of oppressing the weak and helpless.

On this policy of a united front he observes:

This is perfectly logical, if you intend to follow the policy of political bandits, but what is it from the standpoint of truly French principles? Those disturbances are not due to brigands. Of course, there may have been robberies and all that, but they have no connection with the resistance being offered by the people of Syria to foreign occupation. There have been no battles or even heavy skirmishes, but that is because the men in charge, the real leaders, have never ceased to counsel patience until it is known what the peace conference decides with regard to Syria.

Nevertheless, there have been several bloody encounters, of some of which the

Arab writer gives brief accounts. We will quote one, as it brings out the people's attitude towards Emir Faisal.

At Mezeiroun, where the French commander, at the suggestion of a few native Christians, conceived the odd idea of raising the French flag over the minaret of the mosque, there was lively fighting. In one of these conflicts the French troops lost 160 killed, two cannon, and several machine guns. On two separate occasions irregular Arab forces have taken French prisoners, but the government of Damascus hastened to return the latter, 40 in number. General Gouiaud sent several battalions to Mezeiroun to restore his authority there, but they were unable to advance because volunteers rushed in from every direction under Emir Mahmoud Al-Faour. While affairs were in this state Emir Faisal arrived, and comparative peace ensued because the people expected that he would be in a position to assure their complete independence without reservations. Emir Faisal expressed himself very definitely on this point from the moment he arrived at Beirut. He thus calmed the people, who had begun to threaten his expulsion if he consented to any sort of a protectorate or compromised in the slightest their claim to independence.

Lebanon is for the most part Christian and anti-Muselman, and its Administrative Council is the only body in Syria which has agreed to a French mandate. But it, too, does not want European political control. It would be interesting to know its opinion of Turkish rule, and its political ideals. The "Arab Deputy" writes —

In Lebanon, which is for the most part Maronite and more Catholic and Papist than the Pope himself, the French authorities attempted to replace several civilian functionaries, and even judges, without consulting the Administrative Council, which is a sort of legislative assembly there. This body protested with energy, repeating that even the Turks themselves had never presumed to interfere directly with the local government of Lebanon. Both in that state and the adjoining territory the Turks respected the native courts and the independence of local civil and military authorities. They asserted that the people of Lebanon did not understand French cooperation to imply political control, but merely technical and financial aid to the extent that the people themselves desired.

This protest by the Administrative Council of Lebanon, which is the only official body in Syria that has agreed to a French mandate, and has done so solely because it is anti-Muselman, was published in an Arabian journal printed by the Maronites, which is employed as an

official organ by the authorities in occupation. The French representatives thereupon suspended this paper for having ventured to publish a protest by the National Assembly where the words 'complete independence' were employed.

If the 250,000 or 300,000 Maronites, who are ordinarily such fanatical supporters of France and Catholicism, are so jealous of their independence, what about the 4,000,000 Muslims and the 400,000 'Orthodox' Christians of that province?

It is no use for M. Milleland to say 'We have never thought of trespassing in any respect upon the independence of these people.' No one is deceived by such statements as that.

The writer states that the Arabs and the Turks are re-united closer than ever and gives the reasons.

The armistice was signed in accordance with the conditions proclaimed by Mr. Wilson, but as soon as Germany and its allies were helpless the promises of the armistice were trodden under foot, as well as the Fourteen Points.

Such a violation of the promises of complete independence, so prodigally made to the Arabs on so many occasions, has resulted in reuniting closer than ever the Arabs and the Turks. It has taken but a few months to restore that intimacy.

Then follows a story of oriental "credulity," disillusionment, and the result thereof.

After the armistice the Arabian state of Damascus, wearied of the war, abolished obligatory military service and hoped to maintain domestic order with a simple constabulary.

They thought, 'We are now independent under the protection of a European alliance or the League of Nations. We do not want to conquer other people, and no one will be permitted to conquer us. Therefore, let us do away with this useless waste.'

But, seeing the greed of the Allied Powers, they now think it necessary to have more than a little army of 15,000 troops which, together with the tribes already armed, would normally be able to defend them. So after the agreement entered into between Lloyd George and Clemenceau, which opened their eyes to the kind of 'good faith' with which they were to be treated, they decided to restore obligatory military service, which will give that little country 150,000 fighting men, all trained during the late war with the Turkish forces and all equipped and armed from the German arsenals which were left in their midst. Now, as to the other tribes and races and peoples throughout that whole region, their numbers are very large, and they are all armed and resolute.

The prospect before France is thus described.

It is probable that France by maintaining an army of 150,000 men in Syria, and by spending many billions of francs, will be able to subdue the Syrian Arabians. But that will not finish the task. The interior of that country borders upon other lands inhabited by Arabs, Kurds, and Turks, and by the immense desert. In starting a conflict with 4,000,000 Syrians, France will be making enemies of 15,000,000 Arabs in the Levant, most of whom are armed tribes, without including the other Mohammedan peoples who are speedily acquiring solidarity and organization under the blows that are being dealt them by the Entente.

The concluding paragraph of the article is worth quoting.

If you believe that I am exaggerating, all you have to do is to investigate the facts yourself. But what good will it do to confirm the truth too late, and after floods of blood have flowed? Imperialism, greed of conquest—those are the things that caused the Great War, where after four years of fighting one group has crushed the other, but this victory has cost so dearly that victors and vanquished alike are involved in a common ruin. It looks as if this lesson, the most tremendous in history, has not taught us.

Turkey and Belgium

In the *New Hazell Annual* for 1920 it is stated (p. 536)

"As to the numbers of Armenians, an estimate in 1896 gave 2,900,000, but the Turkish massacres of 1904 and 1908, and the wholesale massacre, with German cognisance and acquiescence during the great war, make it impossible to give any present reliable figure."

It is not our intention to question the accuracy of this statement. Taking it to be absolutely true, the alleged Turkish massacre of Armenians cannot have caused the death of more than 2,900,000 persons. These massacres are stated to be the main proof of Turkey's failure to govern alien races and the main reason for depriving her of power over them.

The story of "Red Rubber" in the Congo Free (!) State, as told by Mr. Morell, is known in all the continents. Referring to it the *New Republic* (April 7, 1920) of New York says "You cannot read of Belgium in the Congo, with its toll of 10,000,000 Negro lives, without feeling that there is another side to poor little Belgium."

The difference between Turkey and Belgium then lies in this that Turkey (let us

take it for granted) killed at the most 2,900,000 persons of fair complexion professing Christianity, and Belgium killed 10,000,000 persons of black complexion who were pagans. It may be asked whether it is on account of this difference that Belgium continues to be admired, but arrangements have been made for Turkey's extinction.

It ought to be made quite clear what is exactly meant by the power to govern alien and subject races. It should mean, not the power so to rule subject countries as to enrich the ruling nation, but the power so to rule dependent peoples as to make them free, enlightened, healthy and prosperous. If subject peoples remain enslaved and mostly illiterate and poor and deprived of their land and if numbers of them are either killed on some pretext or other or if they die in large numbers of preventable epidemics year after year or of recurring famines, it should be understood that the rulers are unfit to rule. Judged by this standard all the European peoples who have taken possession of Africa—and of parts of Asia, too—must be declared unfit to rule alien races. Dr. W. E. Buighardt Du Bois writes in his book named "Dark-water, Voices from within the Veil"

"In black Africa to-day only one-seventeenth of the land and a ninth of the people in Liberia and Abyssinia are approximately independent, although menaced and policed by European capitalism."

Everywhere else the rest of the Africans have been deprived of their freedom and of their land. This is a result of the European peoples' power to govern others. Was Turkey's offence against humanity, not whitemanity, worse than this?

The *New Republic*, after quoting from Dr. Du Bois's book the passage printed above, writes

But can black Africa rule itself, the white man asks? Whether he can or not, the driving of the blacks into swamps and marsh, the grabbing of the best native land by "legal" act is wicked. And it is wicked to falsify native character, as the British administrators have done everywhere they have gone, from the West Coast of Africa all through Asia and Polynesia, to the despair of scientists and democrats and decent men everywhere.

Black Africans can certainly rule themselves if left to themselves. At the worst they would only fight among themselves, as they probably did before Europeans went to Africa, and as the civilised peoples of Europe did in previous centuries, did recently, and are still doing. Internecine fighting never thinned the ranks of the aborigines of Africa and America as European "rule" and colonisation have done. It is a lie that Europeans went to Africa and America for the good of those continents, they went for their own gain.

Ireland.

The situation in Ireland is very grave and getting day after day. But British statesmen—in the interests of the British Empire as they think—still refuse to solve the Irish problem in the only way in which it can be solved. Writing on this subject the *New Republic* of America says

Gone are the days when the apologists for British policy in Ireland could assert that the majority of Irishmen are content with British rule. "It is of no use talking about self-determination for Ireland," declares Lloyd George. Why of no use? "Because the people of Ireland, if asked, would say by an emphatic majority that they wanted their independence and an Irish republic." For America's benefit Lloyd George asserts that "De Valera is putting forward the same claim in exactly the same language as Jefferson Davis did. Acceptance of the demand will never be conceded. It is a demand which, if persisted in, will lead to exactly the same measures of repression as in the Southern States of America." Is that plain enough for our understanding? As to what England may be expected to do, it is plain enough. Not so as to the validity of the analogy. Before we had to coerce the South we had a real national unity, and we re-established it. When were the Irish and English one people, and when can they be expected to become one?

Echo answers, "When?"

The "Peace" Settlement with Turkey.

The terms of the "Peace" settlement with Turkey are such as would justify Muslims in taking all steps for their abrogation or radical modification, which do not involve the use of violence and physical force. And the animus against a



That old reliable Life-preserver

—Harding in the *Brooklyn Eagle*

Now that, instead of the "Jealousies", there is Agreement as to Division of Spoils, the "Life-Preserver" is non-existent

non-Christian Asiatic power is so evident in them that even non-Muslim Asiatics would be justified in making common cause with the Muslims, if they do so freely and voluntarily and with full understanding of the matter.

We write neither from the point of view of the Muslims believing in the Khilafat, nor from the point of view of those Hindus who think that as the Muslims have ceased to insist on sacrificing cows their Khilafat ought to be supported. We believe a man possesses spiritual authority only to the extent of his character and spirituality and power to convince others and we do not believe any animal to be more sacred than others. So we write only from the view point of a believer in international morality and justice.

The terms mean the practical extinction of Turkey as an independent power, they mean that though Europeans may and should rule in all continents, men of Asiatic origin must not bear sway in or near Europe.

In the viceregal message to the Indian Muslims relating to these peace terms, it is said:

They have been reached after the most careful and anxious consideration of representations from the Muslims of all countries and you have my assurance that before coming to its present decisions the Supreme Council has had all possible regard to those representations which have proceeded from the Muhammadan subjects of His Majesty in India.

In Whitaker's Almanack for 1920, of which the preface is dated November 15, 1919, we read "The terms of peace to be granted to Turkey have not been announced (November 15, 1919), but it has been stated by the British Premier that countries freed from Turkish rule will not again be subjected thereto, and that the entrance to the Black Sea will not remain in Turkish custody." In the New Hazell Annual for 1920 also, published some months ago, it is stated, "Armenia will no doubt be created a separate state as the result of the war." It may be presumed, therefore, that most, if not all the vital portions of the "decisions in respect of the peace settlements with Turkey" were reached, not "after", but *before* "the most careful and anxious consideration of representations from the Muslims of all countries." This presumption is strengthened by the extracts printed below, one from a magazine published in the Far West and another from a magazine published in the Far East. Dr Herbert Adams Gibbons, from whom we quote first, has spent many fruitful years in 'the near East', with head quarters in Constantinople, and for three of those years—namely, 1910 to 1913—he was professor of history and political economy in Robert College, Constantinople. In 1915 his history, "The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire," was published. This authority writes in the *Century Magazine* for April, 1920, p 830

President Wilson's Christmas present to the belligerents in 1916 was a note in which the warring nations were asked to state their peace programs. On January 10, 1917, the Entente powers handed to Ambassador Sharp in Paris an explicit reply, in which they openly affirmed the objects they sought by continuing the war. The ninth paragraph of this answer stated textually that the near-Eastern policy of the Entente was "the enfranchisement of populations subject to the bloody tyranny

of the Turks, the expulsion from Europe of the Ottoman Empire decidedly alien to Western civilization."

When this reply was written, the Entente powers were acting in harmony. By secret treaties, made in 1915 and 1916, the general lines of the near-Eastern settlement had been decided upon. Not only in writing, but also on a map, the Ottoman Empire had been divided into spheres of influence by Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy. There was no uncertainty in the statement that they intended to expel the Ottoman Empire from Europe. Possession of Constantinople and the guardianship of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles had been promised to Russia.

In the article from which the above passage has been quoted, it is also said "There will be no peace in Europe until the attribution of the greatest prize of the war is made. But the greatest prize is at the same time the greatest problem."

Mr Yoshihisa Kazuu writes in the March number of the *Asian Review*.

A very interesting sidelight has been thrown upon the Turkish question by a press despatch from Switzerland, which states that the text of the secret Pact of London which was for the first time disclosed to the world by the Bolsheviks in 1918 contained some slight errors and entirely omitted the clauses providing for the complete disappearance of the Turkish Empire from the map.

In the statement, issued by the Government of India, explaining the principal decisions and the reasons for them, it is written "In his reply to the Khilafat Deputation the Prime Minister made it absolutely clear that Britain had no understanding of any sort or kind with Russia to the detriment of Turkey *when the war began*" (The italics are ours). As the war began in 1914 and as, according to Dr Gibbons, the secret treaties for the partition of Turkey were made in 1915 and 1916, the Government of India are literally correct in saying that no such understanding existed *when the war began*. The Government of India cannot be expected to be so undiplomatic and frank as to volunteer information regarding subsequent understandings or treaties.

The Government statement observes "It is also a mistake to suppose that the war was a religious one or that the terms of peace have been influenced in any way by religious considerations." Among

other reasons, this is probably meant to undo the effects of the clamour raised by the Archbishop of Canterbury and other prelates in Great Britain, as also of the speech made by Mr Lloyd George in August, 1919, on the course of which, in congratulating General Allenby, the Premier said

"The name of General Allenby will be ever remembered as that of the most brilliant commander who fought and won the last of the most triumphant crusades. It was his good fortune by his skill to bring to a glorious end an enterprise which absorbed the chivalry of Europe for centuries. We forget now that the military strength of Europe was concentrated for generations upon this purpose in vain, and a British army under General Allenby achieved it and achieved it finally."

Paragraph 6 of the Government statement runs thus —

6 Again it has been said that the settlement is a breach of the promise or offer made by the Prime Minister in his speech of January 1918 when he said "Nor are we fighting to destroy Austria-Hungary or to deprive Turkey of its capital or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race." This passage must however be read with its context, for Mr Lloyd George continued, "While we do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the home-lands of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople—the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea being internationalized and neutralized—Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia Syria and Palestine are, in our judgment, entitled to a recognition of their separate national conditions."

The question here is, not so much what the Prime Minister said, but what he was reported in the papers in India and understood in India to have said, for it was the Indian newspaper reports which influenced the Indian Muslims to enlist in the army. And it is well known that Reuter's telegrams of important official utterances undergo official censorship before they are sent from London and are again censored in India before publication. We have now no files of papers before us to ascertain how Mr George was reported in India. But we do not remember to have previously read the context quoted by Government, though we cannot pretend to have a very tenacious memory. It may be useless to quarrel over what Mr George

exactly said, but it may be asked why, if Indians have misunderstood him to have given a pledge which he did not give, Mr Charles Roberts has made the same mistake in giving the Indian community power to the League of Nations —

Mr Charles Roberts writes in the "Times" to-day reminding the public that the Indian Musalman sentiment regarding the Turkish Treaty is based upon the Prime Minister's pledge regarding Thrace, Constantinople and Turkish lands in Asia Minor, repeated on Feb 26, last with deliberation by Mr Lloyd George. Mr Roberts holds that the pledge must be treated as a whole, not as binding only regarding Constantinople but also binding as regards Thrace and Asia Minor. He describes the pledge as binding upon the nation as a whole and its breach in any part as a gross breach of faith on the part of the British Empire. He demands that if there is an unanswerable reply to the charge of breach of faith it ought to be given and adds that the Prime Minister may regard his own word lightly if he chooses, but he has no right to break a pledge given on behalf of the nation. He concludes that it is incredible that such a pledge should not have been kept in the letter and in the spirit.

Mr George's speech was made in January, 1918. Greece joined the Allies in their war against Germany in June 1917. This she did on certain understandings, which are thus described by Dr Gibbons in the *Century Magazine*

And then there was Greece, neutral and semi-hostile when the secret treaties were made but now an important ally under the wise leadership of M. Venizelos. The great leader did not demand Constantinople, but he was careful to make it clear that the Greeks were united in aspiring to the incorporation of Thrace in Greece. The realization of this war aim would deprive Constantinople of most of its European hinterland.

We do not find consistent adherence to any principle in some of the terms. For instance, Adrianople has been cut off from Turkey, in spite of its population being predominantly Turkish, on the pettifoggish plea that "it is only an island of Turks separated from the Constantinople sector by a region predominantly Greek. It is impossible to separate an island such as this from the territories by which they are surrounded, and therefore it has been treated as part of Thrace," and made over to Greek suzerainty, with no future hope of self-determination, such

as has been given to Smyrna, which is also an "Island" of Greeks and Armenians separated from other Greeks and Armenians by a region predominantly Turkish. In Smyrna "the suzerainty remains with Turkey and the districts concerned will eventually decide their own destiny by vote," and it is not difficult to guess how they will probably vote,—they will probably throw off the suzerainty of Turkey and thus become a non-Turkish free state in a region belonging to Turkey. Why has not such a chance been given to the predominantly Turkish town of Adrianople to become in future a free Turkish State in a region included in Greece? Just as the autonomous state of Smyrna is to be administered by Greece, why could not an autonomous state of Adrianople be administered by the Turks there? That would have meant equality of treatment for European and Asiatic, Christian and Muslim, alike.

Great solicitude is expressed in paragraph 10 of the statement for the independence of the Arabs and some other Muslims. As similar zeal for independence has not been displayed in the case of the predominantly Moslem country of Egypt and the Christian Island of Ireland, though both the Egyptians and the Irish have been literally dying for it, it would not be unfair to presume that the zeal for Arab and Kurd independence is not an unadulterated commodity.

"The closest ties of friendship with Turkey" mentioned in the statement, did not stand in the way of Great Britain's practically becoming mistress of the Turkish possessions of Egypt and Cyprus long before the war, nor did it prevent her from remaining a mere unconcerned spectator when Italy waged unprovoked war upon Turkey and deprived her of Tripoly.

As regards the schemes of local self-government to be drafted for Kurdistan and the provision made for the local self-government of the town of Adrianople, &c., it should be remembered that local self-government is no new thing in the Ottoman Empire. Even before the restoration of Midhat Pasha's constitution in 1908, there was local self-government there. Mr. Grattan Geary, a well-

known Anglo-Indian (old style) writer, who travelled in Turkey more than thirty years ago, wrote thus of the Turkish government in his work on Turkey —

"The Turks are much more fitted for Parliamentary institutions than many nations which flatter themselves that they are much further advanced in civilisation. One reason for this is, that there has been always a large measure of local self-government throughout the Empire. The experiment of a Turkish parliament was by no means absurd in itself, though it appeared so to Europeans who had no means of becoming acquainted with the real tendency of things in the Ottoman Empire, and knew nothing of the existence of a certain measure of self-government in all its provinces."

Mr. Grattan Geary's testimony in favour of Turkey is borne out by what an "Arab Deputy" has written in the French newspaper *Le Populaire*, namely,

"This body [the Administrative Council of Lebanon, who are Christians] protested with energy, repeating that even the Turks themselves had never presumed to interfere directly with the local government of Lebanon. Both in that State and the adjoining territory the Turks respected the native courts and the independence of local civil and military authorities. They asserted that the people of Lebanon did not understand French co-operation to imply political control, but merely technical and financial aid to the extent that the people themselves desired."

In fact the Ottoman Empire was really in a more advanced condition, though not comparable with the best European countries or Japan, than is generally known or believed. To mention one or two particulars. In the *New Hazell Annual* for 1920, it is written, "the press and education are free," and we showed in a previous issue that 10 per cent of the population were under instruction there against less than 4 per cent in British India. Again, "The judges are irremovable except according to law."

Regarding Palestine, Mesopotamia and Syria, the Government statement says.

It cannot be too clearly understood that in all these three cases the mandates have been granted for a specific purpose and for a temporary period. The immediate application to these areas of the principle of nationality would spell chaos and anarchy, and the work of the mandatory powers is to assist the local inhabitants with administrative advice and help, until such time as they are fit to take over

with success the business of administration without outside assistance

History will record whether the mandates are really for a temporary period and for the specific philanthropic purpose which is professed. But we do not understand how and why the principle of nationality which is applicable to the Hedjaz is not applicable to Palestine, Mesopotamia and Syria. Are the three last-named countries less civilised or less eager for self-rule than the Hedjaz? And are Egypt and Ireland less fit for self-rule than the Hedjaz? It would be interesting to know whether the Hedjaz is lacking in mineral products, like oil, coal, &c

The Mandate for Armenia.

Reuter's telegrams from Washington state that President Wilson has asked Congress for authority for the United States to accept the mandate for Armenia, that his message has been referred to the Foreign Affairs Committees of both Houses, and that Republican leaders predict that the message will not return to the Senate, whose Committee, it is stated, unanimously oppose acceptance of the mandate. We are opposed to mandates in the sense in which they have been really and practically understood by the European mandatories. For instance, in the *Century Magazine* article from which we have already quoted, Dr Gibbons says

"The French say frankly that they cannot go into the mandate game except where they see quick financial returns for the investment of limited capital. Their interest in Armenia is confined to the cotton of Cilicia and copper of Arghana."

Take also the following extracts made by the London *Nation* from a recent speech of Mr Lloyd George and a recent speech of M. Briand

I cannot understand withdrawing from the more important and the more promising part of Mesopotamia. Mosul is a country with great possibilities. It has rich oil deposits. If we did not undertake the task, perhaps some other country would. What other country will undertake that responsible task except Great Britain? We shall certainly claim the right to be the mandatory Power of Mesopotamia including Mosul.—(Mr Lloyd George, in the Commons March 23th)

"It was in the interests of France that he asked for Mosul (i.e., when as Premier he negotiated the Secret Treaty of 1916) on account of its petroleum fields, because everyone knew that the future would belong to the nation that owned the greatest quantity of petrol. France must therefore maintain herself in that region."—(M. Briand, in the French Chamber of Deputies, March 27th)

The *Nation* itself observes —

Mr Lloyd George has saved us the trouble of discussing how far our differences over Turkey turn on the higher morals of mandates and self-determination. In a moment of candour, while answering Mr Asquith, he blurted out the truth. We are "out" for oil. For our own part, with no Celtic blood to help us, we had long ago reached that realistic conclusion. When we hear a statesman talking "mandates," we have formed a habit of asking, Is it oil in this case, or coal? It was oil that caused us to guarantee the "integrity and independence" of Persia, and induced Mr Churchill to take for the Admiralty half the shares in the company which enjoys the concession of the Persian oil-field. It was oil, with Mr Churchill again in charge (this time at the War Office), which led us to claim Mosul and Upper Mesopotamia. We do not pretend to know whether these wells are as fabulously rich as some suppose, and we doubt if Mr George is right in thinking that most of them, or the best of them, are near Mosul. That is a detail however; undoubtedly there is oil round Mosul, and both Paris and London know it. Since both the Allies agreed long ago to dismember Turkey, the question now presents itself, which of them shall have it? M. Briand may exaggerate when he says that the future belongs to the nation which has the most oil. Some might venture to ask timidly whether courage and a sense of duty, not to mention science, may not also be subordinate factors in that future world which the Allies are shaping. But let us agree that oil will count. Well, we have got Burmah and Persia, not to mention Lower Mesopotamia (where also, we believe, there is much oil) and some as yet undefined relation to the Transcaucasian field, France wants a share.

In our last issue we printed a Reuter's telegram in which one reason for the League of Nations declining the mandate for Armenia was stated to be that it "implies heavy financial and military burdens," or, in other words, it would be a losing job, not a lucrative one.

Mandates having to be understood in the light of passages like the above, we do not want any country to be placed under a mandatory. But if Armenia must have

a mandatory, it is best that it should be America. For her modern record of her relations with dependent or defeated peoples is far better than those of the European powers. The following passage from Dr Gibbons's article in the *Century Magazine* will show America's fitness for being a mandatory,—

We are the richest nation of the world, with boundless resources, our man power virtually intact, a great navy, and all the money and materials needed in the near East available without delay. We cannot plead that the proposition of a mandate is an innovation, against our instincts, incompatible with our institutions and likely to lead us into entirely new paths. This would be true only if we took the mandate as the trust of a super-state, which would have the privilege of telling us what we should do and how we should do it. But our Senate reservations provide against that. We are able to volunteer our aid in reconstructing near-Eastern countries with hands free and with no violation of our sovereignty. This we have already done in the Philippines and Cuba. We have made a success of this sort of work, both from a military and civilian point of view, under conditions vastly more difficult than would have to be faced now in the near East. Public opinion did not protest against our constructive administrative and educational work in the Philippines. We are proud of the years in Cuba after the war with Spain. We have done well by Porto Rico. We hear no widespread criticism of the activities of our Government in Haiti and San Domingo. If we have played a role in the far East, why not in the near East? To the argument that "we have no interests there" there is the answer that this "big brother" work has to be done and that we are the only nation that can do it.

Mr Montagu's Despatch on the Hunter Committee's Report.

We have not received the Hunter Committee's Report, nor the despatches of the Government of India and of the Secretary of State thereupon, for, though we are liable to all the punishments and indignities which the police and the executive may according to the laws inflict upon editors, we are not entitled to receive all the publications which Government send *gratis* to the daily and in some cases to the weekly papers. However, we have read what we believe is the essential portion of Mr Montagu's despatch, reproduced in the papers. That alone is sufficient to enable any reader to conclude that the

London *Daily Herald* is right in holding that "the [majority] Report is a fairly comprehensive whitewash of everybody concerned." The majority report is signed by the European members and the minority report by the Indian members.

"The bombing of unarmed crowds and peaceful villagers from aeroplanes is held by the majority to have been invariable. The gentleman who cantered about with armoured team, mowing guns on the villagers who were not, as far as evidence shows, doing anything wrong, is commended by the majority for his promptness and decision. For the rest there is some very mild criticism of the crawling order and of other excesses, such as Colonel Johnson's treatment of students, but excuse is found for the young officers who were acting under orders."—*The Daily Herald* as cabled to the *Bombay Chronicle*.

Mr Montagu's despatch alone convinces us that the following paragraph from the *Daily Herald* cabled to the *Bombay Chronicle* does not contain any undeserved condemnation.

"the Massacre at Jallianwala Bagh sent a thrill of horror across the whole world. It has won international notoriety, and lovers of freedom in every country will look eagerly for an indignant repudiation of this horror. But they will not find it. The European Majority on that Committee considers that General Dyer was guilty of a grave error not because he began slaughter but because he let it go too far. A whiff of grape shot would have served but he exceeded his ration of fightfulness and erred gravely. The majority is entitled to its opinions on the nature of the error but we have sufficient faith in our fellowmen to believe that this opinion will not be popular. In our view this astounding decision will constitute as black a stain upon the record of this country as the crime it condones. It is the final step in the moral degradation of British Imperialism, for it shows that our Militarists commit atrocities in a temper and that our Bureaucrats excuse them in cold blood. The ruthlessness of the offence is equalled by the shamelessness of the verdict."

"To damn with faint praise" is a familiar phrase. Mr Montagu's despatch should make the art of warmly eulogising with faint censure equally familiar. Where censure is administered, it is done in a very roundabout and diluted form, but the praise always comes out straight and strong. General Dyer has been read a long lecture. But one is also told

That Brigadier-General Dyer displayed

honesty of purpose and unflinching adherence to his conception of his duty cannot for a moment be questioned.

And has he often not been really punished? We think not. For Mr Montagu writes to the Viceroy

You have reported to me that the Commander-in-Chief has directed Brigadier General Dyer to resign his appointment as Brigade Commander and has informed him that he would receive no further employment in India, and that you have concurred. I approve this decision and the circumstances of the case have been referred to the Army Council.

So Dyer has neither been dismissed nor forced to resign his commission. He will enjoy his pension, and he may in addition receive some high military appointment. He is precluded from further employment *only in India*. All this would really mean promotion, and our guess is that he would receive this sort of promotion.

The only criticism to which Mr Montagu subjects Sir Michael O'Dwyer is the following

It follows from what has been said in earlier paragraphs that on certain points arising out of this enquiry His Majesty's Government do not regard Sir Michael O'Dwyer as immune from criticism. Thus they cannot endorse the unqualified approval which he accorded on insufficient information to the action of Brigadier-General Dyer at Jallianwala Bagh and they think it unfortunate that he did not adhere at the time to his first impulse to withhold both praise and blame on a matter with which as a civil officer he was not in the circumstances directly concerned. The motives which evidently prompted him to adopt another attitude and to maintain that attitude subsequently and in the light of fuller knowledge are less open to criticism.

Secondly, the opinion already expressed on the application of martial law procedure to certain trials must be taken as applying to Sir Michael O'Dwyer in so far as he was personally responsible for the action in question.

With this should be compared the following glowing panegyric —

they [His Majesty's Government] are fully conscious of the difficulties of the situation with which he was faced. Conspiracy, the activity of enemy agents, the rise in the cost of living and the necessity of furnishing the bulk of the vast number of recruits for the Indian Army which the needs of the Empire required, though far from precluding to disturb the loyalty of the Indian people as a whole, caused constant anxiety throughout his term of office. That

term is now closed, a long and honoured connection with India is ended, and His Majesty's Government desire here to pay a tribute to the great energy, decision and courage which Sir Michael O'Dwyer brought to his task through a period of exceptional difficulty and to express their appreciation of his services.

Mr Montagu has not even a single word of mild criticism of bombing the unarmed civil population *who were not engaged in doing anything wrong and who belonged to a loyal subject province*. He simply says —

But in future explicit orders must be required for the employment of armed aircraft in such emergencies these orders should be issued in writing by a civil authority and should authorise only a limited amount of bombing and machine gunfire to be employed to overawe mobs which are, so far as the human can judge, actually engaged in crimes of violence. The Government will see to it that instructions on these lines are issued as soon as possible. They regretfully agree with Lord Hunter's Committee that the instruction issued to the airmen who visited Guyanwala on this occasion left much to be desired in precision.

Yet how hard the British people tried to make the world believe that the Germans were devils because they bombed the civil population of a country *with which they were at war!*

Mr Montagu surpasses himself in the unmixed and glowing eulogium which he pronounces on Lord Chelmsford. Says he —

In conclusion, I am glad to have this opportunity of assuring Your Excellency of the sense of obligation which His Majesty's Government feel to you personally for the manner in which you have fulfilled your high trust. Great as is always the burden borne by the Governor-General of India, worldwide circumstances have combined to lay upon you a degree of anxiety such as has only at long intervals fallen upon any of your illustrious predecessors. His Majesty's Government desire that you should be fortified by the knowledge that they continue to repose the fullest confidence in Your Excellency's discretion, inspired as they feel certain it has constantly been by the single aim of the good of the peoples whose Government is committed to your charge.

Fulsome flattery could scarcely go farther with any decency. Licking the dust of Lord Chelmsford's feet, figuratively of course, would have been worse, but it could not be expected to be done, though crawling on all fours may be considered

an appropriate act of expiation for mildly criticising the 'crawling order'.

Loid Chelmsford is the public servant whose recall, along with that of Sir Michael O' Dwyer, was wanted by the Indian National Congress, the most representative gathering in India, by more than one provincial conference, and many most representative newspapers. In consequence, the theory that the more an officer is condemned by the public the more is he appreciated by the powers that be, has received one more illustration.

The belief which inspires the conclusions recorded in Mr Montagu's despatch is thus described by the great believer —

The conclusions here recorded have been inspired in the main by the belief that the chief duty which lies upon His Majesty's Government and the Government of India in utilising the report is not primarily to apportion blame to individuals for what has been done amiss or to visit penalties upon them, but rather to prevent the recurrence in the future of occasion for blame or regret, should unfortunate circumstances ever produce again a situation such as that which occurred in India in the spring of 1919.

But pray, how can the recurrence in the future of occasion for blame or regret (mind, it is only blame or regret, penalties or remorse under no circumstances), be prevented unless on the present occasion, in addition to the adoption of the steps suggested, blame is apportioned clearly and definitely to individuals and penalties are visited upon them? Mr Montagu has a conception of his duty which must be very pleasant to the masters of India euphemistically called public servants.

Brigadier-General Dyer marched his troops back to Ram Bagh. The reasons given by General Dyer for the severity and duration of his fire are stated as follows in his written statement furnished to the General Staff (16th Indian Division) and subsequently laid before Lord Hunter's Committee: "We cannot be very brave unless we be possessed of a greater fear. I had considered the matter from every point of view. My duty and my military instincts told me to fire. My conscience was also clear on that point. What faced me was, what on the morrow would be the 'Danda Fauj' (this, which may be translated as bludgeon army, was the name given to themselves by the rioters in Lahore). I fired and continued

To a representative of the *Daily Mail* Dyer has said something similar.

What would have happened if I had not shot? I and my little force would have been swept away like chaff, and then what would have happened?

But in his oral evidence this brave liar said that the crowd could have been dispersed without firing, but it would have come back, not to sweep him and his little force away, but to laugh at him.

If owing to the murder of less than a dozen Englishmen and the destruction of some public property and communications in a very few places in the Panjab, which took place and ended in the course of a few days without recrudescence, the Panjab could be regarded as in a state of rebellion and humanity-staggering steps taken in that belief, Ireland must be considered in a state of defiant extra-super rebellion. For murders, destruction of police barracks and other public property, raids on dwellings, seizing of arms, cattle drives, various forms of terrorism, preaching of rebellion, &c., have gone on there for months, if not years, and the situation is getting still worse. There have been something like pitched battles, too. There is and has been for a long time, therefore, clearly reason for "greater fear" in Ireland than there was in the Panjab. Yet has any British General been "very brave" in Ireland as Dyer was at Jallianwala Bagh? No. Dyer was "very brave", not because there was great fear of the people, but because there was great contempt for the people for their politically servile condition, for their armlessness and the deficient manhood which these cause or imply. He knew that however atrocious and brutal his conduct might be he need not fear any reprisal or retaliation on the part of the people. Neither frightfulness nor retaliation therefor are desirable. No military officer in Ireland is "very brave" like Dyer, because British officers know from the history of Ireland that a massacre like that at Jallianwala Bagh would not cow down the Irish but would only be followed by savage retaliation. For this reason British policy in Ireland is at present mainly preventive, remedial,

and conciliatory, with some repression not amounting to savage vindictiveness. In his statement placed before his military superiors and the Hunter Committee Dyer spoke of "the least amount of firing which would produce the necessary moral and widespread effect," &c. In other words, he wanted by frightfulness to terrorise and cow down the people. Such "moral effect" is not sought to be produced in Ireland, because Ireland is not politically helpless, is in touch with the world powers, is not armless, and is therefore not as emasculated as India. No Dyer was not "very brave." He was very brutal and vindictive and very cowardly, that being the result of the "environment."

Jalianwala Bagh Memorial.

That leads us to say that we feel that we have said in our last issue all that from our point of view can be said in favour of a memorial at Jalianwala Bagh. But we also feel that, as we were not and are not enthusiastic, our Note must have read in parts like a bit of special pleading. Where neither the slayers nor the slain displayed any of the higher qualities of human beings, it was not possible for us to feel or simulate enthusiasm for a memorial. In our category of the higher qualities of human beings, we do not include either the devilry of Dyer or the ferocious vindictiveness and terrorism of the Sinn Féiners. It would be extremely cowardly on our part, sitting safely in a chair, to judge an unarmed gathering thrown into a state of panic by sudden and unexpected deaths and danger of imminent death, particularly as we cannot, to our shame, claim to be courageous ourselves. But journalistic duty is very exacting and should be performed even at the risk of being misjudged and misunderstood. Therefore we say in all humility, that just as shooting down unarmed people does not make us enthusiastic, just as we do not admire retaliatory savagery, so being shot down like sheep does not appeal to our sense of the heroic. Even unarmed Indian crowds have been known on some comparatively recent occasions to

stand fire bravely and attempt self-defence, for some minutes at least. A passage in Mr. Montagu's despatch, on which he ought to be complimented in spite of the anticlimax in the order passed on Dyer, shows clearly that numbers of persons assembled in Jalianwala Bagh were not guilty of even the slightest technical offence, and had the full right of self-defence. A portion is quoted below.

There can be no doubt that large numbers of people in the assembly, many of whom were visitors to the city from surrounding villages, were ignorant of the existence of his proclamation and the danger which they ran by attending the gathering. The proclamation was published in only a portion of the city, that portion being some distance from the scene of the meeting, and no warning of any kind was given before fire was opened.

It is always easy to be wise and brave after the event and at a safe distance. It is also futile now to suggest what the gathering ought to have done, and it would be presumptuous, too, on our part to make any such suggestions. But still the possibility of some attempt at self-defence is not unimaginable—at least the facing of death calmly and bravely is not unimaginable. We say all these things, because it is only the difficult but not impossible which, if achieved, is considered manlike, and is enthusiastically commemorated. On occasions of panic, if the more able-bodied males do not lose their presence of mind and are able first of all to make efforts for the safety of children, women and old men, such conduct is appreciated all over the world and is also productive of not more casualties than if all are panic-stricken.

The late Dr. M. N. Ohdedar.

By the death of Rai Bahadur Dr. Mahendia Nath Ohdedar, Lucknow, the United Provinces and India lose a worthy private gentleman, an honourable professional man of great proficiency and skill, and a courageous and public-spirited citizen. He was an alumnus of the Lahore Medical College, and, entering Government service in the U. P. as an assistant surgeon, rose to be a civil surgeon. By

his public activities after retirement he expiated fully for his Rai Bahadurship. He was president one year of the U P social conference and in another year president of the political conference of that province. He was elected to preside over a session of the all-India medical conference. Recently he was a "Nationalist" candidate for election to the reformed U P council, but retired from the field in favour of his friend Pandit Jagat Narain, who belongs to another camp. This was only to be expected of a man who was so patriotic, so chivalrous and so loyal a friend as he.

He was for years assistant surgeon in Allahabad, and during some of those years we were in that city. We were acquainted with him, but were not in terms of friendship with him, he being about 10 years senior to us. His worthy brother, Mr. Devendranath Ohdedar, we could and can claim as a friend. We, however, knew enough of Dr. Ohdedar in his professional capacity and in his family and social relations to be able to respect him. The development of the civic and political aspects of his character was of later date than our stay at Allahabad, but we read thereof in the papers and honored him therefor.

The Enlarged Indian Legislatures.

The Gazette of India, dated May 8, 1920, contains the rules relating to the provincial legislative councils, which have been framed under the Government of India Act and submitted for the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council. With the schedules, etc., they cover exactly one hundred pages of the *Gazette*. The next issue of the *Gazette* contains the rules relating to the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, which have been made under the Government of India Act and submitted for the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council. With the schedules, &c., they cover 82 pages of the *Gazette*.

The newspapers of every province which has a living press have discussed in some detail the rules relating to the council of the province to which they belong. A few

papers have given some attention to the rules about the councils of other provinces, too. But the rules relating to the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, which are pan-Indian bodies, have so far received inadequate attention. This fact shows that Colonel Wedgwood's warning to Indians to be on guard against the provincialising tendencies of the Reforms, of which Mr. St. Nihal Singh wrote in our last April issue was not unnecessary. The way in which some persons and papers have discussed the provincial financial settlement proposals of Lord Meston's committee also shows that the forces which make for nationalisation require to be greatly strengthened, especially in view of the impetus given by the Government of India Act to the superficial provincial patriotism which some men mistake for the real thing. As *Indian* patriots we ought primarily to see and suggest and do what would be for the good of the whole of India. Even the smallest bit of service done to a village which does not injure another village or take away any advantage from it, may be All-India service. As *provincial* patriots, we should do all that we can for the good of our province, the good of all sections of the people dwelling in it, without envying the real or supposed good fortune of any other province or wishing that some of its real or supposed advantages should be lessened.

It cannot be discovered on what principles the numerical strength of the different provincial councils has been fixed. For instance, the biggest provincial unit, the U P, is to have a smaller council than Madras. We make this comparison, as any council may be enlarged without making any other council smaller than it is, and therefore the comparison will not give rise to any provincial jealousy. Madras is certainly more literate than the U P, but literacy does not qualify for the right to elect or be elected. Moreover, the U P does not require proportionately less public servants per lakh of population than Madras, because the former is more illiterate than the latter. Members of legislative councils are unpaid public servants. If a big province requires

many paid public servants in proportion to its size and population, it would require a proportionately large number of these unpaid public servants, too, otherwise the duty required to be done by them could not be properly done. There are different standards of a sort of property or tax-paying qualification in different provinces. It may be thought, therefore, that the numbers of elected members in the different provincial councils may have been fixed with reference to the revenues derived from the different provinces. But that also does not seem to be the case. The following table shows the populations of the chief provinces according to the census of 1911, the land revenue, which is the principal source of revenue, contributed by each province in 1913-14, and the number of councillors to be elected by each province.

| Provinces | Population in millions | Land revenue in Rs | No. of elected members |
|----------------|------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| Madras | 41.40 | 57,308,948 | 93 |
| Bombay | 19.67 | 56,000,115 | 86 |
| Bengal | 15.48 | 28,028,537 | 115 |
| Bihar & Orissa | 34.49 | 16,399,199 | 76 |
| U. P. | 47.18 | 59,078,394 | 100 |
| Panjab | 19.97 | 26,943,631 | 65 |
| Burma | 12.11 | 46,307,377 | 76 |
| C. P. | 13.91 | 18,717,229 | 54 |
| Assam | 6.71 | 7,886,558 | 39 |

Thus the numbers of the elected members in the different provinces are neither proportionate to their population nor to the land revenue contributed by them. In both population and land revenue the U. P. tops the list. But it is not to get the largest number of elected members. Similar remarks may be made with regard to the other provinces. If a certain number of members per million inhabitants, say 4 or 5, had been fixed as the number to be elected, that would have been an easily understandable principle. The numbers, too, could not have been complained of as too large for the provinces. The population of the United Kingdom is 45 millions. Its House of Commons alone has 707 members. The United States of America has a population of 100 millions, its House of Representatives consists at present of 435 members.

We have written repeatedly against separate representation of classes and communities according to creed, race, interests, &c. But as the parties concerned have

taken a sectional instead of a "national" view of their interests, separate representation must be considered to have come to stay for some time. We shall be satisfied if, so long as it continues, the different *Indian* constituencies, whether Moslem, Sikh, Christian, General, Landholding, Labour and Commercial, return the ablest and most patriotic members they can find. It is not every day or in every session of a council that the representative of a sectional constituency will have questions specially concerning his electors to deal with. For the most part it is questions of common interest and importance that all elected members will have to deal with. And it is only those members who will be able to deal with such questions with information and ability and in a liberal spirit of patriotism who will be able to command respect and be influential and useful. Sectional constituencies should, therefore, note that if they return narrow-minded bigots with not much information, intelligence, ability and patriotism, such members will only bring discredit on their constituencies. We shall expect nominated Indian members, too, to be patriotic and to work hard.

What we have written above should make it clear to all classes, communities, or sections of the people which have got special and separate representation that they should try earnestly by education and other means to raise the level of intelligence, ability, public spirit and patriotism among themselves.

Anglo-Indians have chosen to make common cause with the European birds of passage. Had they understood their true and lasting interests, they would have thrown in their lot with the children of the soil, which they also really are. A day will come when they will see the error of their ways and try to retrace their steps.

Situated as they are, Europeans think that they cannot but be narrowly selfish even at the expense of the interests of Indians. But it is possible for them, too, to be inspired with Indian patriotism. In the long run that would be most paying, too.

As at present they would generally side with the bureaucracy and oppose the political, educational and economic progress of Indians, the larger their representation the greater must be our loss and our difficulties. The total number of European members is to be in Madras 5, in Bombay 6, in Bengal 18, in the U P 3, in the Punjab 2, in Burma 4, in C P 2, and in Assam 6. Bengal has most reason to be ashamed and most reason to be afraid. Of all Indians, Bengalis have allowed their province to be the most extensively and intensively exploited by Europeans, and now they (the Bengalis) must understand that those who allow themselves to be economically exploited must also put up with the decrease of their political influence and power.

In the Legislative Assembly, for the whole of India, it is proposed to have 102 elected members. From the schedules it appears that Madras is to have 16 of these members, Bombay 16, Bengal 16, the United Provinces 16, the Panjab 12, Bihar and Orissa 12, the Central Provinces 5, Assam 4 and Burma 4. One person shall be nominated "as the result of an election held in Berar."

The Council of State, for the whole of India, is proposed to be given 33 elected members. Of these 5 are to be returned by Madras, 6 by Bombay, 6 by Bengal, 5 by the United Provinces, $2\frac{2}{3}$ by the Panjab, $3\frac{1}{3}$ by Bihar and Orissa, 1 by the Central Provinces, 2 by Burma, 1 by Assam, and 1 shall be a person nominated as the result of an election held in Berar.

The number of elected members to be returned to the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State by the non-Muhammadan or general Indian constituencies in the different provinces, is shown in the table printed below. The total number of elected members is shown within brackets.

| Province | Legislative Assembly | Council of State |
|----------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Madras | 10 (16) | 4 (5) |
| Bombay | 7 (16) | 3 (6) |
| Bengal | 6 (16) | 3 (6) |
| U P | 8 (16) | 3 (5) |
| Panjab | 3 (12) | 1 ($2\frac{2}{3}$) |
| Bihar & Orissa | 8 (12) | 2 ($3\frac{1}{3}$) |
| C P | 2 (5) | 1 (1) |
| Assam | 2 (4) | $\frac{1}{2}$ (1) |
| Burma | 3 (4) | 1 (2) |

Of the bigger provinces, the general constituencies members from Bengal will be the weakest in number. Therefore, Bengal ought to return from these constituencies very able men. But no endeavour is perceptible in that direction. In fact in no province is there any indication to take the elections to the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State seriously. The lists of candidates so far published, as far as they have fallen under our notice, relate to the provincial councils. Not that we regard the two all-India Legislative Chambers as great concessions or boons. But as for years many able Indians have found no better way to spend their time in than to become members of the Indian legislative council, there is no reason why under somewhat improved chances of greater usefulness, these gentlemen or their like should not seek election to one or other of the two chambers. The Government of India should not be immune even from criticism—for popular control there will be none—in the two chambers.

Except in Madras, U P, and Bihar and Orissa, the sectional constituencies will return a larger number of members to the two chambers than the general constituencies. It is, therefore, the bounden duty of the Indian electors forming the former constituencies to elect the very ablest and most patriotic men they can find. The Muhammadans, the Sikhs, the Indian Merchants, and landholders have an onerous duty to discharge. It is to be hoped that they will be equal to it.

Even for big things there should be no quarrelling. Quarrels are harmful and unseemly. The legislatures we are going to have cannot be characterised as momentous steps in the direction of self-rule. Even if they had been momentous, quarrels would have been improper. How much more unseemly and weakening dissensions must be seen that the legislatures are not far removed from futilities.

It is not clear on what principle or principles, the number of members to be elected by the different provinces to the two chambers has been fixed. The United States of America have a two chambered legislature called Congress in addition to the separate

state legislatures. All the states are neither equal in area, nor equal in point of education or wealth. But each state chooses a number of representatives for the House of Representatives in proportion to its population. To the Senate, each state returns two members irrespective of size of population. The Indian Legislative Assembly and Council of State should have been thus constituted. In Switzerland also, each canton returns two members to the State Council irrespective of its size of population, and to the National Council a number of delegates in proportion to its population,—one deputy for every 20,000 of the population.

Chemical Services Committee.

The very first thing which the Chemical Services Committee ought to have tried to do in their report is to convince the public that a Chemical Service is required and that that is the best and most economical way in the circumstances of India to develop existing chemical industries and bring new ones into existence. But no such attempt has been made. It has been almost taken for granted that such a service is a *sine qua non*. The president says in his introductory note: "During the tour it soon became apparent that the development of the Chemical Industries of India could only be adequately realised through the agency of an efficient Government Chemical Service." We are not told how it soon became apparent. The volume of evidence has not been published, nor any extracts given therefrom.

Referring to their first term of reference, namely, to consider whether an all-India Chemical Service is the best and most suitable method of overcoming the difficulties and deficiencies pointed out by the Indian Industrial Commission, the Committee simply say: "A large proportion of the written evidence is so definitely in favour of the formation of a Chemical Service that the Committee has assumed for the purpose of their report that Question No 1 of their remit could be answered in the affirmative." It is not stated who were the men who gave this large proportion of the written evidence.

If the names of these witnesses had been given, we could have judged what importance to attach to their evidence. We have seen in the article on the organisation of scientific work in our last number that the foremost scientific opinion in Great Britain, *the opinion of men most of whom belong to the front rank of the world's scientists*, is opposed to the constitution of a Government Service for Research. We see from the Report itself that Sir P. C. Ray is opposed to it, and we also see from his note of dissent that he is fortified in the position he has taken by the reasoned and most cogent arguments of the following gentlemen, each and all of whom are entitled to speak with authority: Dr H. H. Mann, Director of Agriculture, Bombay; Hon'ble Mr J. G. Covernton, C.I.E., Director of Public Instruction, Bombay; Rev. Dr D. McKichan, Principal, Wilson College, Bombay; Mr F. Lewisohn, Revenue Secretary to the Government of Burma; Rai Bahadur Ganga Ram, C.I.E., M.V.O., Lahore; Mr S. M. Jacob, Director of Agriculture, Punjab; Mr B. H. Wilsdon, Agricultural Chemist to Government, Punjab; Rai B. N. Das, Bahadur, Professor, Dacca College; Mr M. Balaji Rane, Professor of Chemistry, Benares Hindu University; Mr C. F. de la Fosse, Director of Public Instruction, United Provinces; and Mr H. O. Kershaw, Professor of Chemistry, Presidency College, Madras. We cannot, therefore, *assume* with the Committee that a Government Chemical Service must be created as the best means for industrial development. In fact, we are decidedly opposed to the creation of such a service.

We are told the service "must be recruited mainly from Indian sources." But it is important to know the number of recruits to the four classes into which the Chemical Service has been divided, and how many of them are expected to be recruited from Indian sources, though even the expression "recruits from Indian sources" is not identical with "recruits who are Indians." "Recruits from Indian sources" will include non-Indians employed in India. If all public servants from the Viceroy to the village

chowkidars were taken into account, it could be truthfully said that the public services in India are mostly recruited from Indian sources. Yet the actual fact is that the more and most important positions of trust, responsibility, control and initiative are in British hands. Similarly, as is apprehended and expected, the majority of the Indian recruits would consist of Indian chemists appointed to class (3), viz., "Assistant chemists recruited direct from Indian universities." That would neither be just, nor beneficial to India.

The four classes are as follows: (1) Chemists recruited to the service from outside India, (2) Chemists recruited in India to the service, (3) Assistant Chemists recruited direct from Indian Universities, and (4) specialists recruited temporarily for the development of particular industries. Of these, classes (1) and (4) will be clearly non-Indians, (3) clearly Indian, and (2) may consist largely or entirely and will certainly consist in part of non-Indians. For we are told in pp 16-17, "Fortunately the war has produced a number of Chemists of the type required as Research Directors. There are some such men in India." Most probably these men are all Europeans and they will be appointed to class (2) as "Chemists recruited in India to the service."

This gives an idea of the prospects of Indians in the service. We may be mistaken as regards details. But it is perfectly clear that, should the Service be created, Indians will be confined to the lower posts for at least the next 25 years.

As we are opposed to the formation of the Service itself, we are not inclined to examine the details of the Report. The committee themselves say that their proposals for pay, pension and allowances, &c., may possibly appear to be more generous than those hitherto in vogue. So they are, they are extravagant, as shown in the article in this issue on the Report. A Government which cannot find money to advance scientific education, ought not to be able to find money on a lavish scale for the proposed Chemical Service. But as the highly paid members of the service are

to be Englishmen, and as the work done by the service will benefit mainly the British industrial exploiters of India, Government will certainly find the money.

In p 14 of the Report, it is said "It should be the object of the Chemical Service to hand over to private enterprise a manufacturing process, complete with plant and material, as soon as it had reached a paying basis, and to lend chemists for the purpose, if desired." In the past, private enterprise has been helped in this way at the cost of the Indian tax-payer, but the enterprise was not Indian, but British. We quote an instance or two below.

How British tea planters were assisted in the tea industry will be evident from the following questions put to and the answers given to them by Mr J Freeman, who appeared as a witness before the Parliamentary Select Committee on Colonization.

"1922 Are you not aware that both in Assam and Kumaon the Government established tea-plantations for the express purpose of trying experiments, for the sake of the settlers, and with the avowed object of handing over their plantations to the settlers, as soon as the experiment had been shown to be successful, and as soon as settlers could be found willing to take them?—That is what I refer to, that in the first mootings of the cultivation of tea the Government took the initiative and encouraged it, and went to some expense in taking the necessary steps towards it."

Government also very generously offered to assist the non-manufacturers of England if some of them were to come to settle in India. Thus the same witness was asked

"1927 Are you aware that the Government have recently sent out a gentleman conversant with the iron manufacture, and with him several assistants, to the province of Kumaon, to introduce the iron manufacture there?—I have read of it, but we offered to do everything at our own expense."

"1928 And the Government have stated that, as soon as the experiment is shown to be successful, they are willing to hand over the works to any Englishman that will undertake them?—Yes, that may be."

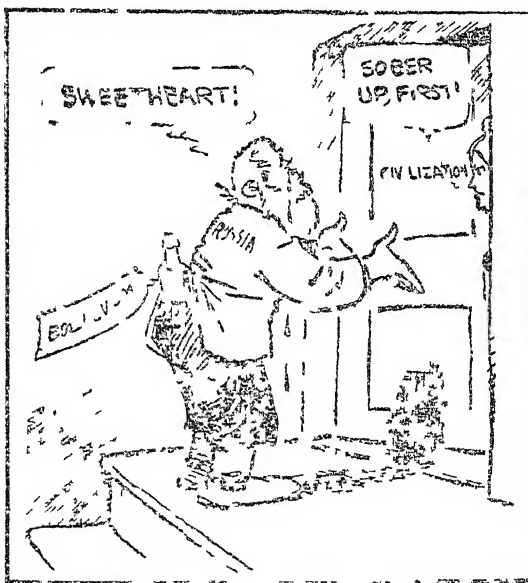
What reasons are there for supposing that the British Government in India has changed its attitude and will in future

hand over to private Indian enterprise, in preference to British enterprise, a successful experimental factory? If there are none, why should India pay for such experiments and for a highly paid service to carry on research and make such experiments?

Our constructive proposal is the same as that of the world-famed British scientists and Sir J C Bose who have published their views in *Nature*, and of Sir P C Ray as expressed in his note of dissent, all of which, remarkably enough tend in the same direction, owing to some unseen forces indicated in the paragraphs entitled "The Spirit of the Times", printed in our Foreign Periodicals section. Chemical education and training in the universities should be improved and made adequate, a more practical turn should be given to it, technological institutes should be established, and research should be made a prominent feature of the education and training given in the universities and these institutes. We must suggest in addition that education and training in Science should begin in our schools, so that a scientific bent of mind may be strengthened from boyhood and a scientific atmosphere created in the country.

Flirting with the Bolsheviks.

Some time ago Mr Lloyd George gave



He wants her to take him back

—Ori in the *Chicago Tribune*



"If I were sure he had sowed all his wild oats"

—Morris for the George Matthew Adams Service

currency to the idea of fighting anarchy with abundance. A similar pronouncement has been made lately by Mr Bonar Law. The motion for adjournment for Whitsuntide in the House of Commons was the occasion for a debate, in the course of which,

Mr Bonar Law disclaimed any desire to make war on Russia. He maintained that the kind of Government the Soviet professed was contrary to human nature and could not last. The way to create a reasonable situation in Russia was to allow the Russian people to work out their own salvation. It was by opening out trade much more than by armaments that the Bolshevik Government would be put down.

It may be noted incidentally that the Japanese are the only people of non-European extraction who have been so far allowed "to work out their own salvation". The European savants do not care whether Japan goes to an unnameable place, and that for a sufficient reason.

Opening up trade with Germany.

The Allies had been saying very emphatically that they would never consent to have trade relations with Germany, not for five years at least. But already a large order for supplying Khaki cloth (to be dyed green, we do not know why)



Maybe I'd get more milk by feeding hay

—Stinson in the Dayton News

to Germany has been accepted by Lancashire. And no doubt it has been perceived, as was evident from many things published in British newspapers, that unless Germany gets raw materials for her manufactures and markets for the articles turned out, she cannot earn the money to pay the indemnities. Therefore the Allies must in their own interests set her up on her industrial and commercial legs.

American Movement against "Sedition and Anarchy"

"Recently," says the *Living Age*, "many European journals, regardless of party or country, have commented with bewilderment and disapproval upon the restrictions placed upon free speech and a free press in America." For,

Europeans are accustomed to regard the United States as the land of unqualified liberty, not realizing that free peoples are often the most intolerant of their own dissenters.

The discussion of the origin and probable consequences of this reactionary movement are reserved for want of space for a future issue.



As Gag-rulers would have it

—Satterfield in the Jersey City Journal.

Truth Vindicated through its Exponent Sir J C Bose

Man proposes but God disposes. Dr Waller intended to bring about the discomfiture of Sir J C Bose, but the result has been to bring about his own discomfiture and to place before the world the declaration of many scientists of the first rank that they are satisfied that Professor Bose's crescograph truly records the growth of plant tissues and at a magnification of from one to ten million times.

As we intend to publish an article on the crescograph in our next issue, we refrain from publishing anything more about it in this number.

Sir N. Chandavarkar on the Depressed Classes

On May 2 at Ernakulam Sir Narayan Chandavarkar delivered a comprehensive and stimulating address as President of a conference of the depressed classes. He rightly began by combating the view that the problem of the depressed classes was a mere religious problem.

I have heard and read it said that this pro-

blem of the depressed classes is a religious problem and that, therefore, any Government which interferes with it departs from the principle of religious neutrality. The cry of "religion in danger" has become a catch-cry in India to prevent all healthy progress. In the present case as in other cases it is a hollow cry raised by the bigotry of vested interests. The problem of the depressed classes is essentially a political problem, and it cannot cease to be that merely because somehow religious considerations have come to be involved in it. It is a political problem, because it concerns vitally the free rights of citizenship of the depressed classes. For, what are the civil disabilities imposed for centuries on those classes in the name and under the pretext of religion? On the ground of untouchability they have been excluded from public schools, public roads and streets, public markets, appearance in Courts of justice, public temples and other places of worship and employment in public offices. Now, these are all rights of a civil nature and no religion ought to be allowed to prevent their exercise by any human being.

He briefly described what the Governments of Madras and Bombay and the Indian States of Travancore, Cochin, Baroda, Mysore, Kolhapur, &c, have done for ameliorating the condition of the depressed classes. He contended that

even as a religious problem the cause of the depressed classes is the cause of the Hindu religion. That religion in its best aspects for centuries has been struggling to elevate their social and political condition.

A NATIONAL PROBLEM

The curse of untouchability prevails to this day in all parts of India. It is not mere untouchability. It is worse than that. While all of the depressed classes have been for centuries untouchable, some have been unshadowable, some unapproachable and some even unseeable by the higher castes. And this degradation has been imposed by these castes of Hindu society on one-fifth of the total population of their own country, race and creed, on 30 per cent of the Hindu population of India. Out of every ten Hindus, three are treated as beyond the pale of decent humanity!

WORSER THAN SLAVERY

The degrading treatment accorded to the depressed classes for centuries makes their condition worse than slavery. Slavery was abolished in America and elsewhere not because the slaves were treated cruelly by their masters. Far from that, most masters were kind to their slaves and treated them as members of their own families. Slavery was abolished more because it denied the rights of free men to the

slaves, because he who treats others as degraded slaves, becomes degraded, a slave himself in the long run. Untouchability is hostile to the principle and practice of human worth—that every human being is a person, not a pawn. But here in India we have been treating the depressed classes as worse than beasts—we touch dogs, keep them in our houses, even fondle them, but these depressed classes—their touch, their very shadow, their very sight are pollution. And yet we call them Hindus, talk of liberty, and claim self-government! We say we are fit now, at this very moment, for the right to be given to us at once. But when it comes to the question of the depressed classes, what is our attitude?

SIR NARAYAN referred to what the Christian missionaries, the Depressed Classes Mission Society, the Theosophical Society, the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, and the depressed classes themselves have done for the cause. He made important suggestions for the solution of the problem.

SIR P. C. RAY'S Note of Dissent.

SIR P. C. RAY's able, convincing and outspoken Note of Dissent has been reproduced *in extenso* in all the Indian dailies. There is, therefore, the less need for us to summarise it. We strongly support his views, with this exception that we are not so sanguine as Dr. Ray seems to be as regards the prospects of Indians in the proposed Chemical Service.

SIR P. C. RAY, the distinguished "Doctor of Doctors", as we were the first to call him, to be followed by others afterwards, is not only an eminent researcher himself, but, as a most inspiring teacher of the times, also the cause of the spread of chemical research among an ever-increasing band of workers in the country. Such a man is certainly entitled to suggest, as he does in his first paragraph, that, as the graduates of Indian Universities have distinguished themselves as Advocates General, Judges, Jurists, Surgeons, Physicians, Engineers and Scientists, and "can hold their own against their confreres in any country," so there is also the right sort of stuff in India itself for the development of India's industrial resources. "On principle I am opposed," says he, "to the creation of an all-India Chemical

Service" We will quote some of his reasons

India is *par excellence* the land of caste, and the "services" have become stereotyped into so many rigid castes. Naturally they are jealous of their vested interests, and are apt to fight tooth and nail against any improvement or innovation which clashes therewith. So glaring has the evil become that, in the considered opinion of India, this unhappy country exists for the "services" and not the "services" for the country. In short, the "services" have become an anomaly, nay, a glaring anachronism. A man brought up under the melastic and hide-bound traditions of the "service" unconsciously imbibes all its prejudices and is apt to become overbearing, arrogant, narrow in outlook and limited in his angle of vision. The "service" system will have a demoralising effect as far as the spirit of research is concerned. The men will have gorgeous vistas of pay, prospects and promotion before them, and the pushful and clamorous will try to gain the ear of the Heads of the "service." Under such a *regime*, I am afraid, the spirit of research will not be properly fostered.

Again —

"Service" men are apt to be easy-going and, secure of drawing their monthly cheque, they cannot be expected to solve an industrial problem with that degree of zest and enthusiasm and personal interest which a research chemist, attached to an industry, is expected to bring to bear upon the question.

Departmentalism is an arsenal of delay and procrastination. Its methods are apt to run in a groove, and, as it has no living touch with any going concern, its ways degenerate into a dull dreary routine, mechanically carried out. A research chemist, who is in the "service" of industry, is put on his mettle. He naturally expects a share in the profits, or some sort of royalty, and he throws his whole heart into the work. Whereas a research chemist, who is in the "service" of Government, is part of a system, which not only makes havoc of originality, but has a tendency to chill initiative and resourcefulness. In short, work carried on through the agency of the "service," converts its votaries into lifeless machines. The methods of such a

"service" will be dilatory and circumlocutory, especially if the laboratory happens to be situated at a great distance from the firm which wishes to avail itself of its services.

The following arguments are very practical —

Each Province grows on its own lines and according to its own traditions, some Provinces are highly advanced intellectually and scientifically, others are again miserably backward and lag behind in the race. If you start a chemical research institute in a backward Province, it will be something like putting the cart before the horse. Are people sufficiently advanced to profit by or to utilise it?

One important point is apt to be ignored. Chemical industries naturally advance *pari passu* with the scientific progress of the people. India is not like England where the people are practically on the same level of civilisation, advancement and progress. Bengal, Assam, Burma, Orissa and Chota Nagpur are not on the same intellectual level. Now how will an all-India chemical service benefit each of these Provinces? One deplorable result will be that the backward Provinces will not be able to utilise its services, but European and American exploiters will thrive at the expense of the people—a contingency which the Government of India itself deplores.

The Editor's Apology.

The Editor deeply regrets that for the first time in its history the *Modern Review* has to be published this month without a frontispiece. The blocks have long been ready. The order to print them was given at the proper time. The firm which prints our frontispieces was reminded, too, betimes. But our binder informed us at 1 p.m. on 31st May, 1920, that the frontispiece had not been printed. All that we can do under the circumstances is to publish two coloured pictures in the next (July) issue. Thus our regular subscribers and cash purchasers of the June and July numbers will not be losers.

ERRATA

In the article on *Francis Newman* by S. H. on page 519, Col. 1, line 16 from top between the words "first duty to" and "the authority of scripture" *how to* should be inserted.

P. 575, 2nd column, in article *Labour Organisation*, 8th paragraph, in the sentence "Secondly, there ought *not* to be a great gulf, etc.," the word *not* should be omitted.

